J. GONDA

SELECTED STUDIES

VOLUME II

SANSKRIT WORD STUDIES

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J. GONDA

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Presented to the author
by the staff of the Oriental Institute, Utrecht University,
on the occasion of his 70th birthday

VOLUME II

SANSKRIT WORD STUDIES

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The articles marked with an asterisk appeared originally in Dutch and have been translated in an abridged form.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona
AcOr	Acta Orientalia, Leiden
ALB	Adyar Library Bulletin, Madras
BhV	Bhāratīya Vidyā, Bombay
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London
BTLV	Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden
EW	East and West, Rome
Hist. Rel.	History of Religions, Chicago
IIJ	Indo-Iranian Journal, Leiden
JGJhRI	Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad
JOIB	Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda, Baroda
JORM	Journal of Oriental Research, Madras
KZ	Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung (begründet von Adalbert Kuhn), Göttingen
ME	Mnemosyne, Leiden
MNAW	Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Amsterdam
TITLV	Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Batavia (Weltevreden).
TNAG	Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, Leiden
TPh	Tijdschrift voor Filosofie, Leuven
VIJ	Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal, Hoshiarpur
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Wien
WZKSO	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens und Archiv für Indische Philosophie, Wien

SOME NOTES ON THE STUDY OF ANCIENT-INDIAN RELIGIOUS TERMINOLOGY

Those students of comparative history of religions who are acquainted with the history of research in the special field of ancient Indian Weltanschauung and who take cognizance of the moot points and questions under discussion among Vedists and historians of Indian thought will have noticed that our knowledge of, and insight into, Vedic religion largely depend on a correct understanding of a considerable number of Indian words and phrases, many of which have now been debated for nearly a century. They will have observed that not rarely opinions on the exact sense of important religious terms continue to diverge widely, and in other cases solutions offered with much self-confidence and suggestiveness appear to be, sooner or later, open to justifiable criticism. It is not my intention in this article to dwell at length on some of the factors which have contributed to this state of affairs, which, after all, is unavoidable in any comparable field of scientific research: the distance in time, space, and cultural environment between Vedic mankind and most modern specialists; the incompleteness of our sources; the reinterpretations suggested by the traditional views of the Indians; the prejudices and limitations

of modern scholarship itself, which has often been guided by the tenets of contemporaneous philosophy, by the religious conviction of the research workers, or by the political systems of their own countries.[1] What I would like to emphasize here is that the difficulties with which we are confronted are—not integrally of course, but after all not rarely—due to some imperfections in the very method applied in studying the "meaning" of ancient Indian religious terminology. Although I have often made incidental remarks on this point and also ventured some attempts to avoid the rocks on which others seem to have split, it may, now that some ancient controversies seem to have revived, be expedient to discuss this issue somewhat more systematically and to make at least an attempt to elucidate more elaborately the relevant statements which I made elsewhere[2] and which have not always been correctly understood by my colleagues.

The study of Indian religious terminology is in the first instance a philologist's concern, requiring, particularly, a training in semantics. Now semantics has often and in all probability rightly been called the most difficult province of linguistics.[3] In the nineteenth century after having slowly evolved from the time-honored lore of the rhetorical tropes founded by Aristotle and amplified in Hellenistic and Roman Antiquity,[4] this branch of linguistics has made more or less successful attempts to disengage itself from the logical and rhetorical classifications and explications inherited from its parent by seeking refuge with psychology;[5] by replacing logical classifications and sometimes also psychological explanations of semantic change by the influence of historical, social, or purely linguistic factors;[6] by determining the role played by connotations[7] and predominant semantic nuclei;[8] by emotion on the part of the speaker[9] and misunderstanding

[1] A. Weber, for instance, was biased in his view of ancient Indian kingship by the ideals and conditions of the Wilhelminic Germany (see J. C. Heesterman, *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration* [thesis, Utrecht, 1957], p. 5); the views on the relations between brahmans and the other classes of society were sometimes influenced by the point of view taken by an author and his surroundings with regard to clergy and religion.

[2] For instance, in J. Gonda, *Notes on Brahman* (Utrecht, 1950).

[3] For a short history of semantics see, e.g., S. Öhman, *Wortinhalt und Weltbild* (Stockholm, 1951), esp. chaps. i and ii; S. Ullmann, *The Principles of Semantics* (Glasgow, 1951), *passim;* P. Guiraud, *La Sémantique* (Paris, 1955); K. Baldinger, "Die Semasiologie," *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, XXX (Berlin, 1956), 148, 173.

[4] H. Lausberg, *Elemente der lateinischen Rhetorik* (München, 1949).

[5] Cf. H. Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* (2d ed.; Halle a.S., 1886), chap. iv.

[6] See, e.g., A. Meillet, "Comment les mots changent de sens," *Année sociologique* (1905–6); re-edited in *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale*, I (Paris, 1921), 230 ff.

[7] See, e.g., K. O. Erdmann, *Die Bedeutung des Wortes* (Leipzig, 1922).

[8] H. Kronasser, *Handbuch der Semasiologie* (Heidelberg, 1952), pp. 48 ff.

[9] H. Sperber, *Einführung in die Bedeutungslehre* (Bonn-Leipzig, 1923).

on the part of the hearer;[10] by studying the importance of the contexts and situations in which a word or word group is with a certain regularity used.[11] Whereas, moreover, the study of semantics has for many years been mainly concerned with semantic change, that is, with historical problems of the semantic development of individual words, interest began, in the twenties and thirties of this century, to be focused also on a study of coherent, coexistent word groups forming so-called semantic fields and their relations to similar "fields" composed of the same or similar names as they existed at a later date.[12] Eyes were opened to the possibility of distinguishing semantic "structures" and "structurations"—the latter term denoting the dynamic aspect, "le processus d'organisation structurelle."[13] It has been found that the "meanings" of the elements of a vocabulary group themselves so as to constitute wholes which are to a certain extent organized, the constituents maintaining mutual relations to each other as well as to the whole. There are "microstructures": "meanings" which are complex, consisting of semantic aspects, grouped round a "kernel"; there are also macrostructures or "fields" composed of groups of words which are in some way or other—morphologically, notionally, etc.—more closely associated. The very idea of "meaning" has, moreover, been subjected to criticism. We now know that "words" do not mean "things." "Meaning" is, in brief, a reciprocal relation between name (= *Wortform* or *Wortkörper*) and sense (*Sinn* or *Begriff*), between symbol and "thought" or "reference," which enables them to call up one another,[14] the "idea" or "reference" relating to the "thing itself." This insight, however, implies that, in studying the meanings of, for instance, religious terminology of

[10] See, e.g., M. Leumann, "Zum Mechanismus des Bedeutungswandels," *Indogermanische Forschungen*, XLV (1927), 105 ff. (=*Kleine Schriften* [Zurich, 1959], p. 286).

[11] J. Stöcklein, *Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Bedeutungslehre* (Dillingen, 1895).

[12] See, e.g., L. Weisgerber, "Vorschläge zur Methode und Terminologie der Wortforschung," *Indogerm. Forsch.*, XLVI (1928), 305 ff.; and by the same author, *Muttersprache und Geistesbildung* (Göttingen, 1929); J. Trier, "Das sprachliche Feld," *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung*, X (1934), 428 ff. We cannot enter into details, e.g., into the question as to how far semantic distinctions were, in particular cases, assumed under the influence of those who, afterward, began to reflect upon definitions, border-line cases, "synonyms," etc.; problems connected with the "adaptation" of terms when received into another community, etc. As is well known, these cases are far from imaginary in the history of Indian religion and philosophy.

[13] Tatiana Cazacu, "La 'structuration dynamique' des significations," in *Mélanges linguistiques* (Bucharest: Académie Roumaine, 1957), pp. 113 ff.

[14] See, e.g., C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning* (London, 1923), 3d ed., 1930, esp. chap. i; Ullmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 ff.; K. Ammer, *Einführung in die Sprachwissenschaft*, I (Halle a.S., 1958), 55 ff.

foreign peoples, it is no use trying to establish direct relations between their names and objective reality as known to us, or believed to be known by us. Nor is it a legitimate procedure to substitute our "ideas" ("references")—associated with the names by which the foreign names are usually translated—for the ideas which are really symbolized by the foreign terms.

Now it is a deplorable fact that scholars, namely, lexicographers in arranging various "meanings" of the same "word" in a dictionary; philologists in discussing the connections between different connotations of the same terms; historians in attempting to discover the "original" sense of a term of literary, religious, or economic import, as well as the authors of hand- and classbooks have often practically ignored the development of semantics during the last two or three generations. This development, though far from having established generally adopted "rules" or tendencies with regard to the mechanism of changes of meaning and techniques to be employed in determining the relation between any given set of senses expressed by a word or group of words, has nevertheless led us to consider semantic change a highly complicated process. Study of meaning and change of meaning of names, terms, or phrases requires in cases such as are under consideration not only a thorough philological and historical understanding of the contexts and situations in which the terms occur and a knowledge of the fundamentals of the "phenomenology" of religion—or comparative study of religions—but also an insight into semantic possibilities and intricacies and a readiness systematically to investigate the "semantic fields" to which the term belongs and the cultural system to which it is related. In fact the often very superficial discussion of semantic problems, is—probably as a rule unconsciously—founded on preconceived opinions or suppositions anachronistically derived from, or suggested by, modern conditions of life, our own Western traditions and age-long habits of thought. "Die indoeuropäische Semantik beruht nicht selten auf Auslegungen kulturgeschichtlicher Natur, die man erhalten hat vermittelst abstrakter logischer Konstruktionen, die dem primitiven[15] Menschen unzugänglich und geradewegs fremd sind."[16]

The so-called logical conditions of change enumerated under the

[15] In order to avoid misunderstanding I repeat what I have often observed in other publications: I admit the term "primitive" only in the scientific and technical sense given to it, for instance, by G. van der Leeuw (see esp. *L'Homme primitif et la religion* [Paris, 1940]), who did not tire of arguing that "primitiveness" refers to an "anthropological structure," from which the "civilized" and "educated" are, also in Western countries, by no means completely free.

[16] H. Arens, *Sprachwissenschaft* (Munich, 1955), p. 422, following N. Marr.

headings of the time-honored "figures of speech" and their modern reductions to the three logical categories of narrowing, widening, and transfer of sense[17] are largely dominated by a priori conceptions and are little more than highly simplified schematic formulations of very complicated and often prolonged processes.[18] Backgrounds, determining factors of a historical, social, and psychological order are left out of consideration; complex phenomena of different character are classified under one and the same denominator, because it is only the results of semantic shifts—if there are any—that are in a very superficial way taken into account.

Little indeed, with a view to a deeper understanding of ancient Indian thought and Weltanschauung, and of Vedic man's endeavor to penetrate into the hidden world beyond the phenomena, is gained by calling a definite contextual connotation of a word a metaphor or a "transferred meaning," or in observing that, for example, the Vedic *aṃśu,* meaning "the filament of the soma," may, by way of metonomy, be used for the soma-juice. What matters is to know why "these two meanings combined," what made the Vedic poets use this word in what would appear to us to be "two senses." What we would really like to know is by way of which association definite words were used in a "figurative" way—for example, the verb *tan-* "to stretch," to denote the idea of "performing the sacrifice"[19]—or word groups were formed which impress us as metaphorical—what was, for instance, the exact meaning of the words Ṛgveda 8, 48, 6 translated by Geldner: "wie das ausgeriebene Feuer sollst du (O Soma) mich in Feuer setzen"?[20] We would like to know whether there exists a preference for using words belonging to definite semantic groups in so-called transferred senses; how far the use of identical words reflects ideological identifications, etc. We may go further: When Geldner,[21] in a note to the Soma-hymn Ṛgveda 9, 29, 3 *vardhā samudram* "fill the ocean," observes that "ocean" here means "die mit dem Meere verglichene Menge des gepreszten Somas in der Kufe," the term "metaphor" would conceal the important fact that the ancient priests considered the celestial ocean (not an ordinary sea) and the soma-vessel to be identical, however much modern men would be inclined to take the existence of a mere sensual association between

[17] See Ullmann, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

[18] Cf. also J. R. Firth, *Papers in Linguistics* (London, 1957), p. 10.

[19] A. A. Macdonell puts it as "figuratively in the sense of to extend the web of the sacrifice" (*A Vedic Reader for Students* [Oxford, 1928], p. 198).

[20] K. F. Geldner, *Der Rigveda in Auswahl,* I (Stuttgart, 1907), 83.

[21] K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-veda übersetzt,* III (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), 28.

the soma contained in the large vessel and a real sea for granted. Thus *freier Raum* and *Ausweg* (*aus der Not*) are not completely adequate "equivalents" of "an original" and a "transferred" meaning of *varivas* (Ṛ.V. 4, 24, 2), or rather: Whereas the German expressions may be related to each other as proper sense and metaphor, the Indian word appears to express two context-bound nuances of one and the same "vague concept," which is subject to semantic association and amplification. And here the question also arises as to how far these expressions which impress us as "metaphores," transferred meanings, or figurative speech were "motivated" (i.e., felt as vivid, active, and expressive) and how far they were *cum* or *sine fundamento in re*, that is to say, either transferred or "figurative" uses based on the intuition of some real likeness of relations and belonging to the well-known and highly frequent type that has become ingrained into our common habits of expression, or indicative of a propensity to "identifications" and belonging to those products of speculative thought and imagination which play such an important role in the Weltanschauung of prescientific communities.[22]

What deserves special notice is the inclination of lexicographers and commentators to distribute the aspects of the total meaning of a term over a number of "senses" arranged in an order which though impressing the reader as reflecting a historical development is only a product of the ancient procedure of "logical" classification. Thus *daṃsas*, which means something like "marvelous skill or power," is believed to "mean": "1, feat, *Meisterwerk;* 2, *übernatürliches Vermögen*";[23] *māyā* is said to have, in the Ṛgveda, two distinct meanings: "1, *Verwandlung, Zauberkraft;* 2, *Illusion, Täuschung,*"[24] whereas this term as far as I am able to see[25] has, in fact, denoted "an incomprehensible wisdom and power ascribed to mighty beings and enabling its possessors to create or to do something which is beyond the ability of ordinary men"; *druh* is considered to be, on the one hand, *Falsch, Falschheit,* and on the other, *Täuschung;*[26] *dharman,* according to the dictionaries, "established order of things," "steadfast decree" as well as "practice and custom."

Sometimes the occurrence of a "specialized" meaning is assumed—e.g., *iḷā* "invigoration, spécialisé en breuvage invigorant (offert à

[22] See, e.g., E. Leisi, *Der Wortinhalt, seine Struktur im Deutschen und Englischen* (Heidelberg, 1953).

[23] Geldner, *Der Rigveda in Auswahl,* I, 78.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

[25] See my "Sense and Etymology of Sanskrit Māyā," in *Four Studies in the Language of the Veda* (The Hague, 1959), pp. 119 ff.

[26] Geldner, *Der Rigveda in Auswahl,* I, 88.

un dieu au sacrifice . . .)"[27]—or an abstract term is said to express a concrete sense where a closer investigation into the use of the term and the idea for which it stands may have us question the correctness of the statement. We should not forget that all men, especially those who have not undergone a special intellectual training, are often inclined to refer to manifestations, results, materializations, etc., of power rather than abstractions and generalizations.[28] The *sprachlichen Vorstellungen* normally result from experience acquired in numberless concrete situations in which the results and consequences are, as a rule, more evident than causes and determining factors, individual cases more significant than generalizations; representations, localizations, and manifestations more perceptible than the "power-concepts" themselves. Hence the well-known feature of many vocabularies to refer to "power-concepts" and their manifestations, to actions and effects, to ideas and their materializations by the same word.[29] The Greek ὕβρις, for instance, is "outrage" as well as "insolence," and lexicographers remark that "it is often difficult to separate the concrete sense from the abstract"; ἀρετή is "excellence" and "glorious deed" or "active merit; reward of excellence." In Sanskrit, *śravas* does not only denote "glory" but also "glorious deed(s)"; *yaśas* not rarely refers to those objects or circumstances from which man derives honor, and a horse may be called a *vāja* (which roughly speaking seems to be the generative power by which new food and new life is obtained).[30] Often powers and divinities are essentially identical with their manifestations and vice versa.[31] *Daseinsmächte,* which we would like to interpret as "abstract ideas," mainly were the totality of all objects, persons, and phenomena, in which and by which they manifested themselves. At a certain stage of development "un Mo-

[27] L. Renou, "Hymnes à Varuna," in *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes,* VII (Paris, 1960), 10.

[28] See, e.g., W. Havers, *Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax* (Heidelberg, 1931), p. 115; Kronasser, *op. cit.,* pp. 114 ff.

[29] This is, of course, not to deny that an "abstract" term can assume a "concrete" sense.

[30] These facts may, of course, also be illustrated by "ethnological parallels," but they do not stand or fall with their reliability, as is suggested by P. Thieme ("Bráhman," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* CII, 97), who, pursuing his own lines of thought, has completely misunderstood my argument. It is not clear to me how my words: "all that is connected with such power-concepts or represents them can, in principle, bear the same name (i.e., all that is connected with *vāja* may be called *vāja,* all that is of the nature of *iḷā* may bear the name *iḷā,* etc.)" (*Notes on Brahman* [Utrecht, 1950], p. 39), should be interpreted as: "Brahman kann alles, was nur irgend mit einer Kraftvorstellung verbunden ist, bezeichnen."

[31] See also P. Radin, *Die religiöse Erfahrung der Naturvölker* (Zurich, 1951), pp. 58, 75.

abite n'est pas un individu appartenant à la tribu de Moab, mais une révélation du total qui s'appelle Moab."[32]

In accordance with a view already expressed by W. von Humboldt and developed, in the last four decades, more theoretically in special connection with semantic problems concerning culturally important terms in their mother tongue by German scholars (L. Weisgerber, J. Trier[33]) and ethnolinguistically in connection with non-Indo-European languages chiefly by Americans (E. Sapir, B. L. Whorf, H. Hoijer[34]), languages are not only means of reflection or devices for reporting experience; they are also ways of defining, analyzing, and categorizing experience; of directing the perceptual and other faculties of their speakers with regard to it into definite channels; of providing them with habitual modes of analyzing what they observe, perceive, or feel into significant categories; of organizing through their structural semantic systems the world of experience in which their speakers live and of creating, so to say, an intermediate world between objective reality and the speakers.

Vocabulary being a way in which a community classifies the sum total of its experiences, the "meanings" (or rather "senses") of the "words" ("names") are far from being the same in all languages. The "meanings" into which all that has been and is observed, perceived, thought, or felt is classified are to a large extent culturally and traditionally determined or modified, varying considerably from culture to culture. Even when an Englishman and an Iroquois use their term for "father," "they are not giving linguistic recognition to precisely the same set of distinctive features."[35] In speaking our own language, we respond not to all features of a situation but to some selected ones to which we have, in our own cultural tradition, learned to respond. Our linguistic labeling selects different features of a situation for the purpose of a classification. "Jede Sprache ist dem Sein gegenüber ein Auswahlsystem, und zwar ein solches, das

[32] G. van der Leeuw, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[33] See, e.g., L. Weisgerber, *Vom Weltbild der deutschen Sprache* (Düsseldorf, 1950).

[34] E. Sapir, *Selected Writings* (Los Angeles, 1949), pp. 160 ff. and 389 ff.; B. L. Whorf, *Four Articles on Metalinguistics* (Washington, D.C., 1949); J. H. Greenberg, "Concerning Inferences from Linguistic to Nonlinguistic Data," in *Language in Culture*, ed. H. Hoijer ("American Anthropological Association Mem.," No. 79 [Chicago, 1954]), pp. 8 ff.; S. Newman, "Semantic Problems in Grammatical Systems and Lexemes, in *Language in Culture*, p. 89; H. Hoijer, "The Relation of Language to Culture," in *Anthropology Today*, ed. A. L. Kroeber (Chicago, 1953), pp. 554 ff.; R. Lado, *Linguistics across Cultures* (Ann Arbor, 1957), pp. 77–78.

[35] F. G. Lounsbury, in *Language in Culture*, ed. H. Hoijer ("American Anthropological Association Mem.," No. 79 [Chicago, 1954]), p. 137.

jeweils ein in sich vollkommen geschlossenes Seinsbild schafft."[36] Striking examples may be given with respect to terms relating to the physical environment. Whereas the speakers of the modern Western languages, which have about seven or eight principal color terms—white, yellow, red, blue, green, brown, black—are, in a way which is for themselves a matter of course, accustomed to divide the continuum of the natural color spectrum in the first instance into these "principal colors"; the ancient Greeks, whose language has another classification, had, for instance, to resort to one and the same word where we would say either "yellow," "green," or "grayish-brown." Whereas the American language, Navaho, has two terms roughly corresponding to our "black," it denotes "blue" and "green" by a single term. This has nothing to do with color-blindness on the part of the ancient Greeks and other peoples, as was believed by some classical philologists some sixty years ago. Nor does it prevent the speakers of these languages from using terms comparable to "cornflower blue," "blood red" to indicate color nuances. Although the conclusion that those speaking a language can be aware only of those distinctions which are provided by semantic differences in words and idioms would, indeed, be an exaggeration, the "world" in which they live is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the community to which they belong.

That the difficulties encountered in translating are for the greater part due to the differences in what was called by Von Humboldt the "inner speech-form" has over and over again been argued, by Schopenhauer[37]—who, while drawing attention to the differences between German *Geist,* French *esprit,* English *wit;* Greek *ὁρμή,* Latin *impetus,* German *Andrang;* French *malice,* German *Bosheit,* English *wickedness,* observed that all translations necessarily are imperfect and defective: "fast nie kann man irgendeine charakteristische, prägnante, bedeutsame Periode aus einer Sprache in die andere so übertragen, dasz sie genau und vollkommen dieselbe Wirkung hat"[38]—and by modern linguists and anthropologists who have attempted to penetrate into the different "worlds of reality" in which peoples speaking different languages live: the understanding of a text "involves not merely an understanding of the single words in their average significance, but a full comprehension of the whole life of the community as it is mirrored in the words, or as it is suggested

[36] Weisgerber, *Weltbild,* p. 159.

[37] Schopenhauer, *Parerga und Parallipomena,* Vol. II, chap. xxv.

[38] Cf. also, e.g., H. Güntert and A. Scherer, *Grundfragen der Sprachwissenschaft* (Heidelberg, 1956), pp. 54–55.

by their overtones."[39] Examples are indeed numberless: the Greek ἀρετή and σωφροσύνη do not correspond to the English "goodness" or "excellence" and "prudence, temperance" by which they are translated; nor does the English *virtue* coincide with the Latin *virtus* from which it derives. How difficult it is to penetrate into the exact meaning of those terms that in foreign languages express some idea comparable to our "holy" (Gr. ἅγιος, ἱερός, ὅσιος, Lat. sacer) or "worship" (Gr. σέβομαι, Lat. adorare) is too well known to need illustrating. It is, notwithstanding the prolonged practice adopted by many authors of translating Indian religious terms by words colored by the Christian view of life, impossible to give an exact idea of their sense by means of our religious and philosophical vocabularies however rich they may be. *Brahmaṇya* is not "pious," a *vedi* is not an "altar," a *yajña* no "sacrifice." "Gottesliebe" or "fromme Ergebenheit"[40] do not do justice to the wealth of implications of the Sanskrit term *bhakti*, which was recently defined as follows:[41]

> It is man's participating of God, at once "intellectual" and devotional;[42] it is the constant rememorization of the ātman's total subservience to God, inspired and animated by a perfect love of worship in which the knowledge of God as the possessor of all perfections, as the merciful saviour and as the sole cause of the universe completely terminates. It culminates in a mystic ecstasy of love so ardent that the aspirant cannot live for a moment separated from God: all his happiness depends on his contact with God; his most humble act is an expression of his all-pervading love for God.

When, therefore, in some recent publications in the field of Vedic religion attempts were made to translate important Sanskrit terms by one single modern European word, there is a strong a priori probability that the conclusions at which the authors arrive are to some extent erroneous. In his remarkable posthumous book on Varuṇa H. Lüders[43] endeavors to show that the much discussed *ṛta*, of which the god is said to be a "guardian," is completely identical with German *die Wahrheit*. Although this sense is somewhat specified: "*Ṛta* bezeichnet ausschlieszlich die Wahrheit des gesprochenen Wortes oder des Gedankens,"[44] no definition is given. But here we are

[39] H. Hoijer, in *Language in Culture*, p. 92.

[40] See, e.g., H. v. Glasenapp, *Die Philosophie der Inder* (Stuttgart, 1949), pp. 60, 488.

[41] By J. A. B. van Buitenen, *Rāmānuja on the Bhagavadgītā* (thesis, Utrecht, 1953), p. 22.

[42] These terms too should not lead us astray!

[43] H. Lüders, *Varuṇa* (Göttingen, 1951–59). For an ample discussion of the special problem under consideration see my review which is to appear in the periodical *Oriens* (Istanbul-Leiden, in press).

[44] Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 635.

confronted with another difficulty which would appear to be likewise minimized by many authors, namely, the extreme vagueness of many words and idioms in any language.[45] Being largely based on unanalyzed mental wholes, "names" as used by the ordinary speaker often stand for vague and unanalyzed "ideas," which are often surrounded by an aura of emotions and impressions. What is *Wahrheit?* "*Quid est ergo tempus?*" St. Augustine[46] exclaimed, "si nemo ex me quaerat, scio, si quaerenti explicare velim, nescio." Implicit vagueness is indeed, though highly variable, the most striking characteristic of word sense. It is a consequence of the process of abstraction by which our "concepts" are evolved. There is a wide gap between the virtual sense of a word in the language system and the actualized sense of speech contexts. Scholars are too often inclined tacitly to assume the existence, in the usage of the average speaker, of the clear-cut demarcation lines delimiting their own scientific concepts. In reality, the sense of a word is essentially "open," inviting supplementation. This openness and lack of firm contours is, Ullmann rightly observes,[47] reflected in the "zonal" structure of the sense, the belts of varying determinateness clustering around its inner core. The mental content corresponding to abstract notions is admittedly still less distinct, the lack of sharp demarcation being not rarely a property of the referent itself. Often one can hardly imagine how an abstraction could exist at all without the help of language.[48]

What then is, according to Lüders, *Wahrheit?* Is it some "idea" vaguely opposite to "lie" or "falsehood," or is it something like "sincerity" or some other indefinite notion applied by those who speak German without unanimousness to a variety of concrete facts or situations? Or should we believe *Wahrheit* to express the substantival idea corresponding to what is, in explanation, added to the adjective "wahr" in some authoritative German dictionary? Or should we look for a definition in the works of a distinguished German philosopher? To these questions Lüders does not answer. Nor does he inform us of his view as to whether *ṛta* may, or must, be translated, into French

[45] On the lack of precision of many words see, e.g., K. O. Erdmann, *op. cit.* (4th ed., Leipzig, 1925); S. Ullmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 92 ff., 107–8 (with a Bibliography) and by the same author, *Précis de sémantique française* (Paris-Berne, 1952), pp. 132 ff.; F. Paulhan, "Qu'est-ce que le sens des mots," *Journal de psychologie*, XXV (1928), 289 ff.

[46] Augustine, *Confessions* xi. 26.

[47] Ullmann, *Principles*, p. 93.

[48] When anything is described by a single word, the idea is apt to be represented as an actualization without accidents of a thing in itself, endowed with an independent existence. See also Toshihiko Izutsu, *Language and Magic* (Tokyo, 1956), chaps. v and vi.

by *vérité*, into English by *truth*. (As is well known German *Wahrheit*, English *truth*, Latin *veritas* "true or real nature, reality; truthfulness, truth, integrity, etc.," are not synonyms.) To put it briefly, did Lüders really mean that the inherent vagueness, the connotations, and the range of applicability of German *Wahrheit*—whatever its value as a practical expedient in a rough translation—coincide with the Vedic *ṛta*, which forms part of the vocabulary of a community whose views of reality, the nature, power, and function of human speech, words, and statements, and the mutual relations between the spoken word and reality were different from those of both the average German and the modern German scholars and philosophers?[49]

How easily we may be liable to misunderstandings with regard to the content and range of application of words belonging to archaic and foreign cultures may appear from Lüders' argument[50] that the term *satya* by which *ṛta* was in the course of time replaced, and which is, in German, likewise translated by *wahr*, was a synonym ("*ṛta* und *satya* . . . (sind) zwei ganz gleiche Dinge"). It would rather appear to me that both words symbolize complementary ideas—compare, for example, Taitt. Saṃh. 5, 1, 5, 8 *ṛtaṃ satyam ity aheyaṃ vā ṛtam asau satyam* " '*ṛtam satyam*,' he says, this (earth) is *ṛta*, yonder (sky) is *satyam*." A thorough investigation into the sense expressed and the syntactic combinations formed by these words—which cannot, of course, be instituted here—will no doubt reveal a considerable number of more or less similar marginal meanings as well as a difference in semantic kernel and range of application between these two terms.[51] The etymological sense of *satya* "belonging to, related to the *sat*, that is, the existent, being, real" is not rarely undeniable; it is often used to qualify an "object" as really being what it is said or thought to be, as being in harmony or agreement with real facts or reality. That however "reality" (*sat*) and its oppositum denoted by *asat* were to the mind of Vedic man not identical with our concept of reality—in whatever sense we would prefer to take it—may

[49] No more than passing mention can be made here of the critical remarks made by other scholars. Renou (*op. cit.*, VII, 16), while justly observing that "aucune traduction ne saurait rendre ṛta, terme hérité, qui était sans doute perçu comme une entité inanalysable par les ṛṣi" is, in contradistinction to P. Thieme, who regards the problem as settled (*op. cit.*, CI, 418), and M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasztes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, I (Heidelberg, 1953), 122, who from the point of view of meaning leaves his readers in the dark: "*ṛta* 'Wahrheit' zu **ar-* 'fügen' "—of the opinion that a meaning "order" "couvre commodément l'ensemble de cette pensée 'corrélative' qu'on sait depuis Bergaigne être la trame même du Ṛgveda; 'vérité' n'est qu'aspect, à notre avis, de 'ordre' et un aspect secondaire qu'il n'y a pas profit à promouvoir au rang d'acception élémentaire."

[50] Lüders, *op. cit.*, pp. 406 ff., 642.

[51] Some details may be found in my above review of Lüders' book.

appear from the important article by Norman Brown[52] on which it would have been interesting to learn Lüders' opinion. After having collected the references to the structure of the universe, Professor Brown arrives at the conclusion that

> the universe, as Ṛgvedic man saw it, was in two parts. One being that in which the gods and men live . . . , this he called *Sat* "the Existent." Below the earth . . . was a place of horror, inhabited only by demons, the *Asat* (the Non-Existent). . . . To make the *Sat* operate perfectly, every creature had his duty, his personal function (*vrata*), and when he lived by it he was an observer of the *Ṛta,* the inhabitants of the *Asat* looking for every opportunity to injure the *Ṛta*-observing beings of the earth and sky.

Norman Brown therefore translates *ṛta* by "universal cosmic law," which, of course, is also an attempt at elucidating what the Vedic authors may have meant rather than an equivalent.

Here we encounter another weak point of many arguments in the field of the history of religious thought: the ease with which two or more indigenous terms are declared to be synonymous, whereas competent linguists are agreed that total synonymity is an extremely rare occurrence.[53] The senses of two "names," though superficially regarded as identical, are indeed rarely coextensive, partly because of their inherent vagueness and partly because of their different emotive "overtones." Terms such as "liberty" and "freedom" or "aid" and "assistance" are only pseudo-synonyms, because they cannot, without suggesting any difference in either cognitive of emotive import, replace each other in any given context. If, therefore, Lüders' opinion[54] that "*ṛta* in (Ṛgveda) 1, 46, 41 ein Synonym von *gir, stoma, hava, brahman, pratiṣṭuti* und *mantra* ist"—these names are rendered by "(Kult)lied"—should be understood literally, it would be hard to substantiate.[55] All those terms have their own connotations, their own range of meaning, referring to definite aspects of ideas for which we, perhaps, have terms of our own; or rather, they denote, in definite contexts, special aspects or applications of "ideas"—their semantic kernels—for which we often have no simple names, and of which we cannot always easily determine the dominant semantic

[52] W. Norman Brown, "The Ṛigvedic Equivalent for Hell," in *Journal American Oriental Society*, LXI (1941), 76; "The Creation Myth of the Rig-Veda," *op. cit.*, LXII (1942), 85.

[53] See, e.g., L. Bloomfield, *Language* (London, 1935), p. 145; Ullmann, *Principles*, pp. 108 ff. and *passim;* Ch. Bally, *Traité de stylistique française*, I[2] (Heidelberg-Paris), 96–97, 140 ff.

[54] Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

[55] The differences between some terms belonging to this "semantic field" were discussed by Renou, "Les pouvoirs de la parole dans le Ṛgveda," *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, I (Paris, 1955), 1 ff.

elements. Those many words which in a variety of contexts may incidentally be translated by *Kultlied* do in point of fact sometimes admit of that translation, because the idea they stand for may materialize as such a hymn considered in a special aspect or from a definite point of view. And there are good grounds for believing that *ṛta* when translatable by *Kultlied* is not merely a materialization of "Wahrheit des gesprochenen Wortes," as Lüders takes it. For in Ṛgveda (ṚV.) 1, 153, 3 and elsewhere the cow doubtless yields her milk with a view to the cult itself, for the sacrifice, which may also be called a *ṛta*, not for the hymns.[56] In short, the sense *Wahrheit* is only admissible, if we deprive the German term of a considerable part of its semantic contents, extending it by Procrustean methods and defining it artificially as if it were an ancient Indian concept. But what is gained by doing so?

Without entering into details and abandoning any intent to demonstrate that some concept similar to the German *Wahrheit* was, if the present author is not mistaken, only one of the aspects of what was really understood by *ṛta*, attention may now be drawn to another point. According to Lüders,[57] passages, such as ṚV. 5, 1, 7 where Agni is stated to have spread or extended sky and earth by (the) *ṛta*, are of a secondary character, representing a later stage of development. As there are, as far as I am able to see, no philological grounds to regard these texts integrally as younger, Lüders' inference must have been based on a semantic argumentation: "das *Ṛta* (wird) schlieszlich zu einem Urgrund aller Dinge; . . . es (ist) im Veda nicht ein bloszer Begriff geblieben." How are we to know for certain that originally it was a mere *Begriff* that "assumed" in course of time *sinnliche Formen?* Too often these apparently historical developments assumed by authors of books and articles on ancient Indian religion really are pseudo-solutions of pseudo-problems which owe their existence mainly to the supposition that these vague, complex, indefinite, prescientific termini are really analyzable in different "meanings" which have developed from each other in such a way as would be in tune with some more or less preconceived scheme of our devising. Too often it has been forgotten that the apparent polysemy[58] of many

[56] Otherwise, Lüders, *op. cit.*, pp. 424–25.

[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 568 ff., 584.

[58] One instance may be quoted in illustration: According to R. Roth in the Petrograd dictionary (O. Böhtlingk–R. Roth, *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, VI [St. Petersburg, 1852–75]), 1495 ff., *vrata* means, as far as the Ṛgveda is concerned, "Wille, Gebot, Gesetz, vorgeschriebene Ordnung; Botmässigkeit; Gebiet; geordnete Reihe, Reich; Beruf, gewohnte Tätigkeit; (religiöse) Pflicht." In 1954 this explication was endorsed by P. V. Kane, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXIX, 1 ff., who derived the other "meanings" from the first mentioned, "will."

ancient Indian terms—like the often hopelessly divergent explications and translations of one and the same word[59]—is only a consequence of the impossibility of translating them into our languages. I for one am not convinced that those texts,[60] which exhibit *ṛta* in the sense of *weltschaffende und welterhaltende Macht* are from a "logical" and "historical" point of view secondary in character. Rather, it would appear to me, that *ṛta,* in the Ṛgveda, is a cosmic, metaphysical *Daseinsmacht*[61]—that is, "power-substance" which, within some form of experience, is supposed to be present in persons, things, nature, and phenomena and by virtue of which these are, each in their own way, powerful, influential, effective, and endowed with something which is beyond the bounds of normal human understanding—which makes its existence felt in the regular course of the natural phenomena, in the harmony and regularity of the normal (and therefore right) and natural (and therefore real) condition and character of the processes in nature and cosmos, in the world of men as well as in that of the gods; that it is a constructive and fundamental principle accepted to express the belief in a harmonic structure of the universe and a regular course of the phenomena occurring in it. This principle which gives manifold evidence of its existence may also materialize in human speech, in the word of the poet by which it is stated and described and which, if it is believed to be in harmony with the *ṛta,* assumes the character of "truth."

A point on which professors Thieme[62] and Renou[63] disagree concerns the application of a principle adopted by the latter to establish, wherever possible, the *sens initial* of a name. As, however, the great difficulty is that the initial sense is in so many instances not known, Thieme advocates the view that we must hazard a conjecture as to what might be a likely "initial meaning" (or *acception authentique, linguistiquement valable*); the correctness of that conjecture must be established experimentally: if the "central idea" hypothetically adopted is recognizable in all the passages of the Ṛgveda—why should

[59] Thus *dharma* was, in the last decade, rendered by "the divinely ordained norm of good conduct" (Basham); "moral and religious duties" (R. C. Majumdar and others); "law, nature, rule, ideal, norm, quality, entity, truth, element, category" (P. T. Raju); "moral law, merit, virtue," or "ethical living" (Radhakrishnan); "a religion which sets up laws and rules" or "Tugendübung; das geheiligte Gesetz" (Eidlitz); "divine moral order" or "life-task and duty" (Zimmer).

[60] Quoted by Lüders, *op. cit.*, pp. 568–80.

[61] For Daseinsmächte see H. von Glasenapp, *Entwicklungsstufen des indischen Denkens* (Halle a.S., 1940), pp. 9 ff.

[62] See Thieme, Review of Renou's *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes,* I, *Journal American Oriental Society,* LXXVII (New Haven, 1957), 51 ff.

[63] Renou, "Les pouvoirs de la parole dans le Ṛgveda," *op. cit.*, I, 1 ff.

we, by the way, limit ourselves to this corpus?—where the word naming this notion occurs, our conjecture will be right. The risk of erring is, however, especially in the cases of vocables of infrequent occurrence, far from negligible. It is not always difficult to find a vague term fitting in with our views of the contents of the ancient and foreign texts, or to adopt a primary "profane sense"—"eine Vorstellung, die sich aus der Erfahrung, der Beobachtung der Umwelt mit Leichtigkeit und Selbstverständlichkeit abstrahieren läszt"[64]—if we overlook the nowadays established fact that "each pattern of the environment is tied up with a particular community and is in large part identifiable only through the labels attached to it in that community,"[65] that therefore our way of categorizing experience by means of our vocabulary need not correspond to that of the pre- and protohistoric Indians; if we take for granted that the relation between "Vorstellungen, die auf spekulativen Annahmen beruhen und sinnlicher Erfahrung nicht zugänglich gemacht werden können," on the one hand, and "concrete" and "profane" senses, on the other, is, in all times and in any community, a constant.

Besides, the terminology adopted ("initial meaning" used as opposed to "values which are just underlying and figurative"[66]) may lead to a confusion of ideas: the etymologically "initial sense" (or the most ancient sense) is not necessarily identical with the main or central sense occurring at a given period or in a definite body of literature; it may even be retained as a special sense which impresses us as "transferred." The search for an "initial sense," moreover, is apt to make us overestimate the import of an "etymological sense," the hypothetical character of which is not always adequately realized. Although it be far from me to deny the value, in this connection, of etymological research, it would appear to me that it may lead its adepts to one-sided analytical and anatomizing procedures, causing them to forget that religious terminology also is, in a given culture, organized or structured into a systematic whole, and, because it has historically arisen, is subject to change. The fact that languages belong to the same family does not prove that they have the same fashions of speaking or express the same "worlds of ideas." Nor does it imply that etymologically cognate words can always offer reliable starting points for establishing "initial senses."

[64] Thieme, Review of D. J. Hoens' *Sānti* (thesis, Utrecht, 1951), *Oriens*, VI (Leiden, 1953), 397.

[65] M. B. Emeneau, "Language and Non-linguistic Patterns," *Language*, XXIX (1953), 199 ff.

[66] Thieme, *Journal American Oriental Society*, LXXVII (1957), 54.

Not infrequently, however, authors make, on the tacit assumption that a Vedic *weltanschauliche* term may be translated by one modern word, an attempt at testing a hypothesis with regard to the "meaning" of that term by investigating whether it fits in all the passages in which it occurs. In following this procedure, they have, however, sometimes overestimated the validity of its results and the cogency of their argumentation. In many cases the Procrustean method, of which we have already disapproved, allows them to regard any text, in which the substitution of a modern term for the original Vedic does not lead to a manifest absurdity, as a confirmation of their hypothesis.[67] Another source of errors lies in the supposition that a, or the, meaning which belongs to a definite word in post-Vedic times must have been its "semantic nucleus" from the earliest texts. Both pitfalls proved detractive to the merits of the book on *vrata*—one of the key words of the Ṛgveda, a correct understanding of which is vital for gaining an insight into the religious attitude of its poets—by H. P. Schmidt,[68] in which "die konstante Übersetzung 'Gelübde' sowohl zu merkwürdigen inhaltlichen Konsequenzen führt ['das ganze Naturgeschehen beruht nach diesen beiden Strophen auf Gelübden,' S. 26], als auch von vornherein die Möglichkeit sprachlicher Entwicklung ausschlieszt."[69] The translation *Gelübde* ("vow, solemn and inviolable promise") is, however, manifestly incorrect, because in the Ṛgveda a *vrata*—the term occurs over 200 times—is never, like a vow, made or taken, and practically limited to the sphere of the gods; it is, moreover, impossible to describe the fact that a god has extended sky and earth (ṚV. 3, 6, 5), marked off the expanse of the earth (8, 42, 1), or simply came (2, 24, 12) as his *Gelübden*.[70]

The same term *vrata*—which sometimes seems to verge on the ideas of rule of conduct, fixed and regular behavior, function, observance—may serve to illustrate another methodical imperfection: a definite "meaning"—which, as already stated, often exists only in a translation—is considered to be from the historical point of view primary or original on account of etymological[71] arguments. Accord-

[67] For similar criticism see W. P. Schmid, in *Kratylos*, V (Wiesbaden, 1960), 44.

[68] H. P. Schmidt, *Vedisch "vrata" und awestisch "urvata"* (Hamburg, 1958).

[69] W. P. Schmid, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[70] See also Renou, *op. cit.*, VII (Paris, 1960), 9; "Gelübde: traduction plausible à condition qu'on y intègre conventionnellement les valeurs que définit Schmidt mais que le mot "vœu" est incapable de porter sans commentaire."

[71] The technical term "etymology" is used here in the traditional sense: "the tracing of a word back to its original form and meaning by the methods of comparative linguistics," because that is what it means to the authors quoted and what is meant in the text. For a more modern view of the task of the etymologist see W. von Wartburg, *Einführung in Problematik und Methodik der Sprachwissenschaft* (Halle a.S., 1943), pp. 105–6.

ing to A. Bezzenberger,[72] all "meanings" of *vrata* derive from *Gebot* and *Verpflichtung* or *Verabredung*, because the word, in his opinion, belongs to the root *ver-*, "to speak." H. Oldenberg[73] modified this view as follows: "Für *vrata* ... scheint die Etymologie eine ursprüngliche Bedeutung etwa von 'Wort' d.h. 'Befehl' zu ergeben" (as if these two senses were identical or the latter were an explanation of the former). He added the far from conclusive remark: "Damit im Einklang läszt der Sprachgebrauch des Rigveda bei *vrata* besonders gern so zu sagen zwei Parteien hervortreten." In Bergaigne's[74] eyes the term, however, derived from another *ver-* in the sense of "protecting," so that it originally was something like *etaiement, protection.* Whitney,[75] who considered *vṛt-* "to turn (round), move" to be the root of the word, argued that its primary sense was "course" and hence, on the one hand, "habitual, established, usual, or approved course of action or line of conduct," and, on the other "a special act or series of acts or ceremonies of an obligatory character, imposed by morality or religion."

Now, although all etymologies in the field of comparative Indo-European linguistics are hypothetical in nature, part of them are, as such, at first sight completely convincing and beyond dispute. Yet in the special province of religious terminology these evident and unchallenged equations are comparatively rare, and even they give rise to semantic problems. There is, for instance, no doubt whatever that within the solid framework of our Indo-European theory Sanskrit *dyaus*, Greek Ζεύς and Latin *Iup-piter Iovis* and *diēs* are each in their own language the successors of one and the same "original" word **dyēus*. But Latin *dies* means "day" and "daylight," Ζεύς and *Iuppiter* are names of gods, and *dyaus* stands for "sky" and also for "day"; *dyaus* occurs, it is true, as a god, but it is far from occupying the position assigned to *Zeus* by the Greeks.[76] Max Müller's[77] enthusiastic inference, intelligible though it was, that this simple equation proves that the ancestors of Homer and Cicero worshiped for a time the same supreme deity, was not devoid of simplification. It is easy

[72] A. Bezzenberger, "Vermischtes," *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, I (Göttingen, 1877), 253–54.

[73] H. Oldenberg, *Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇa-Texte* (Göttingen, 1919), p. 188.

[74] A. Bergaigne, *La Religion védique*, III (Paris, 1883), 210 ff.

[75] W. D. Whitney, *Journal American Oriental Society*, XI (1885), 229 ff.

[76] See, e.g., A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology* (Strasbourg, 1897), pp. 21–22.

[77] Max Müller, *Anthropological Religion* (London, 1892), p. 82.

to construct an I.-E. *dyēus* "heaven, sky, day, also as a deity";[78] it is but difficult to decide whether the lack of prominence of the deity (the "personal meaning" of the word) is inherited from the original Indo-Europeans—what was, in harmony with the evolutionist trends of thought of his days affirmed by Macdonell[79]—or has arisen from a special prehistoric development in Indo-Iranian, or was due to a preference, in the cultural milieu reflected by our Vedic texts, to other gods, for instance, to Indra.[80] It is, moreover, beyond doubt that the Sanskrit *deva* "god," like the Latin *deus*, derives from the same stem **dyeu-*, which underlies the above **dyēus*; but it would be imprudent to follow Hertel[81] and Apte[82] in regarding the Vedic *devas* integrally as "gods of light," *Lichtmächte* or even as "luminaries"[83]—"das arische Wort *daiva*, vedisch *deva* ist . . . abgeleitet von **diu̯* 'Himmelslicht' . . . , demgemasz sind alle arischen daiva Licht- oder Feuerwesen . . ." because the texts, though sometimes associating the *devas* with the celestial light (see, e.g., R̥V. 1, 19, 6) and connecting the latter with the names of definite *devas*,[84] attribute the name to various kinds of superhuman and powerful beings fulfilling a variety of functions and concerned with different provinces of thought and nature. "It is absurd to suggest that when gods are opposed to demons the sky gods alone are meant, still more absurd to find them alone designated when gods, fathers, and men are discriminated."[85] How the "semantic shift" —which from the point of view of traditional semantics is only a "widening of meaning"—took place, how *daēva*, in the Avesta, came

[78] See, e.g., M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasztes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, II (Heidelberg, 1957), 70.

[79] Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 22, who is even inclined to defend the thesis that "the personification" was in R̥gvedic times of a more advanced type than in the period of original Indo-European.

[80] See, e.g., Max Müller, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion* (German trans., 1880), II, 398–99.

[81] J. Hertel, *Die Sonne und Mithra im Avesta* (Leipzig, 1927), p. 2 and *passim*.

[82] V. M. Apte, "All about 'vrata' in the R̥gveda," *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, III (1942), 407 ff.

[83] C. D. Buck, *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages* (Chicago, 1949), p. 1464, is in contradistinction to Grace Sturtevant Hopkins ("Indo-European **deivos* and Related Words" [Yale Univ. dissertation, 1932]), who questions the underlying notion of "brightness," inclined to ascribe to Ζεύς, *Iuppiter*, *dyaus* as well as Lat. *deus*, Skt. *deva*, etc., the common idea of "bright, shining." Cf. also the observation made by M. Eliade, *Traité d'histoire des religions* (Paris, 1949), p. 69: "Le simple fait que le nom du dieu aryen du ciel met l'accent sur le caractère brillant et serein n'exclut pas les autres théophanies ouraniennes de la personnalité de **Diēus*."

[84] I refer to C. W. J. van der Linden, *The Concept of Deva* (thesis, Utrecht, 1954), pp. 37–38.

[85] A. B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and the Upanishads* (Cambridge, Mass., 1925), pp. 75–76.

to denote those gods which were rejected by part of the worshipers,[86] and how Ζεύς assumed his specific Greek character is not revealed by any etymological acuteness.

There are, however, many etymological explications of words which are only possibilities because these words may, formally and semantically, be explained as deriving from two or more roots, that is to say, as belonging to two or even more word groups in the same language or in cognate languages. For example, the name of the god Viṣṇu[87] may be intrepreted[88] as "lord of the spacious upland plains" (*vi snu*, cf. *sānu* "surface, table-hand")[89] or as "the active one" (*vi-* or *vī-* "to hasten, to be active"[90] or *viṣ-* "to be active"[91]). As long as the probability of one of these opinions and the complete untenability of the others have not been conclusively established, we had better avoid making these possibilities elements of our argumentation. However, as unsolved problems when suiting a definite line of thought often fascinate the minds of imprudent scholars to such an extent as to pass for basic facts, these "etymological considerations" have not rarely played an important role in the discussions of the meaning of Vedic terms, the character of gods, etc.: "auf diese Vorstellung von Schreiten durch weite Räume führt immer wieder die stehende Phraseologie der Viṣṇuhymnen und auch die kaum zweifelhafte Etymologie des Namens Viṣṇu hin."[92] Founding himself on the same etymological possibility, another scholar,[93] however, argued that Viṣṇu was the one who *die Fläche auseinanderbreitet;* "the evidence appears to justify the inference that he (Viṣṇu) was originally conceived as the sun, not in his general character, but as the personified swiftly moving luminary, which with vast strides traverses the whole universe. This explanation would be borne out by the derivation from the root *viṣ-* which . . . primarily means 'to be active' ";[94] "Viṣṇu (war) ur-

[86] See also I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge, 1959), p. 51.

[87] We leave attempts at deriving it from the language of the non-Aryan substratum out of account.

[88] A survey of the etymological speculations with regard to this name may be found in my *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism* (Utrecht, 1954), p. 4.

[89] See, e.g., M. Bloomfield, "The Interpretation of the Veda," *American Journal of Philology*, XVII, 427–28.

[90] E. W. Hopkins, "Indra as a God of Fertility," *Journal American Oriental Society*, XXXVI, 264.

[91] Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 39.

[92] H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (4th ed.; Stuttgart-Berlin, 1923), p. 230 (following Bloomfield).

[93] H. Güntert, *Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland* (Halle, 1924), pp. 306–7.

[94] Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 39.

sprünglich als Vogel gedacht, und zwar war er eben der Vegetationsdämon (sowohl als Embryo wie als Vegetationsvogel) . . .: griech. *οἰωνός* ["a large bird" < **ὀϝισωνος*] ist fast identisch mit *Viṣṇu*."[95] Moreover, many etymologies, and especially those which connect a Sanskrit (or Greek, or Latin) word with a mere root—as is the case of the term *vrata*—must, from the semantic point of view, be hazy and indefinite, because the sense attributed to a root as a rule is a vague and abstract idea from which the senses of all derivatives are logically deducible.

Similar remarks might be made with regard to other important names and terms. The "meanings" of the above term *vrata* were given in the order *Gebot, Pflicht, Ordnung* by those who subscribe to the view that this word etymologically belongs to Greek *ῥήτωρ*, "public speaker"; *ῥήτρα*, "verbal agreement," in the order *Gewolltes, Gewähltes, Gelübde* by those who derive it from *var-* "to choose."[96] Thus an "original" or "primary meaning" is not rarely adopted on account of etymological considerations.

More generally speaking, many scholars are in some way or other inclined to consider those occurrences which are, or may be, in harmony with an etymological hypothesis as more "original": compare, e.g., Renou:[97] à propos of ṚV. 3, 54, 5 "le sens (de *vrata*) est ici: 'domaine où s'exerce la volonté divine': cette analyse serait en faveur de l'étymologie par *vṛt-* zone de 'circulation.' " It is, however, in my opinion incompatible with sound principles to suppose on the strength of etymological speculations, for instance, that, according to a prehistoric Indo-European view, the soul of the dead was a *Schutzmacht*, which made the crops grow or increase (the Vedic *urvarā* "field yielding crop" explained as **urv-alā* "growing by the souls": Avest. *urvan*, to be connected, then, with Vedic *vṛṇoti* in the sense of "warding off, keeping back").[98]

I cannot agree with V. Machek,[99] who holds:

uns stützend auf die Etymologie: *Indra* ist ein Adjektivum indoeuropäischer (ursprachlicher) Herkunft und bedeutete "stark, kräftig,"[100] können wir ohne

[95] K. F. Johansson, *Über die altindische Göttin Dhiṣáṇā und Verwandtes* (Uppsala, 1917), pp. 47–48.

[96] For the etymology of this word now see also Thieme, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, III (The Hague, 1959), 150.

[97] L. Renou, "Les hymnes aux Viśvedevāḥ," *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, IV (Paris, 1958), 46.

[98] P. Thieme, "Studien zur indogermanischen Wortkunde und Religionsgeschichte," *Akad. d. Wiss. Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, XCVIII, No. 5 (1952), 55 ff.

[99] V. Machek, "Name und Herkunft des Gottes Indra," *Archiv Orientální*, XII (Prague, 1941), 143 ff.

[100] I for one am not convinced by the author's argumentation.

Bedenken die Gleichung *Indra=Dyaus* aufstellen; *Indra* ist somit eine rein indische Personifikation des indoeuropäischen *Diēus.*

It is, of course, a tempting procedure to make the etymological possibilities a starting point for an investigation into the central idea expressed by the important name of Varuṇa, whose manifold aspects induced the historians of Vedic religion to suggest a considerable variety of theories to account for his character and origin,[101] but, if they lead to the conclusion that Varuṇa represents the idea of "True Speech,"[102] the student of religion will observe that many aspects of the god which he would consider essential are left unexplained.[103]

It is, on the other hand, in my view a principle of sound method to resort, in investigating the meaning of Vedic terms, to a plausible etymology only as a means of penetrating through a hypothesis into the prehistory of these terms and into their connections with their relatives, if there are any, in the cognate languages, not as an argument, even less as a starting point, in discussing those text places from a philological interpretation of which our information on the meaning must be drawn. If there is no evidence in favor of a definite etymology, a philological examination of the texts may lead us to prefer, for semantical reasons, one of the possibilities to the others, on the understanding, of course, that from the morphological point of view it is unobjectionable. Then it may be a great help in founding a theory to explain how the "idea" expressed by a Vedic name has developed. This "historical" and prehistoric investigation of the gods and powers, ideas, and concepts of ancient India should, however, be the complement of a systematic inquiry directed upon the structure of the religious and *weltanschauliche* ideas as they synchronously existed in a definite period or in a more or less homogeneous body of literature.[104] What I would like to stress is that historical research directed toward this aim requires the help of structural semantics, that is to say: of a semantic method adapted to the purpose of penetrating into the "structure of the religious system" as it existed in the minds of the ancient Indians. In applying this method, it will not be surprising to find that the ideas expressed by the Vedic terms are, as a rule, not translatable by any modern word, that they often are at best explainable by paraphrases or definable by more

[101] See my *Die Religionen Indiens*, I (Stuttgart, 1960), 73 ff.

[102] Thieme, *Mitra and Aryaman* (New Haven, 1957), pp. 59 ff.

[103] I also refer to F. B. J. Kuiper, Review of P. Thieme, *Mitra and Aryaman, Indo-Iranian Journal*, III, 209 ff.

[104] See, e.g., H. Lommel, *Die alten Arier, von Art und Adel ihrer Götter* (Frankfurt a.M., 1935).

or less complicated descriptions. Nor should we expect to find well-defined concepts or minutely circumscribed fields of action and influence[105] without partial overlaps or vagueness of contours. Neither the Vedic poets nor the Aryan community, the popular beliefs and ideas of which they developed and tried to systematize,[106] had been submitted to philosophical training in a modern sense of the term. There is no good reason to take for granted that their ideas, concepts, and terminology were characterized by the precision and unambiguousness which are the goal of post-Socratic scientific argumentation. Like the *weltanschauliche* terms of other peoples—Greek *δίκη*, *θέμις*, *νόμος*, etc.—these concepts gradually developed, growing, enriching their contents and expanding the range of their applicability. They were symbols for *Bewusstseinsinhalte*, which were—in accordance with the experience, the views, convictions, and interpretations of those who attempted to penetrate into the ideas for which they stood and to speculate about their nature and relations—deepened and extended by a continual process of assimilation, association, identification, differentiation, and amplification.[107] In principle this process must have taken place like any process of semantic change, that is, either the "name" glides over to the "sense" of a satellitic idea or the "sense" glides over to the "name" of a closely associated idea.[108] The direction of the cumulative results of the endless series of minor changes and semantic expansions[109] was no doubt largely influenced by the associations which prevailed in the minds of those who used these terms, by the sphere of their interests and their favorite trends of thought,[110] which can neither be reconstructed by means of the categories of traditional logico-rhetorical European semantics nor by reference to the phraseology and lines of thought of modern European poets.

[105] The reader may for the sake of brevity be referred to my *Die Religionen Indiens*, I (Stuttgart, 1960), pp. 48 ff.

[106] It may be remembered that, for instance, the ideas voiced with regard to the gods, etc., by the Homeric characters were considerably more vague and indefinite than those pronounced by the poet himself (E. Ehnmark, *The Idea of God in Homer* [Uppsala, 1935], p. 102).

[107] See, e.g., J. M. van Gelder, *Der Ātman in der Grossen-Wald-Geheimlehre* (The Hague, 1957), p. 10; H. Vos, "Θέμις" (thesis, Utrecht, 1956), p. 29; and my *Inleiding tot het Indische denken* (Antwerp, 1948), pp. 9 ff., 23 ff.

[108] Ullmann, *Principles*, pp. 216 ff.; L. Roudet, "Sur la classification psychologique des changements sémantiques," *Journal de psychologie*, XVIII (1921), 676 ff.

[109] Moreover: "Every word is a heritage from the past, and has derived its meaning from application to a countless number of particulars differing among themselves either much or little" (A. H. Gardiner, *The Theory of Speech and Language* [Oxford, 1932; 2d ed., 1951], p. 35).

[110] Cazacu, *loc. cit.*

Similar remarks may, of course, be made in connection with the *weltanschauliche* terminology of other ancient peoples. At first sight the Latin *mūnus* < *moenus*, that is, **moinos* seems, to have a bewildering variety of senses: "I. A. service, office, post, employment, function, duty; B. burden, tribute; II. A. work; B. service; C. 1. present, gift; 2*a*. public show, entertainment, exhibition; 2*b*. public building for the use of the people, erected at the expense of an individual." According to those lexicographers[111] who attempt to classify these "senses" according to (pseudo-)historical principles, the sense given under the heading "I. A." is the "meaning proper," the "basic sense"; "B" is a "special meaning"; "II" comprises "transferred meanings"; "2*a*" and "2*b*" are more particular cases. But how are we to account for the double basic sense: "office" and "gift"? Is "gift" a younger use,[112] arisen from the obligation of the magistrates to present spectacles and other gifts to the people? No,

> le mot enferme la double valeur de charge conférée comme une distinction et de donations imposées en retour. Là est le fondement de la "communauté," puisque *com-munis* signifie littéralement "qui prend part aux *munia* ou *munera*". ... Charges et privilèges sont les deux faces de la même chose, et cette alternance constitue la communauté.[113]

Some attempts made by myself to contribute to a solution of part of the vexed problems posed by the *weltanschauliche* terminology of ancient India seem, indeed, to lead to the result that for instance a *Daseinsmacht* like *ojas*[114]—which is sometimes translated by "vigor" —does not, as far as I know, coincide with any modern or average Western idea: it may rather be vaguely described as a kind of creative energy, which being of divine origin or beyond human understanding and distinct from physical force—which, however, may depend on it—enables its possessor or manifestation to display extraordinary vitality, courage, prestige, authority, to achieve great deeds, to be a superior personality, "who gives the impression of tremendous inner reserves of power."[115] Although the term *mahas*[116] may be roughly

[111] See, e.g., Ch. T. Lewis and Ch. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1955).

[112] As is assumed by A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine* (Paris, 1951), p. 749.

[113] E. Benveniste, "Don et échange dans le vocabulaire indo-européen," in *L'année sociologique* (Paris, 1951), pp. 7 ff., esp. p. 15. The reader may also be referred to the observations made by the same author in *Word*, X (New York, 1954), 251 ff.

[114] "Ancient-Indian ojas," *Latin* *augos *and the Indo-European Nouns in* -es-/-os (Utrecht, 1952).

[115] (*Jawaharlal*) *Nehru on* (*Mahātmā*) *Gandhi* (New York, 1948), pp. 47–48, 89–90, 136, 142.

[116] "The Meaning of Sanskrit *mahas* and Its Relative," *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda 8 (1959), pp. 234 ff.

described as "greatness" or "majesty," it also implies what we would call "distinction, importance, eminence in power, genius, or ability, possession of high qualities, superiority to the common human conditions of life, etc.," and "honor, reverence, homage to superiors, worship, adoration" occurring also to denote actions or occurrences generating this "greatness," such as worship, festivals, and sacrificial acts. Vague impressions and ideas, largely determined by emotions or aspirations, intuition, or speculation; views of events, phenomena, connections, backgrounds, causality; traditions and experience—all take the shape of more or less definite ideas, expressed by terms which are nowhere scientifically defined. Being symbols for the essentially incomprehensible aspects and factors of all important events in nature, society, and individual life, the investigations of their meaning were, however, for the ancients of the highest importance, because knowledge of the names meant control over the powers to which these referred. Hence also were the identifications, associations, and other terminological experiments of the poets and "philosophers" who attempted to penetrate into the mysteries behind fact and reality and to define the undefinable. And here is another source of difficulties for those who try to establish the semantically dominant elements.

A study of the much discussed term *bráhman*[117] led me to similar conclusions which, however, have been misunderstood by one of the reviewers of my publication.[118] Although I purposely refrained from any attempt at "translating" this name, Thieme believed me to regard it as an equivalent of our "power," and Mayrhofer[119] still more incorrectly informs the readers of his etymological handbook that in my view *bráhman* "ursprünglich 'Lebenskraft, Mana' gewesen sein soll." I would for the benefit of my superficial readers recall to memory that, while intending "to follow up the inquiry on problems which may be related to the riddle and to go on . . . bringing to the fore such aspects of the question as seem not to have attracted sufficient attention,"[120] I criticized the main views upheld by my predecessors, emphasizing the weakness of evolutionistic constructions and the difficulty of arranging the senses of ancient Vedic terms of outstanding importance, like *bráhman*, in such a manner that a definite historical

[117] *Notes on Brahman* (Utrecht, 1950).

[118] Thieme, "Bráhman," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, CII (Wiesbaden, 1952), 91 ff., esp. pp. 95 and 97.

[119] Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasztes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, II, 454. The same author—who rightly rejects the above interpretation of *bráhman*—had, in a review of my book (published in *Anthropos*, XLVII [1952], 319 ff.), not only adopted this "original meaning" but also enthusiastically subscribed to the etymological connection of the term with "*bṛh-* kraftigen, stärken."

[120] *Notes on Brahman*, p. 3.

development may be read off from the very arrangement.[121] I tried to show that this method runs the risk of putting too much stress on particular points of secondary importance and of regarding coexistent aspects as succeeding phases of development. I warned against arbitrariness in constructing semantic developments and affiliations and against attempts to overestimate etymological possibilities,[122] especially when they start from the assumption that the sense of a possible etymological relative in another language—even if that word is rare or if its sense is not too well known—is more original than the senses expressed by the Indian word which, without conveying that particular sense,[123] occurs in text places without number.[124] Moreover, I wished to draw attention to some ideas expressed and interpretations proposed with a remarkable consistency in the course of many centuries by the Indians themselves—interpretations which do not seem to have been duly considered by modern scholars.[125] Thus I intentionally emphasized the arguments in favor of the etymology *bráhman: bṛh-, bṛṃhati,* "to be or make firm, strong, solid; to expand, promote," which was always taken for granted by the Indian exegetes, without, however, expressing the conviction that this etymology is correct and the key to all difficulties. But if *bráhman* belongs to this root *bṛh-*, I argued,[126] it is one of those well-known Indo-European words in *-men-*, Sanskrit *-man-*, which not infrequently denote some power or other (cf. Latin *numen, carmen, omen;* Sanskrit *ojman, dhāman, dharman, karman,* etc.), especially when this power manifests itself either in actions or processes or in beings or objects, or at the same time in actions, beings, and objects. "To my mind," I observed,[127] "*bráhman* is a more or less definite power [not Power, or Mana!], the more specific connotations of which may be understood in some context or other, which often, and especially in the most ancient texts, manifests itself as word, as ritual, etc." That "more or

[121] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[122] It is my intention to return to some passages in Mayrhofer's long discussion of *brahma* (*op. cit.*, pp. 452–56) in another paper. I wish to emphasize that I am by no means an adversary of a sound historical method; we should, however, be aware of its limitations.

[123] "En présence de morphèmes identiques pourvus de sens différents, on doit se demander s'il existe un emploi où ces deux sens recouvrent leur unité," E. Benveniste, "Problèmes sémantiques de la reconstruction," in *Word*, X (New York, 1954), 251.

[124] For some critical remarks on the etymology proposed by W. B. Henning (in *Transactions of the Philological Society, 1944* [London, 1945], pp. 108 ff.) and adopted by Mayrhofer (*loc. cit.*), and as far as the formal side is concerned not combatted by the present author, see *Notes on Brahman*, pp. 69–70 (not mentioned by Mayrhofer).

[125] *Notes on Brahman*, pp. 16, 69.

[126] *Ibid.*, pp. 72–73.

[127] *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 70.

less definite power" was on p. 70 specified as the "idea of 'inherent firmness,' supporting or fundamental principle."

We should not, however, throw out the baby with the bath water. Even if *bráhman* does not from the genetic point of view derive from the root *bṛh-*[128] the agelong association of both words—that is to say also of their "senses"—in the heads, speculations, and *weltanschauliche* theories of the Indians[129] is of special interest and more worth studying than it is supposed to be by Thieme.[130] "It is quite possible that the features of a language . . . by means of which we link it to others in a stock or family are among the least important when we seek to connect it to the rest of the culture."[131] And, it may be added, very often a successful case of "popular etymology" may prove to be a source of welcome information of the important question as to how either traditionally or in a definite period, the Indians themselves thought about the basic, central or "original" sense of a "key word." The so-called popular etymology is an a posteriori motivation of a word revealing the associations into which it has entered. Those cases of this phenomenon which repeatedly occur in many texts may be regarded as reflecting more or less fixed opinions and convictions of the authors and the communities of which they form part and shed a peculiar light on their ways of interpreting nature, life, and spiritual world.[132] There can be no doubt whatever that for the Indians *bráhman*, which already in the Ṛgveda repeatedly appears as a *vardhanam*,[133] that is, "something that causes to increase, strengthens, animates, and grants prosperity" was to be connected with *bṛh-*, notwithstanding the possibility that this association was an "a posteriori etymology" and that this "popular etymology" may have contributed to a change in the meaning of the word.[134]

In the earliest texts in which it occurs, those of the Ṛgvedasaṃhitā, which are the ancient products of Indian literature and Indian

[128] Cases are, however, not wanting in which scholars while rejecting a "scientific" etymology which has been accepted for many decades return to the interpretation of the Ancients: see, e.g., P. Chantraine, in *Festschrift—A. Debrunner* (Bern, 1954), pp. 85 ff., on Gr. ἄγος, "any matter of religious awe."

[129] For a succinct survey see my *Notes on Brahman*, p. 18.

[130] Thieme, "Brahman," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, CII, 95 f.

[131] Hoijer, in *Anthropology Today*, p. 567.

[132] See also my paper on the etymologies in the ancient Indian Brāhmaṇas, in *Lingua*, V (Amsterdam, 1955), 61 ff., n. 54, and p. 83 containing some remarks on the brahman controversy.

[133] *Notes on Brahman*, p. 40; see also J. Charpentier, *Brahman* (Uppsala, 1932), pp. 4 and 85, n. 4.

[134] For "popular etymology" see, e.g., E. H. Sturtevant, *Linguistic Change* (New York, 1942), pp. 94 ff.

religious thought extant, the term *bráhman* impresses us as conveying different senses or different shades of meaning. We should, however, be aware that here also—and the same remark applies to *tejas*, *vāja*, *māyā* and many other terms—this apparent "polysemy" is likely to be illusory, because our modern languages do not furnish us the means of rendering by one single word an "idea" or "concept" which is characteristic of the ancient Indian culture, or which, speaking more generally, is closely connected with lines of thought which are for centuries no longer ours. The most ancient "sense"—and now we use this term with the above reserve—of *bráhman* is, as far as we are able to know, the power immanent in the words, verses, and formulas of the Veda. This is true, on the understanding that we are aware that this "meaning" can only be called the most ancient, because it occurs in that collection of texts which as a corpus is in all probability more ancient than the other corpora of the Vedic literature. It has, however, not rarely been too rashly assumed that a contextual "sense" which prevails in a corpus which is as a whole, chronologically speaking, the most ancient source of knowledge of a given tradition must have been the "most original sense" of the word, that is to say, the chronologically first sense which the word, generally speaking, ever had and which should therefore be adopted as the starting point of a chronological development. In individual parts of other Vedic texts semantic aspects of a term may have been preserved which are older or more "original" than those shown by the Ṛgveda. Scholars, perhaps unconsciously, often overlooked, to a greater or lesser extent, the fact that the Ṛgveda does not give us a complete idea of the spiritual life of ancient India or a complete vocabulary of the language of its population in general. The Ṛgveda is no doubt not representative of the Aryan community in its entirety. It primarily reflects the culture of the two upper classes, the brahmans and their patrons, the chiefs of the warlike stockbreeders. There had of course always been Aryans who were not initiated in all the speculations of the brahmans, and there were many of them for whom the latter did not celebrate any *śrauta* rite. And, when in the course of time the sacrificial lore of the priests became more and more complicated requiring greater training and experience, divergencies between them and the other classes of society must have become wider. From the other Vedic texts we learn the existence of many popular rites and beliefs on which the Ṛgveda is silent—rites and beliefs which cannot have arisen from nowhere, invented in the interval between the composition of the Ṛgveda and the other Vedic texts, or introduced, all of them, from those non-Aryans with whom part

of the Aryans intermarried or who had found a place on the fringes of Aryan society. Between the Indo-European or Indo-Iranian words, the existence of which may be hypothetically assumed, and their later forms which appear in the Vedic texts—the poetic diction of which was in prehistoric times evolved by authors whose work has been lost forever—is the usage of those who had in the Ṛgvedic period no access to literature but who may have influenced thought and vocabulary of the other bodies of ancient literature. Great motifs and symbols in religion and important thoughts in Weltanschauung are, even in one and the same period, different things to different men. It is therefore highly improbable that there has ever been a moment at which *bráhman* only and exactly meant "formula" or "verse" or "sacred word."

I cannot subscribe to the view formulated by Thieme[135] that we must attempt to find out the formal features of words and those traits of usage which are common to all the contexts in which it appears by linguistic procedures of analysis which are "quite independent of our views as to the religious and other ideas expressed by the text." It is in my opinion a mistaken belief that "the abstract content" of words such as *ṛta, aramati,* which stands for something like *der rechte Sinn, die gemäsze Gesinnung,* or *puraṃdhi die Wunscherfüllung* "is without relation to a possibly peculiar psychology of the Rigvedic poet." In principle, M. Bloomfield[136] was no doubt right that "in the interpretation of a term that figures prominently in the mystic-hieratic sphere of the Veda [that is, Thieme[137] rightly adds: one of the "termes essentiels du ṚV."[138]] it is peculiarly necessary to search for its uses outside that sphere." The difficulty, however, often is that the plain "prose central meaning" is not likely to appear frequently, or that we are not able to make out when a word is not enveloped in what Bloomfield[139] called "the Vedic haze," many words being always steeped in Weltanschauung and any reference to late Vedic or post-Vedic uses in "profane" texts being, of course, liable to introduce anachronisms. And even in those cases—which may be less in number than some Vedic scholars are nowadays inclined

[135] P. Thieme, in a review of L. Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes,* I, in *Journal American Oriental Society,* LXXVII (New Haven, 1957), 51 ff., esp. p. 56.

[136] M. Bloomfield, "The Vedic Word Vidátha," *Journal American Oriental Society,* XIX, 13 f.

[137] Thieme, *loc. cit.,* p. 54.

[138] See Renou, *op. cit.,* I, 22.

[139] M. Bloomfield, Review of W. Neisser, Zum Wörterbuch des Ṛgveda, (Leipzig, 1924) in *Journal American Oriental Society,* XLV, 159.

to believe—in which we succeed in establishing a semantic difference between a "prose," non-religious, or "non-mystic-hieratic" use of a word and the sense given to it by the poets of the Ṛgveda—we should always remember that the poets as well as the authors of the other texts were not only exponents of the same culture but also partners in the same sort of activities. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the metrical texts of the Veda are characterized, *inter alia*, by some peculiar features in their train of thought, by a preference for definite terms, by some hypertrophies in their phraseology. Neither their language nor their views and ideas were in all respects those of the common people. Their Weltanschauung—and here again I disagree with Thieme—is, however, first and foremost in the words they have at their disposal, however much eminent poets like all intellectual leaders may have emphasized definite connotations or preferred peripherical senses which may have influenced the use made of the common vocabulary. While contributing to the development of religious thought, they no doubt added neologisms and altered the meanings of other words.

Languages being a part of culture, words cannot be understood correctly without taking into account the cultural (ecologic, material, social, religious, etc.) phenomena for which they are symbols. In translating—and especially in translating religious texts where these problems often are very intricate—we should be constantly aware of differences in the entire range of culture between the two milieus to which the languages belong. It is probably as difficult to translate a Vedic term like *ṛta, brahman, vrata* into a modern European tongue as to find an exact equivalent of our "sanctity" or "holiness" in an African language.[140] The interpretation of Vedic texts is no concern of etymologists or other one-sided linguists, but the task of "philologists"—in the European, non-Anglo-Saxon sense of the term—who make it their object to reconstruct and to place before the mind's eye this special province of antiquity as exactly and clearly as possible by a methodical examination of all relevant sources and without neglecting any discipline which may in some way or other be helpful.[141] Among these other disciplines is not only comparative Indo-European or Indo-Iranian linguistics but also a comparative study of religions, comparative "social anthropology," and other "comparative"

[140] See E. Nida, *Linguistics and Ethnology in Translation Problems (à Propos of Translations of the Bible in "Aboriginal Languages")*, in *Word*, I (New York, 1945), 194 ff.

[141] See, e.g., A. Gercke in A. Gercke und E. Norden, "Die Einheit der philologisch-historischen Methode," *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft,*" I (Leipzig-Berlin, 1910), 33 ff.

branches of learning.[142] These disciplines are not to supply deficiencies of our texts, or to replace facts which, though badly needed for the sake of an air-tight argument, are lacking in our sources. Resorting to them does not imply that the religion of Vedic man was in all or some respects practically the same as that of the ancient Germans or Babylonians or of present-day Eskimos or Polynesians or that the mental equipment of Vedic man was distinct from that of civilized man; neither does it express the conviction of the author that "he himself knows all about Vedic religion before consulting the texts." These sciences, for instance ethnology and phenomenology of religion, may offer us general notions and a wealth of information about special points and about features which are likely to occur in an archaic culture, about their backgrounds and interrelations, and this information can provide us with heuristic and illustrative principles for the study of Vedic religion. A knowledge of the types of religious communities may help us in understanding the social factors which have played a part in the formation of the same, an insight into the nature of myths and rites in general enables us to penetrate into the meaning of the mythico-ritual pattern of the ancient Indian culture. These disciplines may open our eyes to the characteristics of the culture toward an understanding of which we direct our efforts.[143] A comparative study of the literary forms of the archaic religious poetry of other peoples is of service to those who desire to investigate the literary and linguistic structure of the Vedic hymns and the prose of the Brāhmaṇas. But just as a comparative examination of "poetic devices" enables us to distinguish between their function in archaic literature and that in the works of modern poets and preserves us from viewing the Veda in the light of the art of Schiller and Goethe,[144] so also may other disciplines make our minds alive to the possibilities and characteristics of archaic culture in general and to those of a special archaic culture in particular.

[142] "Pour les sociétés qui ont, depuis plus ou moins longtemps, une littérature ou, du moins, des documents écrits, l'étude de l'histoire religieuse n'est qu'un cas particulier de l'histoire de la civilisation, ou de l'histoire tout court, et, dans la critique comme dans la construction, n'emploie pas d'autres procédés," G. Dumézil, in M. Eliade, *Traité d'histoire des religions* (Paris, 1949), p. 6.

[143] It may, of course, be readily admitted that those who discuss the essence of religious phenomena in general could always derive greater advantage from a thorough knowledge of ancient Indian religion than they usually seem to care for.

[144] As seems to be recommended by Thieme, *Mitra and Aryaman* (New Haven, 1957), p. 22, and in Review of J. Gonda, *Some Observations on the Relations between "Gods" and "Powers" in the Veda*, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, II, 233, whose views were already criticized by Kuiper, in Review of P. Thieme, *Mitra and Aryaman*, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, III, 211 ff.

THE ETYMOLOGIES IN THE ANCIENT INDIAN BRĀHMAṆAS

Summary

Although most etymologies found in Vedic texts are from a scientific point of view complete failures, part of them are worthy of our serious consideration, because they represent an important stage in the development of the linguistic thought of the Indians. A considerable part of these etymologies occur also in the Nirukta and the method followed in this ancient etymological work is similar to that which was in vogue in the circles of the ritualists and philosophers. Besides, these etymologies were for the authors an important means of penetrating into the truth and reality lying behind the phenomena. They can therefore reveal to us the views and opinions of the authors and shed a peculiar light on their ways of interpreting the connections between the phenomena. Those etymologies which repeatedly occur in many texts may be regarded as reflecting more or less fixed convictions.

The numerous "etymologies" occurring in Vedic prose have not failed to attract the attention of many authors. Yet apart from a considerable number of brief comments and stray notes no article or monograph on this subject has come to my notice. Moreover, the opinions pronounced with regard to these "etymologies" do not always, in my view, do justice to the facts and may not infrequently lead to misunderstandings. A random collection of judgments given in connection with the predilection of ancient authors for illustrating their arguments with etymological statements, shows that it is often, up to the present day, in a no doubt one-sided manner considered an expression of a pre-scientific mentality without any importance for us other than its being a means of gaining an insight into the operation of the mental processes and the methods of reasoning underlying them. Whereas Oldenberg [1], Schayer [2], and other scholars shed light on the significance of this predilection for etymologies as such, the individual cases themselves were, and are, usually regarded as childish

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[1]) H. Oldenberg, Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft, Göttingen 1919, p. 118 f.

[2]) S. Schayer, Die Struktur der magischen Weltanschauung, Zs. f. Buddhismus 6, p. 290.

fantasies, or quibbles [3]), as "falsch und spielerisch" [4]), as puns [5]) or "puérils jeux de mots" [6]).

It is, to begin with, perfectly true that many attempts to arrive at an understanding of words "from the etymological point of view" are, in the light of modern science, complete failures and products of fantasy. As a more or less systematic survey of the main features of these word-explanations does not seem to exist, it may be of some use to recall the following points. Not seldom essential parts of the words were entirely overlooked by the authors of brāhmaṇas and similar texts in their efforts to connect various elements of their language. Thus, AiB. 2, 4, 5 *Tanunapāt* is explained as *tanvaḥ pāti*, alhough it contains *napāt* "offspring, son"; ŚB. 2, 6, 2, 9 oblations belonging to Rudra and his sister Ambikā, who is a woman (*strī*), are called *tryambakāḥ*; Kāṭh. 34, 3 *ūtikā vai nāmeti yat pūtikaḥ*, and PB. 9, 5, 4 the gods found help (*ūti-*) in the *pūtika*-plant; TaittU. 2, 7, 1 what made itself (*svayam akuruta*) an ātman is called the well-done (*sukṛta-*); AthŚirU. 4 "he is called *śuklam* "bright, pure", because he *klandate* "weeps", and *klāmayati* "fatigues"." In cases of contraction the quantity of the vowel is sometimes neglected: ŚB. 3, 7, 1, 24 *svaru* < *sva-* + *arus-*; 10, 5, 2, 14 *svapna-* < *svā* + *apiyanti*; cf. also 3, 8, 3, 14 *manotā* < *manas* and *ota-*, and such identifications as 7, 2, 2, 2 *sīra-* and *sera-* (that is: *sa-* + *irā*). Sounds are transposed in an arbitrary manner or, rather, it is obviously believed that the sounds of words identical with, or deriving from, other words are freely interchangeable: ŚB. 3, 9, 4, 23 "he is born moving (*yan jāyate*): hence *yañ-ja-* which is declared to be the same as *yajña-*"; 1, 5, 3, 3 *prajaya-* "victory" is the very same term as *prayāga-* "fore-offering"; AthŚirM. 4 "he is called *Rudra-* because his nature (*rūpa-*) is rapidly (*drutam*) understood by the inspired sages (*ṛṣi-*)". Not seldom a word is incorrectly considered a compound: AiB. 1, 20, 3 "the breath being

[3]) See for instance J. Eggeling, SBE. 43, p. 265, n. 1.

[4]) Cf. e.g. W. Ruben, Die Philosophen der Upanishaden, Bern 1947, p. 91; 130; 137; 190; 213; cf. Mlle Esnoul, Maitry Upaniṣad, Paris 1952, p. 66.

[5]) E.g. W. Caland, Pañcaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa, Calcutta 1931, p. 262; 275; 401; cf. also p. 143; 146.

[6]) P. Masson-Oursel, Esquisse d'une histoire de la philosophie indienne, Paris 1923, p. 42. Cf., e.g., also E. Senart, Bṛhad-āraṇyaka-upaniṣad, Paris 1934, p. 132; etc. — Otherwise: B. Liebich, Zur Einführung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft II, Heidelberg Acad. 1919, p. 7.

here has not feared (*na abheḥ* < *nābheḥ*); therefore it is the navel (*nābhiḥ*, gen. *nābheḥ*)"; ŚB. 9, 5, 1, 39 "inasmuch as they are goddesses (*devī*) and *Ka-* (= Prajāpati), they are *devikāḥ* (a class of oblations)"; 10, 3, 5, 2 *yajus-* "sacrificial formula" < *yat* + *jūḥ*; 4, 1, 4 *uktha-* "a kind of recitation" < *uk-* "Agni" and *tha-* "food"; BārU. 1, 2, 1 *arka-* "ray, sun etc." < *arc-* "to praise" and *ka-* "pleasure"; 5, 13, 4 the second syllable of *kṣatra-* "rule", which is a suffix, is considered identical with the root *trā-* "to protect"; similarly RPTapU. 12 *mantra-* < √*man-* + √*trā-*, and other instances; e.g. ChU. 3, 12, 1 "the gāyatrī metre is speech; speech sings of (*gāyati*) and protects (*trāyate*) everything here". "The very term for "swan", *haṃsa-*, in post-Vedic tradition, is supposed to express in its two syllables the activity of inhaling and exhaling; it is onomatopoeic; *ham-* describes the sound of inhaling, *sa-* of exhaling, breath [7]): cf. HamsaU. 2. JB. 2, 409 *stoma-* "praise" < *sto* "they are (dual.)" + *ma* (= *me*) "me"; PB. 15, 3, 7 *adāra-sṛt* < *dāre nāsṛnma* and similar cases may be considered pseudo-'Satzkomposita'. Praeverbs, which however were less frequently used in the ancient texts [8]), are sometimes disregarded: ŚB. 4, 1, 3, 5 *graha-* "libation" because "it is caught up separately" (*vigṛhyate*); 4, 5, 1, 2 *prāyaṇīya-* from *upa- pra-i-*.

Although the possibility of Prākrit influences must be taken into account [9]) — KB. 6, 3 the identification [10]) *Śarva-*: *sarva-* presupposes an identical pronunciation of the sibilants; ŚB. 7, 5, 1, 22 the aspirate *kh* interchanges with its corresponding simple tenuis *k*: *urukara-* = *ulūkhala-*; a lengthening of a vowel is assumed ŚB. 7, 4, 1, 13 *pūṣkara-*: *puṣkara-*; a cerebral and a dental interchange ŚB. 1, 6, 2, 6 where *puroḍāśa-* is explained as *purodāsa-* — we may say that various phonetic incongruities could not prevent these authors from bringing such words as *brahman-* and *āṅgirasa-* into connection with √*bhṛ-bibharti* and *aṅgānāṃ rasa-* respectively (BārU. 1, 6, 3 and 1, 3, 8). Semantic shifts or rather leaps of the boldest character were easily

[7]) H. R. Zimmer, Hindu Medicine, Baltimore 1948, p. 129.

[8]) See my paper "Quelques observations sur l'emploi du verbe simple 'au lieu d'un composé' etc. dans la langue sanskrite", Acta Or. 20, p. 167 ff.

[9]) The reader may, for the sake of brevity, be referred to H. Sköld, The Nirukta, Lund 1926, p. 129 ff.

[10]) A. B. Keith, Rigveda Brahmanas, Harvard 1920, p. 377, n. 1, quoting J. Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, p. 226 ff.), underestimates the significance of the passage for the ancient Indians by speaking of a "play of words".

assumed: ŚB. 8, 5, 2, 17 *aśīti-* "eighty" is connected with √*aś-* "to eat"; BārU. 1, 2, 5 *Aditi-*: √*ad-* "to eat"; ChU. 1, 4, 2 *chandas* "metre": *chādayati* "to cover"; TS. 5, 2, 1, 6 *sattva-* "reality": √*sad-* "to sit". Sometimes words or groups of words are combined from sound: ChU. 8, 5, 3 *anāśakāyana-* "a course of fasting" ∾ *na naśyati* "does not perish" (it is possible to interpret the former word as *a-nāśaka-ayana* "entrance into the unperishing"). Cases are, indeed, not wanting in which even the author of the present article, who has warned against making too much use of such terms as 'pun' or 'play upon words', feels inclined to deny any serious character to the combinations ventured by some of these authors: BārU. 6, 1, 14 *tad anam anagnaṃ kurvantaḥ* "making that breath not naked"; ŚB. 8, 7, 3, 21.

A serious drawback of these 'linguistic activities' is, further, the indifference not seldom shown to the assumption of a twofold or even manifold origin of a term and the ease with which now this then again that derivation of a word is supposed to be true and correct. These authors did not hesitate to base their arguments upon the weak foundations of variable "etymologies": ŚB. 7, 4, 2, 7 *Aditi-* (see above) is brought into connection with √*dā-* "to give"; BārU. 1, 3, 23 *udgītha-* "the chanting of the Sāmaveda" is explained as *ut* "up" (this world is upheld (*ut-tabdha-*) by breath) and "song" (*gītha-*); ChU. 1, 11, 7 the term is connected with the fact that all beings sing (*gāyanti*) of the sun when he is up (*uccaiḥ*). In their zeal to show that an idea, object or divine person was correctly indicated by the word or name under which it was known these thinkers sometimes resorted to a method of explaining their origin which was also known to the ancient European authors on linguistics (κατ' ἐναντίωσιν): it was believed that the Lat. *bellum* came from *bellus* "beautiful", because war is not beautiful. The word *saṃsāra-* "mundane existence", the original sense of which was for instance clear to Manu 12, 70 (*saṃsṛtya saṃsārān*, cf. 52), is often supposed to contain *sāra-* "strength, firmness, substance" and to express the idea of *asāra-* "without substance": Ind. Spr. 6639 *saṃsāre kiṃ sāram*; 4464 *asāra-*; 2067 *gatasāra-*; cf. also ŚB. 6, 1, 3, 6 *tad yad akṣarat tasmād akṣaram* "parce qu'elle o-scilla, elle est (dite) sylla-be" [11]).

[11]) A. Minard, Trois énigmes sur les Cent Chemins, Paris 1949, p. 152, § 420 c, to whom I refer.

In these etymological speculations everything was held to be permissible and it would not have occurred to the authors that there could be any objection to their procedure. It is, on the other hand, noteworthy that a considerable part of the many etymologies in the brāhmaṇas, āraṇyakas, and upaniṣads [12]) can stand any criticism on the part of modern linguistic science: PB. 8, 4, 9 *saṃhita-*: *samadadhuḥ*; 8, 5, 6 *pauṣkala-*: *puṣkala-*; 11, 6, 4 *anurūpa-*: *anu-* + *rūpa-*; ŚB. 1, 1, 2, 13 *vikrānti-*; *vikram-*; 1, 6, 4, 7 *amāvāsyā* "the night of new moon": *amā* "at home" and √*vas-* "to dwell"; 7, 4, 1, 25 *sarpa-* "serpent": √*sarp-* *sṛp-* "to creep, glide, move gently"; 7, 4, 2, 6 the earth (*pṛthivī*) is rightly called "the broad one" (*pṛthivī*) and its name connected with the verb *prath-* "to broaden"; 10, 5, 2, 4 *vivasvant-*: *vi-* *vas-*; BārU. 4, 1, 7 *pratiṣṭhā*: *pratiṣṭhita-*; 5, 1, 1 *veda-*: √*vid-*, *veda*; 5, 14, 3 *darśata-*: √*dṛś-*, *dadṛśe*; ChU. 1, 1, 1 *udgītha-*: *udgāyati*; 4, 15, 2 *saṃyadvāma-*: *saṃyat-* + *vāma-*; 3 *vāmanī-*: *vāma-* + √*nī-*. Not all connections are as easily understood as the above: ChU. 2, 9, 4 *ādi-* "beginning": *ādāya* (*ā* √*dā-*); PB. 10, 3, 1 *ṛtvij-*: *ṛtvya-* (*ṛtviya-*, from *ṛtu-*).

Other etymologies, though not entirely correct or endorsed by modern scholarship, may be called sensible or open to discussion: ŚB. 9, 1, 1, 6 the Rudras are said to be roarers because they had their origin in crying (*rudita-*) [13]); as this class of divine beings are, inter alia, described as demoniac representatives of diseases, combats, and brute force, the name of the "roarers" would in itself be intelligible; 1, 1, 1, 16 the name *rakṣas* is explained as "the forbidding one" [14]): √ *rakṣ-* "to protect, guard against, keep away" (modern authors have tried to explain this name of a class of evil beings as: "to be guarded against"); 4, 4, 5, 1 the expiatory bath (*avabhṛtha-*) is said to be called after the taking down to the water (*ava-hṛ-* [15])): the word belongs to *ava-bhṛ-* "to carry off, remove".

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[12]) See also H. Oertel, Dativi finales abstrakter Nomina, SitzBer. München 1942, 8, p. 41.

[13]) For the attempts to discover the origin of this name see M. Mayrhofer, ZDMG. 103 (1953), p. 140 ff.

[14]) Cf. A. Walde, Vergl. Wörterbuch d. indogerm. Spr., herausg. v. J. Pokorny II (1927), p. 362.

[15]) For *-h-* < *-bh-* see Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, Göttingen 1896, p. 251 ff.

In many cases no objection can be raised to the combination from the phonetic point of view: ŚB. 6, 1, 2, 23 *iṣṭakā* "brick (in general, or the brick used in building the sacrificial altar)" is brought into relation to *iṣṭa-* "offered" [16]), in all probability a typical case of 'popular etymology'; ŚB. 7, 1, 1, 41 *sikatā* "sand": √*sic-* "to pour" [17]); 6, 1, 1, 11; 3, 1, 28 *aja-* "he-goat" is explained as "unborn"; *Yama-*, e.g. KauṣU. 4, 15, explained as "he who subdues" (*yam-*); PB. 11, 8, 1 *dhārā* "stream": √*dhṛ-* "to support". Not seldom the root is correctly recognized, but the etymology — in a wider sense of the term — spoiled [18]) by semantic speculations to which we cannot subscribe: ŚB. 4, 6, 5, 1 *graha-* in the meaning of "seizer, influence" and *graha-* "draught, libation" are, both of them, brought into connection with *grah- gṛh-* "to take, seize"; 6, 1, 1, 15 *bhūmi-* "earth": √*bhū-* in the sense of "becoming" or "being"; ChU. 2, 9, 8 *nidhana-* "conclusion": *ni* √*dhā-* "to bury (the deceased)"; PB. 9, 1, 3 *paryāya-* (cf. AiB. 4, 5, 3). In some of these cases both the phonetic and the semantic side of the etymology are in themselves within the limits of reason and possibility: *Yama-*, *sikatā*.

These few observations may serve to show that at least part of these ancient etymological speculations are worthy of our serious consideration. In the first place because they were, for the Vedic thinkers, an important means of penetrating into the truth and reality lying behind the phenomena — a point to which we shall have to return later —, and in the second place because they seem to represent an important stage in the development of the "linguistic thought" of the Indians. It does not seem to have been sufficiently emphasized by former authors — it has perhaps not even been noticed by most of them — that a considerable part of these 'etymologies' occur in the Nirukta, and, what is more, that the method followed in this famous work is, generally speaking, similar to that which was in vogue in the circles of those ritualists who compiled the brāhmaṇas and the early upaniṣads.

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[16]) For modern opinions on this word see J. Przyluski, in the Indian Historical Quarterly 7 (1931), p. 735 ff.

[17]) Cf. Walde-Pokorny, o.c., II, p. 467; T. Burrow, Transactions Philological Soc. 1945 (1946), p. 118 f.

[18]) From our point of view.

Let us first give a random collection of etymologic explanations and combinations found in Yāska's work as well as in the Vedic texts under discussion [19]): *agni-* "fire": *agra-* "front" e.g. ŚB. 2, 2, 4, 2; *rakṣas*: *rakṣ-* "to protect" e.g. 2, 1, 4, 15; 1, 1, 2, 10 *dhur* "pole": *dhūrv-* "to injure"; 1, 4, 5, 13 *Atri-*: *atra* "here" (Nir. *atra* + *tri-* "three"); 2, 2, 2, 2 *dakṣiṇā* "offering presented to the priests": *dakṣ-* "to be able" (*dakṣayati* "to invigorate"); 2, 2, 4, 5 *oṣadhi-*: *oṣaṃ dhaya* "drink, while burning" (*oṣad dhayanti* Nir.); 3, 1, 4, 9 *Pūṣan-*: *puṣṭi-* "well-nourished condition", *puṣ-* "to thrive"; 6, 1, 1, 9, *vār* "water": *var-* *vṛ-* "to cover"; 6, 2, 1, 4 *paśu* "cattle": *paś-* "to see"; 6, 5, 4, 7 *gnā-* "wife of a god": *gam-* "go"; 8, 4, 1, 24 *nāka-* "firmament" < *na* + *aka-* "no pain"; AiB. 5, 7, 3 *śakvarī* name of a metre: *śak-* "to be able"; TS. 3, 2, 2, 3 *adhvara-* "religious service, sacrifice" explained as "inviolable": *a-* + *dhvar-* "to hurt"; JB. 1, 223 *giri-* "mountain": *gṝ-* "to eject (from the mouth)"; 1, 284 *chandas* "metre": *chad-* *chādayati* "to cover, protect"; 2, 26 *āditya-* "sun": *ā-dā-* (*ādatte*) "to take"; PB. 20, 14, 2 *dyaus* "heaven": *dyut-* "to shine", etc. etc. Compare also such cases as ŚB. 9, 4, 1, 4 where the gandharvas and apsaras are said to busy themselves with sweet scent (*gandha-*) and beautiful form (*rūpa-*) respectively; as *apsas* "the secret charms" may be considered a partial synonym of *rūpa-*, an etymological explanation of the names is apparently meant by the author: cf. Nir. *apsaras-*: *apsas* + *rā*, or *apsas* + *atta-* (*ad-* "to eat"), or *apsas* + *datta-*; 7, 4, 1, 16 *hiraṇya-* "gold" < *hiram-ya-* because the gods were pleased (*ram-*) with that pleasing (*ramya-*) form of Prajāpati: cf. Nir. *hiraṇya-*: *hita-* "good" + *ram-* "to delight" or *hṛdaya-* "heart" + *ram-*.

The brāhmaṇas not seldom supply us with a commentary on the explanations given in the Nirukta: Nir. 3, 20 *nakṣatra-* "star, constellation" is said to have arisen from *na* "not" + *kṣatra-* "dominion": JB. 2, 26 Āditya is narrated to have appropriated the authority (*vaśa-*) of heaven and the dominion of the stars (*kṣatraṃ nakṣatrāṇām*) with the implication that they became *nakṣatra-*. This story at the same time illustrates the etymology of the name *āditya-* mentioned in the Nir., 2, 13: *ādityaḥ kasmād? ādatte rasān, ādatte bhāsaṃ jyotiṣām* „Why (is it called) āditya-? He takes the liquids, he takes the light of the heavenly bodies"; cf. also ŚB. 2, 1, 2, 18 "In the beginning these

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[19]) For the etymologies of the Nirukta see Sköld, o.c., p. 171 ff.

(constellations) were so many different powers (*kṣatrāṇi*) just as the sun. But as soon as he (the sun) rose, he took from them (*ādatta*) their power, their dominion; therefore the sun is called *āditya-* ..." TS. 6, 1, 3, 5 the arrows (*śara-*) which seem to be contained in the thunderbolt are said to fall out of it, to be scattered (*aśīryanta*), becoming the śara grass, and that is why *śara-* grass is so called": cf. Nir. 5, 4 *śaraḥ śṛṇāteḥ śara-* "arrow" comes from the root *śṛ-* "to crush, rend". And the above 'etymology' *paśuḥ paśyateḥ* "*paśu* "cattle" from *paś-* "to see"" (Nir. 3, 16) is illustrated by ŚB. 6, 2, 1, 4: "Because he (Prajāpati) saw them, therefore they are animals (*paśu*)". Instances of this exact correspondence between the lexicographic authority and the authors of the brāhmaṇas and similar texts could easily be multiplied.

It is true that side by side with these cases in which the brāhmaṇas and upaniṣads concur with Yāska, there are many etymologies which, while suggested or adopted by the ancient ritualists and philosophers, do not occur in the Nirukta. Thus *śiras* "head" is e.g. ŚB. 1, 4, 5, 5 considered to represent *śrī-* "prosperity" — "hence of one who is the most prosperous or excellent (*śreṣṭha-*) of a community, people say that he is the head of that community" — whereas Nir. 4, 13 traces its origin from *śī-* "to lie" or *śrī-* "to repose, lie on, lean upon". ŚB. 7, 5, 2, 44 *viṃśati-* "twenty": *viś-* "to enter, pervade", but Nir. 3, 10 *viṃśatir dvirdaśataḥ*; ŚB. 10, 5, 2, 20 *yajus* "sacrificial formula": *yuj-* "to hold together", but Nir. 7, 12 correctly *yaj-* "to worship"; JB. 3, 77 the serpent is said to bear the name of *ahi-* because once he was left behind (*ahīyata*): Nir. 2, 17 explains the word as *ahar-* "day" + *i-* "to go" and as *ā* (> *a*) + *han-* "to kill, beat"; none of these explanations is correct. Etc. etc.

Taking into account the above-mentioned tendency to admit the existence of more than one source for the same word — a tendency which is far from foreign to the compiler of the Nirukta — these divergences cannot outweigh the evidence furnished by the many cases of agreement between Yāska and the authors of the brāhmaṇas. This evidence establishes strong probability that Yāska was to a considerable extent dependent on the speculations of the ritualists.

Observations of the same tenor were at the time made by P. Poucha in an article "Vedische Volksetymologie und das Nirukta" [20]) which

[20]) P. Poucha, in the Archiv Orientální 7 (1935), p. 423 ff.

was an attempt to show that the lexicographical work was largely dependent on the traditional 'etymologies" current in the Vedic saṃhitās. This paper, though important for its general bearing, contains some details which may be a matter of opinion or even invite criticism. According to Poucha the many ancient instances of what he considers popular etymology or plays on words were one of the main sources from which Yāska derived information with regard to the mutual relations of words. It would however appear to me that we had better avoid the term popular etymology in connection with the majority of the passages adduced by the Czech author. If we are right in roughly defining that term as denoting the result of a widespread tendency to connect words which resemble each other in sound and often also in meaning although there is no historical relationship between them, it follows that the frequent cases of paronomasia, figura etymologica etc. studied by Poucha do not come within that definition. Such phrases as RV. 1, 166, 7 *arcanty arkam* "they sing the song of praise"; AV. 6, 71, 1 *annam admi* "I eat food"; ṚV. 7, 75, 5 *uṣā uchati* "Dawn dawns", such alliterative groups as ṚV. 8, 1, 15 *indram indavaḥ*; 8, 24, 16 *madhvo madintaram* etc. give evidence of the great predilection for various syntactic units in which the same root, word, or syllable is repeated. Being a characteristic of the ancient Indo-European (and other) languages in general, these "repetitional constructions" were, no doubt often consciously, applied by the Vedic poets mainly because of their traditional impressiveness and of the great value attached to them on account of the suggestive power inherent in them [21]). This is however not to deny that the very frequency of these 'stylistic figures' must have contributed much to drawing the attention of the ancient Indians themselves to the relations between words in general: ṚV. 5, 87, 7 *dīrgham*[1] *pṛthu*[2] *paprathe*[3] *sadma*[4] *pārthivam*[5] "the earthly[5] seat[4] extends[3] long[1] and broad[2]". The words for "earth", for "broad" and for "extend" are etymologically related. For the ancients there could scarcely exist any difference between figura etymologica AV. 18, 2, 38 (*mātrām mimīmahe* "we measure this measure"), paronomasia (ṚV. 5, 46, 6 *bhago vibhaktā* "Bhaga the distributor"), alliteration etc., because it was the mere

[21]) I refer to my 'Stilistische studie over Atharvaveda I—VII', Wageningen 1938, a much enlarged English edition of which is in course of preparation.

repetition and similarity of sounds which would strike them in the first place and which made the greatest appeal to their imagination. The very frequency of alliterative groups could easily lead them to put such phrases as ṚV. 6, 6, 3 *vanā vananti* "they conquer the forests" [22]) on a par with cases of real paronomasia. The latter group could contribute to gaining a correct insight into the relations between nouns and verbs deriving from the same root and pave the way for a theory of the root. The former class of syntactic groups however exposed the ancient thinkers to the risk of going astray by suggesting that the relations between the members of an alliterative group were completely identical with those existing between the members of an etymological group. The "sonderbare Etymologie" [23]) *vanaṃ vanoteḥ* given in the Nirukta 8, 3: "forest comes from winning" may, indeed, have been inferred from ṚV. 6, 6, 3 *tuvimrakṣāso*[1] *divyā*[2] *navagvā*[3] *vanā*[4] *vananti*[5] "the greatly injuring[1] (flames) conquer[5] the wood[4] (like) the celestial[2] Navagvas[3]" or similar passages. The frequent alliterative combinations of *madhu-* "a sweet intoxicating drink, esp. the soma" with derivatives of the root *mad-* "to rejoice, be drunk: intoxicate" — ṚV. 2, 19, 2 *mandāno madhvo* "being intoxicated on soma"; 8, 38, 3 *madhvā madema* etc. [24]) — cannot be considered foreign to Yāska's note: *madhu somam ity aupamikaṃ, mādyateḥ "madhu-* ... from *mad-*". But for the Vedic poets the phrases VS. 1, 13 *vṛṇīta vṛtratūrye ... avṛṇīdhvaṃ vṛtratūrye* (and ṚV. 4, 32, 2 *citra citrinīṣv ā citraṃ kṛṇoṣy ūtaye*) [25]) could do duty as well as ṚV. 6, 20, 2 *vṛtram apo vavrivāṃsam*, in spite of the fact that the former is merely alliterative ("has, have, chosen in the conquest of Vṛtra") and the second has been endorsed by Yāska (Nir. 2, 17) as well as by modern scholars. — A stanza like AV. 15, 8, 1 *so 'rajyata tato rājanyo 'jāyata*

[22]) Even if E. Lidén, Blandade språkhist. bidrag, I, p. 27; E. Rooth, Paul und Braune's Beitr. z. Gesch. d. deutschen Spr. u. Lit. 49, p. 124; Walde-Pokorny, o.c., I, p. 259 be right in supposing AInd. *vana-* "wood, forest etc." to belong to the same root as the verb *vanati, vanoti* "to win, conquer; like, love" (cf. Goth. *winja* "pasture", OHG. *wunnja* etc. "pasture" and "delight, Germ. Wonne"), which is far from certain, the Indian words must, from the point of view of Sanskrit, be regarded as unrelated.

[23]) Thus Poucha, o.c., p. 430 without regard to the suggestions, referred to in the preceding note.

[24]) For other instances see Poucha, p. 429.

[25]) See Poucha, p. 431 and 425, n. 1.

"He became impassioned (*raj-*); thence was born the noble (*rājanya-*)", on the other hand, contains an explanation of a (pseudo-) historical fact by means of a (pseudo-) etymology in the brāhmaṇa way.

It has already been intimated that Yāska, whatever his debt to the saṃhitās might have been, to all appearance also underwent the influence of the authors of the brāhmaṇas and related texts who in their turn stood on the shoulders of the poets. Unlike Poucha [26]), who is of the opinion that Nir. 10, 31 *savitā sarvasya prasavitā* "Savitar (the Sun) is the impeller of all (existence)" — cf. also 7, 31 — comes near ṚV. 3, 54, 11 *savitaḥ ... asmabhyam ā suva sarvatātim* "O Savitar, excite towards us (i.e. bring us quickly) completeness", I would point to such brāhmaṇa passages as ŚB. 1, 1, 2, 17 etc. *savitā vai devānāṃ prasavitā* "S. is the impeller of the gods". Nir. 2, 5 "*gauḥ* is a name of the earth because she has gone far" reminds us, in a similar way, of ŚB. 6, 1, 2, 34 *ime vai lokā gaur yad dhi kiṃ ca gacchatīmāṃs tal lokān gacchati.* The Nirukta, indeed, quotes "brāhmaṇas", e.g. 9, 20 s.v. *ulūkhala-* "mortar": *'uru me kuru' ity abravīt, tad ulūkhalam abhavad. 'urukaraṃ vaitad ulūkhalam ity ācakṣate parokṣeṇeti' ca brāhmaṇam,* which corresponds to ŚB. 7, 5, 1, 22 *uru me karad iti tad urukaram, urukaraṃ ha vai tad ulūkhalam ity ācakṣate parokṣam*: here the name of the mortar is explained as 'secret' or 'mysterious' form — we would say: a tabu variant — of *urukara-* "making broad or much". Other instances are: Nir. 10, 5 *iti kāṭhakam* (cf. Kāth. 25, 1) and *iti hāridravikam* (cf. TS. 1, 5, 1, 1); 7, 17 *samudrād dhy eṣo 'dbhya udeti* (= KB. 25, 1); Nir. 8, 22: cf. ŚB. 1, 3, 2, 9; KB. 3, 4 and ŚB. 1, 3, 2, 8 etc. Besides, there are several untraced quotations from brāhmaṇas (e.g. 3, 20; 8, 22) [27]).

As to the peculiarities which the 'etymologies' of the Nirukta have in common with those occurring in Vedic prose, attention may, inter alia, be drawn to the following points. The Nirukta, like the brāhmaṇas, often neglects an essential part of a word: *gaurī* "white colour" and name of a goddess: $\sqrt{}$*ruc-* to shine"; *cāru-* "bright, lovely": the same root; *ghraṃsa-* "sun (light), heat" is, 'haplologically', explained as $\sqrt{}$*gras-* "to swallow" + *rasa-* "juice"; *nara-* is on the other hand

[26]) Poucha, p. 433.

[27]) For particulars see Lakshman Sarup's edition: The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta, Univ. of the Panjab 1927.

declared to be a derivative of √*nṛt-* "to move repeatedly, to dance". Arbitrary transpositions of sounds are easily admitted: *aṃhati* "anxiety, trouble, distress": √*han-* "to strike" (*viparītāt* "by inversion" 4, 25); *nabhas* "sky, etc.": *bhanas* (√*bhan-* "to speak, tell"?) "by inversion"; *bāla-* "child": *a*-priv. + *bala-* "strength" (*abala-* "weak") "with the negative prefix placed in the middle". Simple words are often considered compounds: *dundubhi-* "drum": *druma-* "tree, wood" + √*bhid-* "to cleave"; *naraka-* "hell": *na* "not" + √*ram-* "to delight in, gladden"; the suffix *-tra-* is, here also, regarded as the second member of a compound: *aṃsatra* "bow, coat of mail"; *aṃhas* "distress" + √*trā-* "to protect".

The Nirukta, like the brāhmaṇas, admits the validity of two or more etymologies at the same time, one of which is not seldom, in our opinion, correct, the other or others being fantastic: *uṣas-* "Dawn": √*vas-* "to shine" and √*vaś-* "to desire"; *kāka-* "crow": an onomatopoeia, and *apa-* √*kal-* "to drive away". It is interesting to notice that the commentator Durga (Nir. 1, 14) attempted to show that the derivation of a single word from a plurality of roots was already in vogue in the brāhmaṇas. —

Unwarrantable semantic shifts are assumed: *taskara-* "thief": √*tan-* "to spread, stretch", although Yāska and his predecessors show, on this particular point, much ingenuity: *jāmātṛ-* "son-in-law": *jā-* "child" + (*nir*)*mātṛ-* "creator"; *jāra-* "paramour": *jarayitā kanyānām* "he who consumes (makes old) girls". In accordance with the general principles laid down Nir. 2, 7 Yāska is too ready to rely on semantic arguments alone [28]: the idea that words of the same meaning should have the same etymology is of course a fiction. Yet his work contains several etymologies which, even from a modern point of view, are sensible if we do not take into account the phonetic side: *apatya-* "offspring": *apa-* √*tan-* "extend, prolong"; *paruṣa-* "knotty": *parvan-* "joint".

Apart from the inevitable disadvantage arising from this ignorance of the main cognate languages a great drawback of Yāska's method was his a priori conviction that every word could be derived from a root, that any element of the Sanskrit language contains a germ

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[28]) See also P. Ch. Chakravarti, The linguistic speculations of the Hindus, Calcutta 1933, p. 241.

denoting kriyā or action [29]). This prejudice induced him to search for the origin of words which, taking into account the circumstances under which he worked, scarcely admitted of any etymologic analysis at all: *garbha-* "womb": √*gṝ-* "to swallow"; *candana-* "sandal-wood": √*cand-* "to love"; *bilva-* "the wood-apple tree" which is of Dravidian origin [30]): √*bhṛ-* "to bear" or √*bhid-* "to cleave, split". In a case like *dyumant-* "bright" the 'root' is *dyu-*, which is not verbal — *dyu- div-* being the stem of *dyaus* "sky" and occurring in compounds, *dyu-gat-* "going to heaven" —, and not, as supposed by Yāska, *dyut-* "to shine". In tracing the origin of *mṛga-* "deer" back to the derivative *mṛgayati* "to hunt" he puts these words into the reverse relation. Under the influence of the same preconception Yāska, like the authors of the brāhmaṇas, even treads on very slippery ground in attempting to explain proper names.

In addition to these observations it may be permitted to invite, for a moment, the reader's attention to some qualities of the Nirukta which from our point of view are good and even worthy of admiration. In many cases, an etymology, though incorrect or dubious in our eyes, must be regarded as reasonable: *jāla-* "net" from *jala-* "water"; *aja-* "goat": *aj-* "to drive". Not a few of Yāska's explanations were in the XIXth century adopted by European sanskritists and some of them are, in spite of their improbability, believed to be true by some scholars up to the present day: for *ṛṣi-* from √*dṛś-* "to see" (Nir. 2, 11 following Aupamanyava) see Monier-Williams' Dictionary, s.v.; *oṣadhi-* "herb": √*ūṣ-* "to burn", but the second element must be connected with √*dhā- dhatte* "bear, contain" rather than √*dhā-* "to suck" [31]); *kṣīra-* "milk": √*kṣar-* "to flow" [32]); the famous etymology [33])

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29) The reader may, for the sake of brevity, be referred to P. Ch. Chakravarti, The philosophy of Sanskrit grammar, Calcutta 1930, p. 191 ff.

30) See Burrow, o.c., p. 114 f.

31) See J. Ph. Vogel, Het sanskrit woord *tejas*, Amsterdam 1930, p. 35. Of all etymologies proposed this one is least improbable; see also M. Mayrhofer, Kurzgefaßtes etymol. Wtb. d. Altind., (Heidelberg 1954), p. 133.

32) See J. Charpentier, Monde Or. 18, 35; C. C. Uhlenbeck, Etym. Wörterb. p. 71; E. Windisch, Kuhn's Zs. 21, p. 251; rejected by H. Pedersen, Indogerm. Forsch. 5, p. 45; Kühn's Zs. 36, p. 277; Walde-Pokorny, o.c., I, p. 503; C. D. Buck, Dict. of selected Synonyms, Chicago 1949, p. 385.

33) Lassen, Bopp, A. Weber, Festgr. Roth, p. 135, etc.; rejected by Chr. Bartholomae, Altiran. Wtb. 748.

duhitr- "daughter": $\sqrt{}$*duh-* "to milk". Other etymologies are good and true: *tanaya-* "son": $\sqrt{}$*tan-* "to stretch out, propagate (one's self, one's family)"; *tanū-* "body": $\sqrt{}$*tan-* etc. In the case of proper names and similar difficult words modern scholarship has not succeeded in essentially improving upon Yāska's conclusions: *Jātavedas, Śipiviṣṭa-* [34]), etc. It may also be remembered that in modern times many — too many — speculations have been published — some of which even received more or less serious attention —, which do not substantially differ from the explanations given by the ancient Indians themselves: such 'modern' attempts to discover the original meaning of the numeral "eight", Skt. *aṣṭau* as made by Fick, Cuny, Muller and other scholars [35]): *ak-* "sharp, pointed" („die beiden Spitzen der Hände, ohne Daumen") or: **oketā* "harrow", are not much better than Yāska's *aṣṭau*: $\sqrt{}$*aś-* "to reach, attain". — It is true that in those cases which from the modern point of view must be regarded as correct, the relations between the words discussed in the Nirukta are easy to discover: *parvata-* "mountain": *parvan-* "joint"; *megha-* "cloud": $\sqrt{}$*mih-* "to sprinkle, wet". The negative prefix *a-*, prepositions (*anu-* in *Anumati-*: *anu-* $\sqrt{}$*man-* "to approve), stems which frequently occur as second members of compounds (*-dhi-* in *iṣudhi-* "quiver") etc. could be recognized without difficulty by anyone who took the trouble seriously to reflect upon linguistic phenomena. The same remark may, however, apply to the products of the studies or considerations of the ancient thinkers who compiled the brāhmaṇas: PB. 11, 6, 4 "he speaks after (*anu-vadati*) the former characteristic (*rūpa*)- ... hence (it) is called *anurūpa-*"; 13, 9, 20 *vājajit*: *vājaṃ jayanti*; cf. 16, 4, 5; 4, 10, 1 *mahāvrata-* < *mahad vratam*. These, and many other, instances join the above-mentioned utilization of paronomastic and other phrases in showing that the ancient poets and thinkers were very conscious of many peculiarities of their language. Like Yāska 4, 21 *bandhuḥ saṃbandhanāt* ""kinsman" from "binding together, close connection"" ($\sqrt{}$*bandh-* "to bind"), the poet of ṚV. 8, 21, 4 *vayaṃ hi tvā bandhumantam abandhavo ...yemima*

[34]) I refer to my book 'Aspects of early Viṣṇuism', The Hague 1954, ch. I, s. 14.

[35]) For particulars see Wackernagel-Debrunner, Altind. Gramm. III (1930), p. 360; A. Walde-J. B. Hofmann, Lateinisches etym. Wöterbuch 3, II (Heidelberg 1949), p. 200.

"we, the friendless ones, have kept Thee back, who art rich in friends (relations)" gives evidence of an insight into the relation between two derivatives of the same root. So does the author of ŚB. 6, 1, 2, 15 who connects *hita-* and *upahita-*; of ibid. 17 where *citi-* "layer" is said to come from *ci-* "to build up"; of 7, 1, 1, 25 where the significance of the prefix *pra-* is commented upon: "streams (*prāvaṇa-*) is a form of starting (*prāyaṇa-*)"; of BārU. 6, 1, 6 where *prajāti-* "procreation", *prajāyate* "procreates himself", and *prajā-* "progeny" are found together.

A point on which I would like to lay special emphasis is this: many of the etymologies or pseudo-etymologies proposed in all the works hitherto mentioned are very instructive in themselves; that is to say, not only a study of the part played by 'etymology' in general in the arguments and discussions of the ancient men of learning, but also the individual cases of word explanation can, for us, be a means of enlarging our knowledge of their mentality and trains of thought. Many etymologies reveal to us their views and opinions, their ways of looking at various objects, concepts, and occurrences, or shed a peculiar light on their ways of interpreting the connections between the phenomena. It may be true that almost all ideas and events, objects and phenomena have many sides and may be studied or looked at from various points of view, it is none the less true that for individuals living at a given period under definite circumstances special aspects are important to the exclusion of other ways of looking at the same ideas and phenomena which often hold the attention of other generations or other communities. It seems therefore expedient in examining all data which may lead us to a more complete understanding of ancient or foreign intellectual life, not to neglect studying these etymological experiments.

Indians, for instance, often objected to the terms "fee, donation etc." used, in Western translations of Sanskrit works, to render the Skt. *dakṣiṇā*. According to the ritualists the dakṣiṇā is the very keystone of the sacrifice without which the oblations are not complete. It is, in a mystical way, placed on the credit side of the donor's account. The sacrifice instituted by him goes to the world of the gods, followed by the dakṣiṇā, and holding on to the dakṣiṇā the institutor (donor) himself goes to heaven (cf. ŚB. 1, 9, 3, 1) [36]). This character of

[36]) See e.g. also W. Caland et V. Henry, L'agniṣṭoma, Paris 1906, p. 289 ff.

the dakṣiṇā also appears from ŚB. 2, 2, 2, 2; 4, 3, 4, 2; KB. 15, 1 etc.; the gods invigorated (*adakṣayan*) the sacrifice by the dakṣiṇās so as to become successful, hence the name *dakṣiṇā*: it is to make the sacrifice strong and successful (cf. also Nir. 1, 7 *dakṣiṇā dakṣateḥ samardhayatikarmaṇo, vyṛddhaṃ samardhayatīti*). — "In the morning one keeps conquering by the *ājyas* (a class of chants connected with the morning sacrifice), that is why the *ājyas* have their name" (*ājya-*: *ājayanta āyan*, AiB. 2, 36, 3). Those Indians who connected *grīṣma-* "summer" with *gras-* "to devour" (*grasyante 'smin rasāḥ* Nir. 4, 27) emphasized the scorching and withering character of the tropical summer, those who connected *mūṣa-* "mouse" with √*muṣ-* "to steal" (Nir. 4, 1) a trait in the animal's character, those who traced the origin of *tṛṇa-* "grass" to √*tṛd-* "to prick" a marked property of certain kinds of grass (Nir. 1, 12). From this point of view the well-known 'etymology' *putra-* "son": "who preserves (√*trā-*) from the hell called *Put*", *śvaghnin-* "gambler": "who destroys (√*han-*) one's own (*sva-*)", *kāla-* "time": "who impels" (√*kal-*) are just as valuable or instructive as *Savitar-* "the Sun": √*sū-* "to impel" or *cakra-* "wheel": √*car-* "to move" which we believe to be correct. There may be a sense in nonsense: "the waters pervaded (√*āp-*) and covered (√*var- vṛ-*) whatsoever there was here, therefore they are called *āpaḥ* and *vār-*" (ŚB. 6, 1, 1, 9; cf. Nir. 5, 2 and 9, 2).

We shall fail to gain an insight into these facts if we do not realize that they are ultimately based on a 'popular instinct' for finding a reasonable sense in words which in some way or other corresponds to the idea expressed, an instinct for associating together words which resemble each other and also for fitting strange elements into groups of more familiar ones [37]). Peoples of all nationalities, ages, and degrees of education are often inclined to rely on the supposed etymological sense of a word, making this a point in an argument, or trying to

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[37]) Authors not seldom omit distinguishing between popular etymology in the strict sense of the term and adaptive or regularizing younger forms based on that phenomenon (cf. e.g. L. Bloomfield, Language, p. 423). The very fact that forms which have become semantically obscure or are felt to be irregular, are adapted and replaced by structures which to the minds of those using the language convey a satisfactory and comprehensible sense (type: *bryd-guma* > *bridegroom*) shows that lucidity and transparency are often appreciated in normal usage.

account for its actual use. "I suppose", a child aged four remarked [38]), you *wag* along in the *wagonette*, the *landau lands* you at the door, and you *sweep* off in the *brougham* (pronounced *broom*)". Some years ago members of the ecclesiastical council of the Dutch Reformed Church which discussed the desirability of instituting the function of assistant ministers bearing the title of *vicar* opposed this suggestion raising the objection that the very existence of vicars would suggest a parochial system: they evidently supposed the title to have derived from the Latin *vīcus* "quarter of a city". The Engl. *buttery* (< O.Fr. *boterie*, cf. Fr. *bouteillerie*) had, originally, nothing to do with butter, but nowadays the word is understood, and (in dictionaries) defined, as "place, where provisions such as bread and butter are kept". Are such instances of adaptation and re-interpretation as the much discussed Germ. *Friedhof* (originally "eingefriedigtes Grundstück", but associated with *Friede*) and *Sündflut* (originally "allgemeine Ueberschwemmung", associated with *Sünde*) devoid of significance? Are they not helpful in revealing what the ideas expressed meant to those who spoke the language? "E possibile dubitare sull' origine etymologica di *veilleuse* — the author holds it to have derived from *belenium* etc. —, non è possibile mettere in dubbio il suo valore semantico d'oggi ...: nella coscienza del popolo francese d'oggi *veilleuse* si riattacca senz'altro a *veillee*" [39]). Recently, Pisani has endeavoured to show that the Lat. *amicus* "friend" and *securis* "axe", etymologically speaking, had no connection with *amare* "to love" and *secare* "to cut" [40]). If he is right the agelong association of these nouns with these verbs will not cease to attract the attention of linguists and philologists. Not unlike the ancients, recent writers, who should, it is true, have known better, have occasionally had recourse to fictitious etymologies in order to buttress a theory or to point a moral. Did not Ruskin like to remind married women that since *wife* meant "she who *weaves*", their place was in the home? [41]).

In considering the character of the etymologies included in the

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[38]) O. Jespersen, Language, p. 122 (VI—6).

[39]) V. Bertoldi, Un ribelle nel regno de' fiori...., Ginevra 1923, p. 27 ff., cited by V. Pisani, L'etimologia, Milano 1947, p. 140 f.

[40]) Pisani, o.c., p. 128; p. 142.

[41]) S. Potter, Our language, Harmondsworth, Middlesex 1951, p. 106.

ancient Indian texts we must not overlook the fact that the authors were always engaged in attempting to find the connections between the phenomena, to understand the at first sight unintelligible bonds by which the various entities, beings, provinces of nature are united with the unseen world, and to gain an insight into the mystic relations of all existence [42]). Words, and especially names, were regarded as being instinct with power: cf. e.g. ŚB. 10, 5, 1, 3; 14, 3, 2, 20 etc. Explaining a name, therefore, was a means of penetrating into the hitherto unknown nature of a person (or object), a means of acquiring control over him. In practising the art of etymology these authors first and foremost aimed at gaining knowledge of the ideas expressed by the words, of the mutual relations of these ideas with other concepts or entities, of the more or less 'mystic' significance of those elements which they have in common [43]). Prae- and non-scientific etymology, based upon the belief that words have some inherent connections with the objects, qualities or processes denoted [44]), does not attempt to find the historical truth about words, but to find the truth about objects and phenomena by means of the words; and, it may be added, sometimes also to take advantage of this knowledge. The very formula in which the conclusion of an etymological argument is expressed, is highly illustrative: e.g. AiB. 2, 1, 1 "They obstructed them (*ayopayan*) by means of the sacrificial post (*yūpa-*); in that they obstructed them (*ay.*) by means of the s.p. (*y.*), that is the *yūpa*-ship of the *yūpa-* (*tad yūpasya yūpatvam*)", that is to say: "that is why the post has its name" [45]).

[42]) The reader might be referred to Oldenberg (see n. 1); Schayer (see n. 2); F. Edgerton, The Upanishads, J. Am. Or. Soc. 49 (1929), p. 97 ff.; B. Heimann, Studien zur Eigenart indischen Denkens, Tübingen 1930, p. 187; 210 f.; J. Gonda, Inleiding tot het Indische denken, Antwerpen 1948, Ch. II and III. — Compare e.g. PB. 6, 6, 9 the strainer is white (*śukla-*), the soma is clear (*śukra-*): for the sake of homogeneousness or congruity; ŚB. 4, 5, 4, 4 (and PB. 12, 13, 7) by chanting verses containing the word *hari-* "bay" one seizes upon the *haras* "fury" of one's enemies; the aim, object or purpose is apparent from the name: PB. 12, 5, 3 f verses containing the word *pari-* "around" serve to close (*paryāpti-*); 13, 5, 9.

[43]) "The *kraiḍina*-oblation is the male organ, for it is with that that (man) sports (*krīḍ-*)" ŚB. 11, 5, 2, 4.

[44]) A barren cow (*vaśā*) is supposed to bring power (*vaśa-*): PB. 18, 9, 13. — See also my "Stilistische studie" (referred to in note 21), p. 77 f.

[45]) It may be remembered that this method of penetrating into the truth

Hence also the application or utilization of etymological combinations in magic, ritual, and religious practice: the *jarābodhīya- sāman* (a particular sacred verse, the name of which was, 'in a fanciful way', connected with *√jṝ- jīryate* "be consumed, be digested", served to obtain food (PB. 14, 5, 27 f.) The *apāmārga-* plant, by virtue of its supposed connection with the verb for "wiping out" (*apa-mṛj-*), as well as certain peculiarities of its nature was (e.g. AV. 4, 17—19; ŚB. 13, 8, 4, 4) used and invoked to drive away sin and other evil powers.

Another natural consequence of this view on language was the fear of the potencies residing in words and names. Names denoting beings or concepts which are not to be referred to in a casual way, which inspire fear, awe, respect, are pronounced only with reluctance, or even suppressed. Words for objects or ideas which are under a taboo are likely to be modified or replaced. These facts were perfectly clear to the authors of the brāhmaṇas who may, in a sense, be considered the discoverers of the phenomenon of linguistic taboo. How often do they remind us of the gods' love for the 'cryptic', that is: for the conventional substitute of the true or orginal form of a word which expresses its full meaning. Indra, it is related (ŚB. 14, 1, 1, 13), once enclosed *Makha-*, the sacrifice, in his own self; hence he became *Makhavat-*, i.e. "possessed of *makha-*"; but this name was replaced by *Maghavat-*, a very common epithet of the god, meaning "the bountiful", "for the gods love the cryptic (secret or unintelligible)": *parokṣakāmā hi devāḥ*. Thus *Indra-* is more than once said to be a substitute for *Indha-* "the Kindler" (ŚB. 6, 1, 1, 2; BārU. 4, 2, 2: "the gods are fond of the cryptic, and dislike the evident"). *Agni-* is believed to be a substitute of *Agri-*, (ŚB. 6, 1, 1, 11) the god who was created first of all; *dūrvā*, the name of the panic grass, is held to stand for *dhurvā* (ŚB. 7, 4, 2, 12); *mānuṣa-* "connected with man" for *māduṣa-* „not to be spoilt" (AiB. 3, 33, 6). Now, substitutions, variations and deformations of words are, not only for reasons of taboo and

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and reality lying behind the phenomena was also applied by other peoples, even by the ancient Greeks, who often introduced etymologies as serious arguments for the truth of an assertion (For particulars and bibliographical references see L. Ph. Rank, Etymologiseering en verwante verschijnselen bij Homerus, Thesis Utrecht 1951). — See also Liebich, o.c., p. 6 f.

euphemism [46]), but also — especially in the speech of small communities, though they may hypertrophically develop [47]) — under other conditions, a widespread phenomenon: Fr. *parbleu*, Eng. *by gad*; in French argot *monouille* instead of *monnaie* etc. Modern etymologists have often availed themselves of the occurrence of a great quantity of well-established facts [48]) in order to account for deviations of sound-laws, but they did not always succeed in avoiding the rocks upon which their Indian predecessors were wrecked.

Returning now to the instructive character proper to part of the ancient etymological speculations we would observe that they are especially interesting when they are commented upon or founded on facts by the authors themselves. Husband and wife, BārU. 1, 4, 3 says, arose from the primeval Person, who after having been as large as a woman and a man closely embraced, caused himself to fall ($\sqrt{}$*pat-*) into two pieces: *pati-* "husband" and *patnī-* "wife". In spite of their, as a rule, thoroughly 'unscientific' character these speculations are not devoid of importance because they enable us to discover the associations of ideas existing in the minds of the authors. The explanations given are almost always aetiological: TS. 5, 3, 10, 1 "With the *saṃyānīs* (particular bricks) the gods went (*sam āyuḥ*) to these worlds; that is why the *saṃyānīs* have their name". The power inherent in the mythical event is thought to reside in the objects named after this event: PB. 13, 5, 13 Prajāpatī caused the rain to fall (*acyāvayat*) by means of a sāman which, therefore, was called the *cyāvana*; by applying this sāman man is able to produce rain; TS. 3, 2, 2, 3 the sacrifice (*adhvara-*) is inviolable because the gods had become inviolable (*adhvartavyāḥ*). Not all etymologies of this kind are wrong from the modern point of view: *abhīvarta-* really means "rendering victorious" or "victorious attack" (PB. 8, 1, 8). However, these texts seldom have a permanent point of view. They are tentative and experimental in character, giving the most various answers to the same questions. Fluctuation is, therefore, also a characteristic

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46) See e.g. W. Havers, Neuere Literatur zum Sprachtabu, SitzBer. Akad. Wien 223, 5 (1946).

47) See my paper in Lingua I (Haarlem 1948), p. 333 ff.

48) The Indian *snātaka-* (the brahman student after performing the ceremonial lustrations required on finishing his studentship) had to call a *nakula-* "mongoose": *sakula-* etc.

of their etymological argumentation. Many aetiologies are no doubt products of imagination invented 'pour besoin de la cause': PB. 7, 5, 1 Prajāpati, being in a languishing and unhappy mood (*amahīyamānaḥ*) saw this *āmahīyava* melody — which in fact is the chant of the ṛṣi *Amahīyu* —; by means of it he created the creatures, which, being created, were happy (*amahīyanta*).

I would however feel an objection to considering all of them to be casual makeshifts, devised at haphazard to supply a temporary want. It does not seem to be too hazardous a conclusion that those etymologies which repeatedly occur in a variety of texts and to which the minds of the ancient authors — and often also the minds of writers belonging to later generations — always reverted to, reflected more or less settled opinions or fixed convictions, and that they corresponded to associations which in the minds of the Indians remained unchanged or characterized by a certain degree of stability and definiteness. The traditional interpretation of the name of the god who catches the life-spirit with his noose and drags it away, and who rules the spirits of the deceased, *Yama*, with √*yam-* "to hold (back), check, subdue, restrain" (see already ŚB. 7, 2, 1, 10; Nir. 5, 4 [49])) shows that the restraining function of this deity was believed to be the main feature in his personality; this conclusion is borne out by many passages in post-Vedic texts: Manu 9, 307 *yathā yamaḥ priyadveṣyau prāpte kāle niyacchati* "as Yama at the appointed time subjects to his rule both friends and foes"; Mbh. 3, 297, 66 *prajāsaṃyamano yamaḥ*; 6, 34, 29 (BhG. 10, 29) *yamaḥ saṃyamatām aham*; his city is, in the purāṇas, called *Saṃyamanī*. — The name of the divine power or goddess *Śrī* [50]) is early associated with the verb *śri-* "to rest on, to cling, to resort to": ŚB. 6, 1, 1, 4 "... because the breaths resorted to that, therefore they are elements of prosperity (*śri-*)"; cf. 11, 4, 2, 10 f.; Sāyaṇa on 10, 2, 6, 16 *śriyanti nivasanty asmin kāla iti rātriḥ śrīśabdavācyā* "might (*rātri-*) is to be spoken of as *śrī*, because at that time they (people) rest or stay in their houses"; TB. 2, 4, 6, 6 *yaśaḥ śrīḥ śrayatām mayi* [51]). There is no denying that, psychologically

[49]) Otherwise (√ *yu- ayuvata* "appropriated") TS. 2, 1, 4, 3.

[50]) See my 'Aspects of early Viṣṇuism', ch. II.

[51]) The same opinion was pronounced by R. Pischel, Vedische Studien, I, Stuttgart 1889, p. 53 ff.

speaking, there exist relations between the idea of "resorting to, having recourse to" and "earthly welfare and prosperity". In later times when the goddess was worshipped as the divine mother of all existence, as all that can be desired or imagined, when she has become the Power eternally united with the Lord, she is very often described as resting on his breast (cf. e.g. ViPur. 1, 9, 104; 116; 120; 126), as always clinging to him and Viṣṇu himself is her "abode, receptacle, or bearer" (*Śrīnivāsa-*, *Śrīnidhi-*, *Śrīdhara-*). Then her name is not only explained by the phrase *śrīyate sarvaiḥ* "she is the resort of all beings", but also by referring to her affection for her consort: *śrayati Harim* "she clings to, attends upon, honours Viṣṇu" (√*śri-* in the sense of √*sev-* "to resort to, stay at, devote one's self to honour, worship etc." [52]) — An examination of the various aspects and functions of the god Viṣṇu brings to light that the ideas of omnipresence, of pervasiveness, of penetrating into all parts of the universe, of making room in the atmospheric regions were believed to be essential features of his character. With these ideas, which, to my mind, have not always been duly emphasized by modern scholars, the traditional etymology: *Viṣṇu-* from √*viś-* "to enter, pervade" (Nir. 12, 18; often in later texts and commentaries, e.g. MtPur. 248, 41), like the frequent synonyms *Vyāpin-*, *Vyāpaka-* etc., "the Pervader", is in perfect harmony [53]). — According to the Indians a king is called *rājan-* because he "pleases" or gratifies his subjects (*rājā prakṛtirañjanāt*): this explanation is not out of tune with their conviction that he is responsible for their welfare.

These remarks are, of course, not to contend that we should base our investigations concerning the origin, history, and meaning of religious and other terms on these Indian etymologies. We should not even do that in those cases in which they are, or may be, correct. But I fail to understand why we should not examine how far a traditional explanation, if it happens to be phonetically and semantically possible, could be checked or corroborated by facts provided by philology,

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[52]) Commentary on Amarakośa, Śabdakalpadruma etc. See also G. Hartmann, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Göttin Lakṣmī, Thesis Kiel 1933, p. 2.

[53]) I refer to my above-mentioned book, esp. ch. I, s. 7. Other explanations are: *vi-* √ *aś-* "to attain, fill, penetrate" (see Nir. 12, 18), and *viṣ-* in the sense of *vyāpti-* "pervasiveness" (cf. Dhātup. 3, 13). See also M. Das Gupta, in the Indian Historical Quarterly 7 (Calcutta 1931), p. 103, n. 1.

linguistics, and the history of religions; why we should not in such a particular case as the term *brahman-* [54]), after many more or less disputable and improbable modern etymological tentatives, also

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[54]) See my treatise 'Notes on brahman', Utrecht 1950, and the criticism by P. Thieme, Zs. d. Deutschen Morgenl. Ges. 102 (1952), p. 93 ff. — In vindicating the historical, or rather the 'chronological', method which has been usual for many years Thieme seems to forget that it has not always been free from an evolutionistic bias and optimism. Applied to such cases as are under consideration this method runs the risk of laying too much stress on particular points of secondary importance, of regarding co-existent aspects as succeeding phases, of assuming 'original meanings' on the strength of very doubtful etymological possibilities, of ascribing the sense of a cognate Greek or German term to a prehistoric Indian word, of arbitrariness in constructing semantic developments and affiliations, etc. I am, of course, by no means an adversary of a sound historical method, but would contend that we should be aware of its limitations, and attempt to supplement it by gaining an insight into the very essence of the phenomena under consideration, into their structure and structural relations. (For criticism to the same effect see H. Lommel, Die alten Arier. Von Art und Adel ihrer Götter, Frankfurt am Main 1935, p. 7 ff.; 72, and passim; the same, Der arische Kriegsgott, ibid. 1939). When we are faced, in Vedic literature, with concepts of considerable content and occurrence, we should take into account: the historical, religious and sociological circumstances under which this literature came into existence, the many lacunas in our knowledge, the fact that problems of historical semantics have been shown to be much more complicated than was taken for granted fifty years ago, and the desirability of forming an idea of the complete god, being, 'concept', or institution as conceived or visualized by the ancients themselves. The point mentioned last has often been seriously neglected. In attempting to discuss origins and to trace developments of particular ideas, concepts, gods, or terms in pre- or protohistoric times scholars not infrequently failed to consider what they meant for the ancients at a certain period, what was the whole of which they were components, what was their position within that whole. Moreover, not any different meaning found in a younger text must be regarded as secondary. In some texts ancient meanings may have been preserved which had already fallen into disuse in other circles. Besides, many 'meanings' appearing in our dictionaries owe their existence only to the fact that a modern western language is not able to express the Indian concept by one word. The very fact that the many efforts to grasp the 'original' or 'oldest' meaning by the type of reasoning as advocated by Thieme has not given us a satisfactorily acceptable result seems to indicate that we may approach the problem from a different point of view, or at least, that we may consider the merits of the Indian tradition, which has sometimes been rejected without any serious examination.

collect those data and arguments which may be in favour of the Indian explanation, or why we should entirely disregard the interpretations of the Indians themselves in studying their ancient religious terminology. Why should we even distrust any result of our investigations if it happens to be in harmony with a traditional 'etymology'?

There may be, from the point of view of modern linguistics, much that is wrong or fantastic in these etymological explanations of names and other terms; their frequency and the very fact that they continue to occur for many centuries show that the mentality from which they sprung had a tenacious life, that the Indians of later generations, like their ancestors, wanted to understand the sense of these names because they also believed that that sense expresses the essence and character of the gods and 'concepts' denoted by these terms. If the same explanations are preferred by a long succession of authors and devotees we may, I think, conclude that they attached value to them, that these etymological combinations conveyed something to them. Such series of speculations and meditations on the names of a powerful being as are well known to every reader of upaniṣads and purāṇas (e.g. Maitry Up. 6, 7; AthŚirU. 4; MatsyaPur. 248, 33 ff.[55])) were an important means of penetrating the mysteries of the god's nature and character. It would appear to me that it is part of our task to rate this fact at its true value, to form a correct opinion on these 'etymologies' and to draw them into our investigations.

There is another observation to be made. From such instances as ChU. 1, 3, 6 f. where the term *udgītha-* "chanting of the Sāmaveda" is analyzed so as to express the ideas of breath, heaven, sun, Sāmaveda (*ud-*), speech, atmosphere, wind, Yajurveda (*-gī-*), food, earth, fire, Ṛgveda (*-tha*) — *ud* being connected with *uttiṣṭhati* "one arises", *gī* with *giras* "words", *tha* with *sthita-* "established" — [56]) we may learn that in the opinion of the ancient thinkers a word could, apart from its 'real meaning' and irrespective of its etymological relations, convey another sense, that it could express, in a mystic manner, ideas which

[55]) See Esnoul, Maitry Upaniṣad, p. 30; B. Tubini, Atharvaśira Upaniṣad, Paris 1952, p. 10 f.; A. Hohenberger, Die indische Flutsage und das Matsyapurāṇa, Leipzig 1930, p. 173 ff. — Cf. also such texts as ViPur. 2, 13: "He was ever repeating the names of the god, meditating upon them and their significance".

[56]) Other instances are: AiB. 3, 46, 8; ŚB. 10, 6, 2, 8; TaittU. 2, 6.

had little or nothing in common with the concepts inherent in the roots and affixes themselves. These passages constitute the oldest evidence of an 'esoteric lore' concerning power in words and formulas containing — or revealing to the initiated — mighty 'concepts' or being regarded as aspects of powerful beings or entities. Many Indians, for instance those who in later times adhered to tantristic movements and other schools of practical mysticism, have always exerted themselves to profit by the supposed power of special syllables. The Rāmapūrvatāpanīya-upaniṣad for instance, the main purpose of which is to teach the construction of a mystical diagram or amulet (*yantra-*), while dwelling, by way of preparation on the name and nature of Rāma, expressly states that the whole universe is contained in the "germ" (*bīja-*, the mystical sound or syllable which forms the essential part of a mantra, i.e., the text (12) explains, a formula saving (*trā-*) the person who makes it the object of his thoughts (*man-*)) of this mighty name: *R*, *Rā*,: the god is king (*rā-jate*), generous (*rā-ti-*), destroys the demons (*rā-kṣasa-*). According to the commentaries the other sounds of the name represent Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva joining the germ. Even the great philosophers and religious leaders, whose object though pursued by different methods was also man's salvation, could not entirely do without 'etymological' speculations [57]), although logicians, in their particular domain, sometimes were aware of the dangers of the etymological method, pointing out the fallacies arising by unduly emphasizing the supposed 'original' meanings of terms and by neglecting their actually prevalent significance [58]).

[57]) I refer to J. A. B. van Buitenen, Rāmānuja on the Bhagavadgītā, Thesis Utrecht 1953, p. 35 ff.

[58]) See e.g. B. L. Atreya, The elements of Indian logic ^{3}, Bombay 1948, p. 110 f.

Abbreviations: AiB. = Aitareya-brāhmaṇa; AthŚirU. = Atharvaśiras-upaniṣad; AV. = Atharvaveda-saṃhitā; BārU. = Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad; BhG. = Bhagavadgītā; ChU. = Chāndogya-upaniṣad; Ind. Spr. = Boehtlingk, Indische Sprüche; JB. = Jaiminīya-brāhmaṇa; Kāṭh. = Kāṭhakasaṃhitā; KB. = Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇa; KauṣU. = Kauṣītaki-upaniṣad; Mbh. = Mahābhārata; MtPur. = Matsya-purāṇa; PB. = Pañcaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa; RP. TapU. = Rāmapūrvatapanīya-upaniṣad; ṚV. = Ṛgveda-saṃhitā; ŚB. = Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa; SBE. = Sacred Books of the East; ed. by F. Max Müller; TaittU. = Taittirīya-upaniṣad; TS. = Taittirīya-saṃhitā; ViPur. = Viṣṇu-purāṇa; VS. = Vājasaneyī-saṃhitā. For editions etc. see L. Renou, Bibliographie védìque, Paris 1931; R. N. Dandekar, Vedic bibliography, Bombay 1946; L. Renou, Littérature sanskrite, Paris-Neuchatel 1946.

THE VEDIC CONCEPT OF *AṂHAS*

In attempting to discover the exact meanings of the terms composing the ancient Indian vocabulary of social life, religion, and "Weltanschauung", we encounter some serious methodological difficulties. How are we to know exactly which ideas were connected by the poets of the Ṛgveda themselves with a great number of words bearing upon their spiritual, social, and intellectual life? Also, as the meaning of words is subject to fluctuation, how are we to know if that same sense was attached to those terms by the ensuing generations? Although nowadays nobody will stand by the ancient Indian commentators through thick and thin, who is able to say exactly how far he may follow them? That the etymological method is apt to over-estimate the value of cognate words which often were current among men of different beliefs, different traditions, and a different mental attitude, and to introduce foreign elements into ancient Indian thought, has not rarely been overlooked. It is a matter of regret that in discussing the meanings of Vedic words, etymologies – which, however evident they may be, always are of a hypothetical character – should often have been put on a par with well-established facts.[1] Even in those – fortunately enough frequent – cases in which only one etymologic connection is possible and all factors perfectly correspond with each other, there remains some uncertainty on the semantic side, not to mention possibilities of parallel developments. Moreover, are we right in the tacit assumption that the meanings of the words under discussion always admitted of exact definitions?; were they completely clear to those who used them?; did the traditional vocabulary of religion and spiritual life leave no room for any ambiguity?[2]

In short, the difficulties in reaching a correct understanding of the real intentions of those ancient poets, of their moods and thoughts, are

[1] Recently, P. Thieme gave evidence of a somewhat exaggerated confidence in the value of etymologies (in the periodical *Oriens*, VI, p. 396 ff.).

[2] See e.g. P. Radin, *Die religiöse Erfahrung der Naturvölker* (Zürich, 1951).

so obvious that they cannot fail to provoke mistrust of any too assertive an attempt to lift a corner of the veil. For all that it is the fate of the philologist that, in full knowledge of the inadequacy of his tools and methods, he cannot forbear to pose questions and to search for answers, that is to say: to search for that view of a particular phenomenon which for the time being fits into the picture of ancient Indian culture which he has made for himself by studying the texts and by considering and re-considering what is the outcome of those studies of pre-scientific and ancient civilizations which for the present seem to be in accordance with the best standards.

In continuation of what in another publication[3] has been observed on the frequent references in Vedic literature to "broadness" and the obvious importance of the ideas connected with such terms as *uru-* "broad" etc. by the poets and experts to whom we owe the ancient documents, and in addition to some notes by Rodhe[4] and by myself,[5] attention may be claimed here for the opposite idea which to all appearance was expressed by some words deriving from the root *aṃh-*. This family is one of those groups of words which, playing a more or less important part in Vedic times, was replaced by other expressions at a later period.[6] There can be no doubt whatever as to its general sense: broadly speaking it meant something like "evil" and was in the commentaries explained accordingly by *pāpa-* and similar words.

Comparatively clear is, to begin with, the meaning of the noun *aṃhu-:* "Drangsal" (Grassmann); or "Enge, Drangsal" (Roth in the Petr. Dict.). It is always opposed to *uru-* or to the related *varivovittara-: varivas-* "space, freedom, relief, comfort": Kāṭh. 25, 9: 116, 21 where *varīyasī* "broader" and *aṃhīyasī* "narrower" (in a literal sense) are opposites; ṚV. 1, 107, 1 the good disposition (*sumati-*) of the Ādityas is expected to find or grant *varivas-*, relief from *aṃhu-*. The particle *cit* occurring 2, 26, 4 seems to intimate the serious character of the idea of distress expressed by *aṃhu-:* "even from *aṃhu-* Brahmaṇaspati, the marvellous one, is able to grant relief": literally, "to grant wide space, room, freedom from oppression etc., deliverance". There is no need for the interpretation of the text provided by Sāyaṇa of "he grants ample assistance in helping us out of poverty". The same limitation to economic conditions was assumed by this commentator also 1, 107, 1 (cf. 5, 67, 4).

[3] J. Gonda, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism* (Utrecht, 1954), p. 61 ff. etc.

[4] S. Rodhe, *Deliver us from evil* (Lund-Copenhagen, 1946), p. 40 ff.

[5] *O.c.*, p. 69 f.

[6] See L. Renou, "Les éléments védiques dans le sanskrit classique," *Journal Asiatique*, 1939, p. 390.

In 5, 65, 4 *mitró aṃhóś cid ád urú kṣáyāya gātúṃ vanate* "Mitra gewinnt selbst aus Bedrängnis einen Ausweg, freie Bahn zu einem Wohnsitz". In consideration of other passages – 1, 36, 8 where after the victory over Vṛtra and the conquest of the waters a broad (tract of land) is said to have been prepared for dwelling in (*urú kṣáyāya cakrire*); 8, 68, 12 where Indra is invoked to render available a broad (region) for those praying and their children, a broad (region) for dwelling in (*urú kṣáyāya nas kṛdhi*), and to procure broadness for living (in); 10, 99, 8 where Indra, giving water, is described as finding a place or free space for, or access to, a dwelling-place (*kṣáyāya gātúṃ vidán no asmé*) – these somewhat ambiguous terms may be taken as referring to the difficulties of nomadic life: the Ṛgvedic Aryans, who constituted primarily pastoral communities and tilled tracts of fertile soil in a very uneconomic way, and who were, moreover, often dislodged from their fields and pastures by those who came after them, eagerly longed for an opportunity to settle in a broad and fertile region where they would be free from narrowness and oppression in various senses of the terms.[7] ṚV. 5, 67, 4 Mitra and Varuṇa are said to give good guidance and good gifts, granting relief even from *aṃhu-* (*aṃhóś cid urucákrayaḥ*). In 8, 18, 5 the sons of Aditi are described as being able to ward off hostilities and – again the same expression – to grant broadness instead of *aṃhu-*, in the next stanza the goddess herself is invoked to protect the cattle of those speaking and to protect them from *aṃhas*, "always increasing". Here *aṃhu-* means, according to Sāyaṇa, *āhananaśīla- pāpa-* i.e. "evil of the nature of beating or killing", which at least was no doubt one of the aspects of *aṃhu-*. The same gods are in a prayer for deliverance from danger and distress,[8] not only implored for protection and liberation from bonds, but also stated to have the disposal of "relief from narrowness", relief being, again, expressed by "broadness" (*ásti devā aṃhór urú*): 8, 67, 7. Here Sāyaṇa, misunderstanding *uru*, takes *aṃhos* as a term for "a killer (destroyer) of bad character". In the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa the "comparative" to the word *aṃhu-* occurs as an adjective, again in opposition to *uru-* "broad": 1, 25, 6 *paro varīyāṃso vā ime lokā arvāg aṃhīyāṃsaḥ* "these worlds are broader above and narrower below". In the compound *aṃhubheda-* of obscene sense ("with a narrow slit": Vāj. S. 23, 28), which occurs in one of the mantras used to accompany the rite of the queen

[7] "Die arischen Nomaden und Viehzüchter begehren vor allem Raum (aw. *zavah-*) und fürchten die Enge (*ązah-*, ved. *aṃhas-*), auch nachdem sie seszhaft geworden sind, genau so wie die Germanen (Tac. Germ. 16)" J. Hertel, *Die Sonne und Mitra im Awesta* (Leipzig, 1927), p. 134.

[8] See also K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-veda übersetzt*, II (Harvard, 1951), p. 390.

and the horse in the Aśvamedha, the literal meaning of "narrow" is beyond any doubt.

The adjective *aṃhurá-*[9] occurs ṚV. 10, 5, 6 ~ Ath. V. 5, 1, 6, a stanza of uncertain purport: "the seers have fashioned seven boundaries, unto one of these went one *aṃhura-*". Are these seven entities, as was supposed by Geldner,[10] "die letzten und höchsten Ideen oder Symbole des Urwesens, bei denen die Spekulation Halt machen musz"?; is *aṃhura-* "the man who does not find a way out"? Anyhow, this interpretation – which again connects the word with spatial narrowness or lack of room – seems more plausible than the ethical explication suggested by Yāska, Nir. 6, 27 and adopted by Durga and Sāyaṇa: *aṃhuraḥ* = *aṃhasvān* = *pāpavān puruṣaḥ* "a sinner" (i.e. a thief, the murderer of a brahman or of an embryo etc.).

A very interesting passage is ṚV. 6, 47, 20 "O gods, we have reached a tract of land without good pasturage for our cattle; the earth though (otherwise, usually) broad, has become narrow" (*agavyūtí kṣétram áganma devā urvī́ satī́ bhū́mir aṃhūraṇā́bhūt*). This statement which of course may be taken in a metaphorical sense – referring to a man who has lost his cows or livelihood: cf. the following words: "Bṛhaspati and Indra, show the way to the sage who anxious (to find his cows) is in such an (evil) plight" – was made by Sāyaṇa to refer to Garga who was lost in the forest. The same word *aṃhūraṇa-* occurs, as a substantive, 1, 105, 17 in a significant context: Trita[11] who has been buried in a well prays to the gods for help; Bṛhaspati – a god who protects the honest man from dangers and calamities – hears him and effects his escape, or literally "made broad(ness) from the narrow(ness)": *kṛṇvánn aṃhūraṇā́d urú* (*a. aṃhasaḥ pāparūpād asmāt kūpapātād unnīya uru vistīrṇaṃ śobhanaṃ k. kurvan* Sāyaṇa). The man who, either with regard to his person, or with regard to his house, "goes down to *aṃhūraṇa-*" is "seized by *aṃhaḥ*" (Kāṭh. 10, 9).

The same god Bṛhaspati or Brahmaṇaspati[12] is also addressed in connection with the term *aṃhas-* to a discussion of which we pass on now. Occupying a position of prominence in the Ṛgvedic pantheon, he

[9] For *-rá-* see J. Wackernagel-A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2 (Göttingen, 1954), p. 857. It is worth noticing that the *-rá-* adjective belongs to *aṃhú-*, although in many other cases *-rá-* is found beside substantives formed, like *aṃhas-*, with the suffix *-as-*: see my *Ancient-Indian ojas*... (Utrecht, 1952), p. 82 f.

[10] Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 127, who translates "der Eingeengte (?)".

[11] For Trita see A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 67 ff.; K. Rönnow, *Trita Āptya, eine Vedische Gottheit* (Uppsala, 1927).

[12] For Bṛhaspati see Macdonell, *o.c.*, p. 101 ff.

is a priest and a benevolent divinity. He is associated with Agni and Indra and plays also a part in the Indra myth of the release of the cows. He is described as a pathmaker (ṚV. 2, 23, 6), who drives away enemies and "wolves" (st. 7). "With good guidance Thou guidest and protectest the man who offers to Thee, (so that) no distress (*aṃhas*) will reach him". Although Sāyaṇa is again inclined to regard *aṃhas* as a term for "poverty" (*pāpaṃ pāparūpaṃ dāridryaṃ vā*), some emphasis may be laid on the association of *aṃhas* with words for protecting and guiding or conducting (st. 4). "Neither *aṃhas* nor *duritam* ("bad course, difficulty, discomfort") from anywhere subdue ("surpass": *titiruḥ*) him, nor enviousness nor dishonest men; Thou drivest away all mischievous powers from that man whom, O Brahmaṇaspati, Thou protectest as a good herdsman" (st. 5). Here, Sāyaṇa identifies *aṃhas* with *āhantavyaṃ duḥkham* and *duritam* with *tatkāraṇaṃ pāpam*, the former explication "trouble to be struck or beaten" being inspired by an "etymological" association.[13] Another interesting place has already been mentioned: 2, 26, 4 Brahmaṇaspati leads forward (conducts, promotes etc.) that man who offers to him (*prá tám prācā́ nayati*), he defends him from distress (literally or, rather, 'originally': "he makes him broad out of narrowness"), he saves him from injury ...".[14]

Another divinity credited with the ability of protecting from the evil called *aṃhas* is Pūṣan,[15] a knower of paths and a guardian of the roads par excellence: he is able to guide the searcher so as to retrieve what has strayed, knows the regions, protects cattle and property, brings it back when it is lost. He is implored to remove dangers, the wolf, the waylayer, from the road (cf. 1, 42, 1 ff.), to protect the herdsman and his herd from the many dangers which beset the way, to make the roads easy and passable, to lead the way to a pasture rich in grass. In this connection he is called the "deliverer" (*vimocana-*) and "the descendant of unharnessing" (*vimuco napāt*[16]) which appears to mean "the representative of the power effecting a safe and sound return home" (1, 42, 1). The interpretation proposed by Sāyaṇa of the beginning of this passage ("O Pūṣan, pass through the ways, remove the *aṃhas*" ...: *sám pūṣann*

[13] For the character of these 'etymologies' see *Lingua, Int. Review of Gen. Ling.*, V, p. 61 ff.

[14] The form *uruṣyati* has been discussed by L. Renou, *Grammaire de la langue védique* (Paris, 1952), p. 303, and T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit language* (London, 1955), p. 132, n. 1 and 188; for the construction, see Renou, p. 350.

[15] See Macdonell, *o.c.*, p. 35 ff.; S. D. Atkins, *Pūṣan in the Rig-Veda* (Princeton, 1941), who also deals with Pūṣan as a god of the paths (p. 16 ff.).

[16] It is the author's intention to make some observations on the phrases of this type in another publication.

ádhvanas tira vy áṃhaḥ ...), viz. "O Pūṣan, cause us duly to reach the goal desired and destroy the evil which is the cause of hindrances (obstacles etc.)" (*vighnahetuṃ pāpmānam*) may be regarded as plausible.

Now that our attention has been drawn to the relation between *aṃhas* and difficulties on the road we may also discuss here passages such as 2, 34, 15 where the Maruts are besought to extend a similar favour to those praying and the verb used (*pāráyathấty áṃhaḥ*) literally means "to bring across". The same significance is still more obvious 7, 66, 5: "may those be in front (of us) on our march who bring us across the *aṃhas*" (*prá nú yấman ... yé no áṃho 'tipíprati*): there seems to be no need to explain this place metaphorically: in the preceding lines the god, Varuṇa, is implored to protect the eulogist and his relations and to hear their prayers; "this abode must", it is added, "be very attentive or helpful"; and in st. 8 the poem is explicitly stated to lead to wealth and to power safeguarding against "wolves", a term which no doubt included other living beings of a sinister and malevolent nature, such as robbers, waylayers etc.[17] The same verb *ati-pṝ-* is used 10, 35, 14 "whom, O gods, you favour at the winning of *vāja-*, i.e. "vigour", whom you rescue, whom you bring across *aṃhaḥ* ...": without insisting on the demonstrative force of the argument it may be observed that all other terms for various kinds of good and evil in this poem (favour, wealth, soundness; disease etc.) are usually taken in a literal sense. However, there is nothing which precludes us from taking these words in a metaphorical sense which 10, 63, 6 is even probable: "the sacrifice, offered to you (gods), which will bring us across *aṃhas* in order to obtain well-being (*svastaye*)".

Incidentally the term under discussion is opposed to a word for "shelter, refuge, safety", *śarman-* which however is likewise apt to be used in a metaphorical sense –: 10, 66, 5 where a variety of gods are invoked to grant *śarman-* which gives threefold (i.e. effective) protection against *aṃhas:* (Sarasvat, Varuṇa, Pūṣan, Viṣṇu etc.) *śárma no yaṃsan trivárūtham áṃhasaḥ.* Still more significant are 10, 25, 8: "O Soma, do Thou that art more familiar with localities than man protect us from injury (*druh-*) and *aṃhas*" (*kṣetravíttaro mánuṣo ví ... druhó naḥ pāhy áṃhasaḥ* ...)– in the preceding stanza Soma is implored to be the herdsman of those praying –, and 1, 106, 1: "As a chariot (is brought) across a difficult or narrow passage – *durga-*, which can also stand for "a place difficult of access" or "difficulty, danger or distress" in a more general sense, "bring us out of (rescue us from: *níṣ pipartana*) all *aṃhas*": *pāpād asmān nir-*

[17] See also H. Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras* (Tübingen, 1930), p. 113, 115 etc.

gamayya pālayata (Sāyaṇa). Compare also the difficult passage 1, 180, 5: *jūrṇó vām ákṣur áṃhasaḥ;* although Geldner's[18] interpretation "abgenutzt ist eure Stange(?) infolge der Not" is very problematic, it must be conceded that *akṣu-* seems to refer to a part of the chariot of the gods addressed (the Aśvins); cf. 1, 184, 3. If *jūrṇa-* means "worn out, decayed" and *akṣu-* refers to a pole or similar object – is the word related to *akṣa-* "axle", which denotes also "the beam of a balance" and the "collar-bone"?, *akṣu* probably referring to other stakes or beams –, *aṃhasaḥ* may, in a literal sense mean: "on account of the narrowness of the road or passage", intimating the narrow escape from danger or evil on the part of those men who were rescued by the god. Worth mentioning is also 3, 59, 2 "he is neither killed nor defeated ("wird nicht erschlagen noch ausgeraubt", Geldner); *aṃhas* does not fall upon him ...".

The word *aṃhas* is not infrequently accompanied by the verb *tṝ-* which, in a general sense, means "to cross over (a river), to pass across, to get through, attain an aim or end", and hence also "to overcome, surpass, rescue"; by the by-form *trā-* "to protect"; by forms belonging to *pṛ-* or its compounds "to bring over, rescue, save, escort, protect, preserve, surpass, etc." Cf. 2, 33, 3 *párṣi ṇaḥ pārám áṃhasaḥ svastí* ... "(O Rudra,) bring us successfully to the opposite side of distress, ward off all assaults of *rápas* (a collective term for a special kind of injurious powers)"; 1, 115, 6; 2, 34, 15; 3, 32, 14; 4, 2, 8; 6, 4, 8; 7, 23, 2; 40, 4; 10, 65, 12. Thus we find 6, 2, 4 *dviṣó áṃho ná tarati* "he overcomes hostilities like *aṃhas*"; cf. also 10, 132, 7. ṚV. 5, 45, 11, the last stanza of a poem dealing with the first sunrise after the rainy season, expresses the wish to survive the *aṃhas*: no doubt the difficulties of the rains which prevented people from travelling or caused discomfort to those who were on the way. The poet of 6, 67, 8 using the phrase *dāśúṣe ví cayiṣṭam áṃhaḥ* "remove, for Thy worshipper, the distress" may have modelled it upon the frequent *vi-ci- pathas* "to clear or prepare roads": cf. e.g. 1, 90, 4; 4, 37, 7; see also 4, 20, 9 *vícayiṣṭho áṃhaḥ*. Similes not rarely shed light on the significance attributed to a phrase by the poet who used it: thus 4, 2, 8 where Agni is besought to rescue the man who honours him from *aṃhas* like a horse: probably the horse which after an accident on the road puts things right again. In the rather obscure stanza 10, 132, 7 the purohita Nṛmedha driving Agni as the horse of the chariot which is the sacrifice, is stated to have achieved a deliverance from *aṃhas*. 4, 12, 6 *aṃhas* is compared to foot-irons or similar impediments.

Of special interest is the association of *aṃhas* and *durita-*, which deriving

[18] Geldner, *o.c.*, I, p. 259.

from *i-* "to go" means "faring ill, a bad course", and hence, "a difficulty, hardship, danger, discomfort, evil". Compare: 10, 39, 11 *nā́ṃho aśnoti duritáṃ nákir bhayám* "neither *a.* nor *d.* nor fear does reach him"; 126, 1 where Sāyaṇa is again inclined to consider *d.* the result or effect of *a.* : *a.* : *pāpam*, *d.* : *tatphalarūpaṃ durgamanam*; 6, 2, 11; 7, 82, 7 *aṃhas*, *d.* and *tapas* "pain, suffering"; 2, 23, 5 *ná tám áṃho ná duritáṃ kútaś caná nā́rātayas titirur ná dvayāvínaḥ* "über ihn kommen weder Not noch Gefahr von irgend einer Seite, nicht Miszgunst noch Doppelzüngige" (Geldner). For *durga-* see also 1, 99, 1. Other terms for related ideas are, for instance, *gātu-* "path, way" in the sense of "free space for moving, and hence progress, welfare": see e.g. ṚV. 1, 96, 4; *suga-* "a good path, an easy or successful course": 1, 106, 5 "Bṛhaspati, make us always an easy course" (*sugáṃ kṛdhi*); 102, 4 the same word is associated with *varivas* "width, room, free scope".

In places the choice of words reflects the difficulties of nomadic life and the desire to find a suitable place of residence: 6, 2, 11 where the wish for *suastíṃ sukṣitím* "well-being and a good abode" is followed by *dviṣó áṃhāṃsi duritā́ tarema* "may we overcome enmities, troubles, and difficulties".

That the idea expressed by *aṃhas* and that of "broadness" expressed by *uru-* and its family were opposites appears from a considerable number of places: 1, 63, 7, Indra in destroying the enemies changed, on behalf of Pūru, *aṃhas* into *várivas* "room, space", also "ease, comfort", and according to Sāyaṇa *dhanam* "property, wealth": "da schafftest du ... dem Puru Befreiung aus Not" (Geldner); 6, 37, 4 where Indra, as broad as possible in giving the sacrificial gift,[19] is stated to "go round", i.e. to avoid the *aṃhas*, which is paraphrased by Sāyaṇa: *pāpaṃ yajñasaṃbandhi* "evil connected with the sacrifice". ṚV. 1, 58, 8 Agni is besought to protect the eulogist from *aṃhas* by means of strongholds made of iron – i.e. with effective help (cf. Sāyaṇa) –, the term for "protect" being *uruṣya*; cf. also st. 9; 1, 91, 15 the same verb is used in connection with imprecations: protect us from i. (*uruṣyā́ ṇo abhíśasṭeḥ*), save us from *aṃhas*"; 4, 55, 5 "the Lord (in all probability: Varuṇa) may protect (*uruṣyet*) us against *aṃhas* originating with strangers, Mitra against that originating with friends"; 7, 1, 15 Agni is stated to protect against the jealous enemy and to safeguard (*uruṣyāt*) against *aṃhas*. It is in this connection important to notice that the geographic and economic contrast between the narrow, hostile and infertile mountains and the broad, inviting and productive plains was not rarely expressed by words

19 See also Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 134.

of a similar meaning: The Avestan *ravah-* which may be rendered by "clear space, open country" and "freedom, free scope, liberty" – an ideal so much desired that it is[20] expected to be realized in paradise: Yt. 3, 4 – is in the compound *ravas.čarāt-* used to characterize those animals which move in the plains, not in the mountains (Yt. 8, 36). This word is generally considered as related to the German group Goth. *rûms*, Germ. *raum* "broad, wide, spacious", the Engl. *room*; cf. Lat. *rūs* "open country".

Other opposites of *aṃhas* are wealth and happiness: 6, 4, 8 "on 'wolfless' paths"; 6, 11, 6 where wealth is a remedy for *aṃhas*; property: 4, 20, 9; "well-being" (*svasti-*), cf. 5, 51, 13; "life and physical abilities (denoted by *caratha-* "going"): 1, 36, 14; continuation of life: 4, 12, 6. The prayer for protection against the evil called *aṃhas* is accompanied by the wish to see the cattle in a well-preserved condition: 8, 18, 6. Ṛgvedakhila 2, 6, 18 Sch. *aṃhas* is co-ordinated with *enas* "sin" and opposed to *rāyaspoṣa-* "increase of wealth and property". That *aṃhas* developed into a general term for "evil" (*pāpa-* Sāyaṇa) may also appear from the frequent use of verbs for "reaching, coming upon" etc. on the one hand, and from general terms for protecting or freeing on the other: cf. e.g. 3, 59, 2 *naínam áṃho aśnoti*; 6, 3, 2 *nā́ṃho mártaṃ naśate*; 7, 82, 7; 1, 18, 5 *dákṣiṇā pātv áṃhasaḥ*. That the idea expressed by *aṃhas* sometimes had a rather serious character may also appear from 6, 16, 31 where the "distress" consists in immediate danger of life, occasioned by the weapon of an enemy; cf. probably also 7, 23, 2; 10, 36, 2 *aṃhas* is associated with *riṣ-* "injury" and *Nirṛti*, i.e. the goddess of destruction or perdition; in the next stanza *aṃhas* seems to be opposed to the safety of sunlight: literally the wolfless i.e. inoffensive, safe light of the sun. Sometimes *aṃhas* obviously refers to disease: 10, 97, 15 where the medicinal herbs are stated to deliver, by Bṛhaspati's orders, from *aṃhas*. ṚV. 1, 118, 8 a man was in distress because his cow did not yield milk.

In a frequency of passages the term *aṃhas* must have had a very general meaning: "evil". Here Sāyaṇa's favourite interpretation *pāpa-* is no doubt pertinent. Cf. 6, 48, 8 where Agni is invoked to protect man, for the whole of his lifetime, against *aṃhas*; 7, 15, 3; 13, 15. It is worth noticing that it is, here and elsewhere, the burning fire which, of course owing to its character as a destroyer of evil influences,[21] is explicitly described as exerting this protective function, which may be regarded as

[20] If Geldner's conjectural interpretation of this passage is right.

[21] Cf. e.g. also 1, 97, 1 "driving off evil by your flames, O Agni, bestow on us by flaming, wealth"; Taitt. Br. 2, 4, 1, 6 "Agni drives away demoniac beings, the brightly flaming one, the immortal, light, purifying, (who is) worthy of reverence".

one of the fundamental motives of fire worship. See also 1, 18, 5; 93, 8; 136, 5; 4, 53, 5; 5, 31, 13; 6, 67, 8; 8, 31, 2; 9, 56, 4.

Of special interest is the connection with *bhaya-*: "fear, dread; peril, danger" and relative words: 2, 28, 6 Varuṇa is invoked to free the person speaking from *aṃhas* as a calf from a rope and to keep off fear; cf. also 10, 35, 14; with darkness: 7, 71, 5 (*tamas*); with battle or contest: 1, 54, 1; disease: 8, 18, 10 ward off disease, failing (*sridh-*), ill-will (*durmati-*) and protect us against *aṃhas*; cf. 2, 33, 2; bears and the weapons of the *dāsas* (non-Aryans): 8, 24, 27; hatred or hostility: 2, 33, 2; 6, 44, 16; 10, 24, 3; blame or disgrace: 1, 115, 6; various kinds of demons or evil beings: 9, 104, 6 *rakṣás*, *atri-* "devourer", and *dvayu-* "dishonest man"; 1, 36, 14; 4, 3, 14; 7, 15, 13; 15; *amati-* "indigence" and *durmati-* "bad disposition of mind": 4, 11, 6; dissatisfaction and haughtiness: 6, 3, 2. It may be noticed that ṚV. 7, 15, 13 is prescribed by one of the authors of the Ṛgvidhāna[22] in a rite performed in order to annihilate the guilt caused by "myriads of sins" (2, 25, 3–5).

The *aṃhas* is sometimes said to originate in a definite source, or to belong to a definite being. Compare 4, 2, 9 *naínam áṃhaḥ pári varad aghāyóḥ* "the distress (trouble) brought about by the malignant one must not surround him"; although the metaphorical sense is obvious the verb "surround" instead of "vex, annoy" may be a reminiscence of the original meaning of *aṃhas*; 10, 164, 4 *aṃhas* of enemies ("Bedrängnis der Feinde" Geldner); 8, 19, 6 mentions *aṃhas* caused by gods or men; 7, 104, 23 *aṃhas* originating in heaven and on the earth.

In the Atharvaveda the original sense of the term under consideration has even more fallen into the background. It belongs to those manifestations of evil against which man attempts to protect himself by amulets: 2, 4, 3 "let this amulet which overpowers the *viṣkandha* – which is defined by the commentary on 1, 16, 3 as disorder or a disturbance caused by demons and obstructing motion – protect us from distress (*aṃhas*)"; although the use of this remedy is described with a profusion of terms of various evils, the observation made by the commentary: "(this text is) for thwarting witchcraft, for protecting one's self, for putting down hindrances" may have been inspired by this line. Cf. also 4, 10, 1 where a pearlshell amulet tied on in a ceremony for long life (cf. Kauśikasūtra 58, 9) is invoked to protect from distress. Elsewhere gods are besought for the same reason: 2, 28, 1 (Mitra); 6, 3, 2 (Soma); 11, 6, 1–6 (a great variety of divinities); 10–21 (gods and other potent beings or entities) cf. also 4, 23, 1–29, 7; 1, 31, 2 where the *aṃhas* combines with the fetters

[22] See J. Gonda, *The Ṛgvidhāna* (Utrecht, 1951), p. 55 ff.

of *nirṛti-* ("perdition"). Or the purifying waters are expected to annihilate *aṃhas*: 7, 112, 1; 10, 5, 22; 14, 2, 45; or herbs: 6, 96, 1; 8, 7, 13; or rice and barley: 8, 2, 18; various animals: 11, 6, 8.

Ath. V. 8, 7, 13 the word *aṃhas* is associated with the idea of death; 2, 28, 1 with that of dying prematurely; 8, 2, 18 with *yakṣma-* a class of diseases of a consumptive nature (the text is to prolong one's life); 4, 10, 3 with disease, misery or indigence and a class of evil beings called *sadānvās*; 6, 45, 3 with *durita-* ("difficulty", Whitney-Lanman),[23] see above, cf. also 7, 64, 1; 10, 5, 22; 8, 4, 23 with demons, sorcery etc.; 6, 45, 3 the affliction called *aṃhas* appears to be an evil consequence of "proceeding falsely"; 7, 112, 1 f. a curse seems to be its origin, or, what is more probable, it is associated with a curse (cf. 6, 96, 1 f.); 7, 64, 1 the cause of the distress and difficulty is an ominous black bird which has dropped something; 10, 5, 22 untruth spoken; 19, 44, 8 untruth (*anṛtam*) and *aṃhas* seem to be identical; cf. 9.

Aṃhas, 6, 99, 1, can on the other hand be caused by human beings: 9, 2, 3 the wish is pronounced that those who devise distresses – the word used is the related *aṃhūraṇa-* – will be afflicted by manifold evil. The other place exhibiting the term *aṃhūraṇa-* (at least in one of its 'special meanings' or 'developments' expressed by a derivative) is of interest because of the antithesis between "distress" and "width" (*varimatas*): "Thee, O Indra, on account of width, Thee against 'distress' I call": the commentator is no doubt right in interpreting these words: "for the sake of width" (*urutvād dhetoḥ*).

It may be of interest to add some particulars borrowed from other Vedic texts. Vāj. Saṃh. 4, 10 a staff of udumbara wood given by the adhvaryu priest to the institutor of the sacrifice is addressed: "stand up, O tree; being erect protect me from distress (*aṃhas*) until this sacrifice is ended". Here the harm is of a general character. Cf. e.g. also Taitt. Br. 3, 6, 1, 2. In 12, 9 – one of a series of formulas relating to the treatment of Agni of the Fire-pan and the preparation of the āhavanīya fire-altar – Agni is implored to return with food and life and to preserve those praying from *aṃhas*. In 20, 14 ff. the person speaking addresses Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya asking them to free him from "that 'sin' and all distress" (the words used are *enas* and *aṃhas*) which he has committed and which has stirred the wrath of the gods: one of those prayers from general deliverance from "evil" or "sin" frequently to be found in these documents.[24] Another passage where the *aṃhas* is not specified is 33, 42:

[23] W. D. Whitney-Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharvaveda Saṃhitā* (Harvard, 1905), p. 314.
[24] See also Rodhe, *o.c.*, p. 41 f.

"O gods, deliver us from distress and dishonour (*nir aṃhasaḥ pipṛtā nir avadyāt*) when the sun has arisen". A special evil is, however, meant 19, 10: the 'goddess' of cholera (or a similar disease) Viṣūcikā[25] who protects man from wild animals, is brought to guard the client of the priest from distress, i.e. not to attack him.

Similar prayers occur in the Yajur-veda. In the Taittirīya-saṃhitā 1, 8, 1, 1 the goddess of perdition, Nirṛti, is implored "to free him from *aṃhas*"; 2, 3, 13, 1 Indra and Varuṇa ("with their strong, protective, brilliant body"); 4, 7, 15, 1, Agni; 4, 3, 13, 5, the Maruts. The author emphasizes Indra's power to deliver man from *aṃhas*: 2, 2, 7, 3 f. "he who is seized by misfortune should offer a cake on eleven potsherds to Indra, deliverer from tribulation (*aṃhomuc-*), tribulation (*aṃhas*) is misfortune (*pāpman-*)...". Cf. also 2, 4, 2, 2; 3. A formula (ibid. 3, 1, 4 i) found also in various śrautasūtras (e.g. Āpast. 7, 17, 3)[26] is to appease the evil caused by inauspicious behaviour of the sacrificial animal and implores Agni "to release the person speaking from that sin (*enas*), from all misfortune (*aṃhas*)". TS. 4, 3, 13, 4 the poet asks the Maruts to unloosen the bonds of tribulation; instead of *aṃhasas* the corresponding line in the Ath. V., 7, 77, 3 has *enasas* "sin, evil". See also 3, 2, 4, 3. Finally, the man whose enemy is superior to him, is described as being seized by "trouble or tribulation" (*aṃhas*): 2, 4, 2, 3.

Some words may be said on *aṃhas* in the brāhmaṇas and other Vedic texts, in which it is not very frequent. Śāṅkh. (Kauṣ.) Br. 26, 4 it means "affliction, trial, tribulation" in a rather general sense: "it is an *aṃhas* to the sacrifice if the priest in the sadas calls attention to a flaw passed over"; however, the tribulation may be an "oppression". A very interesting formula quoted, with some variations, in several works (ŚatBr. 1, 5, 1, 22; Āp. Śr. sū. 6, 2, 2, 1; Āsv. Śr. sū. 1, 2, 1; Śāṅkh. Śr. sū. 1, 6, 4 runs as follows: "the six broad ones must protect me against *aṃhas* (*ṣaṇ morvīr aṃhasas pāntu*), to wit fire, earth, water, the power of vegetation and victorious success (*vāja-*), day and night" (ŚatBr.), "...heaven and earth, water and medicinal herbs, refreshing food (vigour) and youthful vitality" (... *ūrk ca sūnṛtā ca*, Āp.), or "heaven and earth, day and night, water and herbs", (Śāṅkh.). The antithesis *uru*: *aṃhas* is again obvious, the more so as the powers[27] enumerated are representatives of that beneficial 'broadness' and extensiveness, which carries man through the difficulties

[25] Cf. J. Jolly, *Medicin* (*Grundriss*) (Strassburg, 1901), p. 75 ff.

[26] And in other texts: see A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School* (Harvard, 1914), p. 227, n. 2.

[27] For "power" see e.g. also M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I (München, 1941), p. 37 f.; 41 f.; 60 ff.

of life. It is clear that to the mind of those composing these formulas the ideas associated with earth, water, herbs, youth etc. were opposed to *aṃhas*. With the exception of the night – which however in connection with day merely serves to express the idea of time – these 'concepts', phenomena or powers are all of them not only conducive, but even necessary, to human life, well-being and happiness: the broad sky, atmosphere and earth allow the powers of heaven to produce the effects desired, without water no fertility is possible, without youthful vitality the community is doomed to death. The evil consequences of any event preventing these powers from operating and manifesting their "broadness" are therefore called *aṃhas*. In Āpastamba's sūtra the above formula is followed by Taitt. Saṃh. 4, 7, 15w (∽ ṚV. 4, 12, 6) "even as ye did set free, O bright ones (the gods), the buffalo cow bound by the foot, so do ye remove tribulation (*aṃhas*) from us; be our life prolonged further, O Agni", and Taitt. Br. 2, 5, 8, 3 "set us free, who so to say, have been caught in a snare".

Another formula (Maitr. Saṃh. 4, 13, 9: 212, 12; ŚatBr. 1, 9, 1, 20; TBr. 3, 5, 10, 5; Āśv. Śr. sū. 1, 9, 5 etc.): *iṣṭaṃ ca vittaṃ* (or: *vītaṃ*) *cety ubhe cainaṃ dyāvāpṛthivī aṃhasas pātām* "... heaven and earth must protect him against *aṃhas*", is explained (ŚatBr.) as follows: "that is to say: heaven and earth must preserve him from painful occurrences" (mischief including pain, illness, trouble etc.: *ārter gopāyatām*).

Another interesting formula occurs Taitt. Br. 3, 7, 7, 2; Taitt. Ār. Āndhra rec. 10, 47 c; Āp. Śr. sū. 10, 8, 9; Mahānār. Up. 2, 47: "We touch from behind – an act executed in order to participate in power – with the mind, wind and breath, Prajāpati who is the herdsman of the world; he must rescue us from death, he must protect us against *aṃhas*; may we live long and attain a great age". Other passages worth mentioning are: Maitr. S. 4, 14, 17; Taitt. Br. 3, 7, 12, 2 *ṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī ṛtena tvaṃ sarasvati kṛtān naḥ pāhy* (*ṛtān mā muñcata*) *aṃhasaḥ yad anyakṛtam* ... (also Taitt. Ār. 2, 3, 1): here *ṛta-* "norm, cosmic and moral order" is considered a means of freeing a man from *aṃhas*, the powers invoked are heaven and earth and the river Sarasvatī which surpasses all other waters in purity and greatness, the best of mothers, bestowing wealth, plenty, vitality, and 'immortality' and protecting her worshippers against their enemies.[28] Taitt. Br. 2, 4, 1, 6 *agne rakṣā ṇo aṃhasaḥ*; cf. 2, 6, 6, 1; 2 from *enas* and *aṃhas* (Agni and Sūrya); cf. also 2, 8, 7, 9; "deliver" (*muc-*) 1, 6, 1, 3.

In the brāhmaṇas *aṃhas* is also 'something', a potency or influence,

[28] See Macdonell, *o.c.*, p. 86.

which may be removed by means of a sacrifice (*ava-yaj-*). In describing the sacrifices performed at the beginning of the seasons the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, 1, 10, 10 (cf. Kāṭh. 36, 5) relates that the creatures, after having been created by Prajāpati, were *aṃhogṛhīta-* "seized by distress" because the Maruts had scattered the god's oblations; wishing therefore to cure them he produced from himself milk, and by sacrificing that he removed the *aṃhas*. Therefore, the text adds, the Varuṇapraghāsāḥ, i.e. the second of these periodical sacrifices,[29] are considered to be an appeasing (or expiation by sacrificing) of *aṃhas* (*aṃhasaḥ* ... *aveṣṭi-*). In other texts – cf. e.g. Śat. Br. 2, 5, 2, 1; 23; Kāṭh. S. 36, 5 the ceremony is to deliver people from the evil called Varuṇa's snare, which in this connection in all probability refers to dearth of food. This is in agreement with the part which the Maruts – who are concerned with rain – played in this rite: they are, beside Varuṇa, the gods for whose special benefit the oblations are prepared. An important feature in this ritual is the ceremony by which the wife of the sacrificer is called upon to admit what lovers she has had and to offer grains pounded in an uncooked condition. According to Maitr. Saṃh. 1, 11 the latter act is to appease *aṃhas*; if the grains are roasted, this evil is not expiated. From other particulars concerning ritual details in which the same expression "to appease distress" recurs, it appears that the specific sort of evil to be freed from is *aṃhas*, a term not inconsistent with dearth and famine. Other acts in the same ritual are performed in order to obtain rain and food (ibid. 1, 12). For it is said (ibid. 13) that by the Varuṇapraghāsāḥ the occurrence of rain is effected. After having created the creatures and expiated the *aṃhas* the above god wished to destroy the great demon of obstruction, Vṛtra (ibid. 14).

In a formula quoted Sāmav. Saṃh. 2, 1182; Maitr. Saṃh. 1, 7, 1 : 109, 17 f. etc. etc. Agni is invoked in this way: "Return with strengthening food (*ūrj-*), return, O Agni, with refreshing food and life; again protect us against *aṃhas*". Here again *aṃhas* is clearly opposed to a sufficient supply of food. These words are followed by "Return with wealth, O Agni, fatten with the stream, all nourishing on every side". Elsewhere *aṃhas* is identified with *enas* "sin, guilt", and *apsas* "hidden fault, sin": 1, 10, 2 : 142, 1 ff.: "what sin we have committed, what hidden fault we have committed – Thou art the means of expiating all that *aṃhas*". From another passage, Maitr. Saṃh. 4, 8, 9 "Prosperity must increase through coagulated milk and clarified butter, the sacrifice must free the

[29] See A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur, Vedische Opfer und Zauber*, (*Grundriss*) (Strassburg, 1897), p. 116 f.; J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation* (Zürich-Leipzig, 1937), III, p. 255 f.

sacrificer from *aṃhas*" it appears that *aṃhas* and prosperity were opposites. In Āp. Śr. sū. 9, 11, 15 this formula is used in a rite to be executed in order to obliterate impure footprints by means of a cow.[30] Cf. also Kāṭh. 10, 10; 36, 3. According to Kāṭh. 36, 1 the creatures were "seized by *aṃhas*" when the Maruts had set their minds on their place of birth. "Seized by *aṃhas*" is also the man who is sick or diseased (Kāth. 10, 9); he therefore should sacrifice to Indra *aṃhomuc-*; see also Taitt. Br. 3, 9, 17, 4.

Some words must be said on this compound *aṃhomuc-* "delivering from distress", ṚV. 10, 63, 9 an epithet beside "the benevolent one" (*sukṛt-*) given to Indra; AthV. 19, 42, 3 beside *sutrāvan-* "who rescues well" to the same god (cf. also st. 4 and TS. 1, 6, 12, 3; 4); cf. also Taitt. Br. 2, 7, 13, 3 etc. VS. 4, 12 to the water drunk by those speaking: "free from all distress and disease, ... divine, immortal strengtheners of eternal order (... *ayakṣmā anamīvā anāgasaḥ* ... *amṛtā ṛtāvṛdhaḥ*).[31] Cf. also Śat. Br. 3, 2, 2, 20 and other texts. By sacrificing to Agni *aṃhomuc* one is freed from the *aṃhas* by which one is caught (*aṃhasā*...*gṛhītaḥ*: Taitt. Br. 3, 9, 17, 4). In Maitr. Saṃh. 2, 2, 10 an explication of Indra's character as *aṃhomuc-* is given: *eṣā vā indrasya bheṣajā tanūr yad aṃhomuk* "aṃhomuc is Indra's healing form (manifestation)": he frees from *aṃhas* (cf. Kāṭh. 10,9). Compare also 2, 3, 1 where the gods Mitra and Varuṇa are implored to deliver a person from *aṃhas* by their *ojas* form or manifestation (*ojasyā tanūḥ*), by their *sahas* form, their *yātu* form (i.e. that 'body' of theirs which is serviceable against witchcraft: *yātavyā tanuḥ*, and by their *rakṣasyā tanūḥ*, i.e. their anti-demoniacal appearance: from these formulas it may be concluded that *aṃhas* was put on a par with the evil activity of demons and sorcerers and could be counteracted by *ojas* "the power-substance of creative and vital energy" and *sahas* "the power-substance of victoriousness and superiority". Cf. also Kāṭh. 11, 11. Indra *aṃhomuc-* and Indra *sutrāman-* "the good protector" are associated: Maitr. Saṃh. 2, 6, 6. Or Indra *aṃhomuc-*, Agni *aṃhomuc-* and Mitra, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Savitar, the Aśvins, the Maruts, Heaven and Earth, – all of them being called *āgomucaḥ*, i.e. "the deliverers from sin or from the transgressions",[32] and the *viśve devāḥ enomucaḥ* "deliverers from *enas*": ibid. 3, 15, 11. These gods are the typical rescuers and protectors. Ibid. 4, 3, 9 the function of Indra *aṃhomuc-* is somewhat specified "if one has committed sin (*enas*) 'on this side of his birth' this god

[30] See W. Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II (Amsterdam, 1924), p. 92 f.
[31] Cf. also Ath. V. Par. 46, 7, 3.
[32] See e.g. Rodhe, *o.c.*, p. 138 ff. etc.

will free him from it". Cf. also ibid. 4, 12, 3: 182, 15; 4, 14, 6, p. 223, 11; Taitt. Saṃh. 2, 4, 2, 2f.; 7, 5, 22. For Agni, the god of fire as *aṃhomuc-* see e.g. also Maitr. Saṃh. 3, 16, 5; Kāṭh. 22, 15 : 17, 4 f.; Taitt. Br. 3, 9, 16, 4.

A curious use of *aṃhas* appears in the phrase *aṃhasas pati* "Lord of distress" which VS. 7, 30 and 22, 31 occurs as a name of the genius of the thirteenth or intercalary month; cf. also Taitt. Saṃh. 1, 4, 14; 6, 5, 3, 4; Śat. Br. 4, 3, 1, 20; Taitt. Br. 3, 10, 7, 1. As this intercalated month necessary to bring the two incommensurable periods given by the sun and the moon into agreement, was already known in Vedic times,[33] a thirteenth month being repeatedly mentioned in the brāhmaṇas,[34] it may be supposed to have become early an object of magico-religious speculation. As another Sanskrit name of this thirteenth month is *saṃsarpa-*: "which glides into" it obviously was, in a natural manner, considered as something which forced its way into the normal order of months. Is there room for the supposition that that is the reason why the evil represented by this abnormality was considered an *aṃhas*?, for it was in a way an *aṃhas* because its genius was called "Lord of *aṃhas*".[35] It probably was an evil because 'leap years' and intercalated periods are widely considered inauspicious. "Das Schaltjahr[36] ist im Volksglauben, wie alles vom Normalen und Geregelten Abweichende, unglückbringend. ... Wichtige Unternehmungen gedeihen in einem Schaltjahr nicht. Was man baut oder anpflanzt, gerät nicht. In einem Schaltjahr ist manches verkehrt. Schalttage galten schon bei den alten Mexikanern als Unglückstage, an denen man nicht arbeiten durfte. Wer zu dieser Zeit geboren wurde, galt als Unglückskind".[37] This popular belief was also Indian. In a very interesting description of some scenes of the religious life of the Mandaeans in South Iraq[38] Lady Drower relates that on the occasion of their five-day feast (*panja*) - i.e. the ceremonies to be performed during the five days and a quarter inserted between the end of one month and the

[33] Compare e.g. Ṛ̣V. 1, 25, 8 and the Index (vol. 50) of the well-known series *Sacred Books of the East* (Oxford).

[34] See e.g. Śat. Br. 5, 4, 5, 23; 6, 2, 2, 29; 9, 1, 1, 43.

[35] For the relation between powers and their gods see the author's treatise *Sūnuḥ sahasas*, which is to appear elsewhere.

[36] On the difficulties in reckoning months in primitive societies, see especially M. P. Nilsson, *Primitive time-reckoning* (Lund, 1920), p. 240 ff.

[37] G. Jungbauer, in *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, VII (Berlin-Leipzig, 1935/36), 996 ff. "In Bezug auf das Unglück selbst, das dem Menschen an diesen Tagen droht, heiszt es oft ganz allgemein dasz alles miszlingt, was man unternimmt" (*ibidem*, 1438).

[38] E. T. Drower, "Scenes and sacraments in a Mandaean sanctuary," *Numen, Int. Rev. for the Hist. of Religions*, III (1956), p. 72 ff.

beginning of another in order to bring their lunar year into line with the solar year – every Mandaean should be baptised, remember his dead, and take part in sacraments for the dead. This baptism which is of great antiquity is to wash away sin; it is a purification and exorcism of demons, symbolizing rebirth. The tribe of the Changs (Assam-Birma) who reckon eleven months to the year fill the remaining part in with a period which is not reckoned at all, but is regarded as night. It may not be counted because it belongs to the spirits.[39] One of the Sanskrit names of this month leaves no room for doubt: *mala-māsa-* "the month of impurity", another, *malimluca-* means also "robber, thief"; "imp, demon" and "mosquito". "The month called Malimluca is polluted (*malina-*) and springs from sin (guilt: *pāpa-*); it is condemned for all acts; it should be discarded in all rites in honour of gods and deceased fathers" (Gṛhya-pariś.[40]). The 'sinful' i.e. ritually impure character of this extra-ordinary month is also apparent from such statements as that found in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (1, 12, 2 f.): the vendor of soma and the thirteenth month (which in the beginning had sold the soma to the gods) are *pāpa-* "sinful, wicked; inauspicious".

Passing on now to some other related words the Vedic *aṃhati-* may be described as meaning "distress, straitened circumstances": ṚV. 1, 94, 2 the man who is Agni's favourite has success and authority, enemies and *aṃhati-* do not afflict him (*sá tūtāva naínam aśnoty aṃhatíḥ*); 8, 75, 9 the *aṃhati-* is described as coming from a malevolent hater, crushing the victim like waves which beat a ship; 67, 2 Mitra etc. are asked to help men over (*ati-pṛ-*) *aṃhati*, and st. 21 this term is put on a par with "hatred" (*dveṣas*), "bodily injury" (*rapas*), and an elliptic expression which according to Sāyaṇa, means a closed net; in 5, 55, 10 the poet asks the Maruts to lead his clients and himself from *aṃhati-* towards welfare (*vasyas*). Indian lexicographers of a later period explain this word by "disease".

The root noun *aṅh-*, fem. gen., occurring ṚV. 6, 3, 1 – where in opposition to peace and tranquillity it combines with *tyajas-* "difficulties caused by abandonment" – has a similar sense. For the combination compare, in the Avesta, Yt. 10, 22 *ązaŋhaṯ* ... *ⁱϑiyajaŋhaṯ*.

Returning for a moment to the above *durita-*, which was not correctly interpreted by Grassmann,[41] it should be observed that this rather frequent term, though sometimes referring to committed sin, in most cases means something like "mishap, disaster, including outward disaster and

39 J. E. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas* (London, 1921), p. 262, n. 1.
40 Quoted by P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, IV (Poona, 1953), p. 546.
41 "Eigentlich "das schlimm ergehende" ", *Wörterbuch*, 613.

various evil".[42] The original sense must, as already stated, have been "faring ill; something that has turned evil". It is one of those terms which is often used in the same context as *enas* "sin", *bhaya-* "fear, alarm", *abhihrut-* "injury, damage". Although the verb *nayati* "to conduct" with which *duritam aṃhas* and *dviṣaḥ* "hates" is associated (10, 126, 1), may, like the substantives, have been metaphorically used the combination is worth mentioning: "the man whom Aryaman etc. conduct is safe from these manifestations of evil". Cf. also 1, 41, 3; 2, 27, 5; 6, 51, 10; 10, 63, 13; 10, 126, 6; 10, 161, 3; 3, 20, 4; 4, 39, 1; 5, 3, 11; 5, 77, 3; 6, 15, 15; 7, 32, 15; 8, 97, 15; 9, 59, 3; 9, 70, 9; 10, 31, 1; 10, 96, 8. A more literal sense may also be supposed to occur ṚV. 6, 75, 10 *pūṣā́ naḥ pātu duritā́t* "Pūṣan – the god of the roads – must protect us against *durita-*" ("vor dem Abweg", Geldner) – this stanza belongs to a text used in blessing a military expedition – and 9, 97, 16 where the soma draught is implored to provide those praying with good paths and good roads, to make broadness, and to destroy all *durita-* (plural); cf. also 1, 99, 1; 6, 68, 8; 8, 18, 17; 9, 62, 2; 8, 42, 3 "we would embark in the boat which conveys easily across (the river) by which we may get through all *durita-* (pl.)"; 10, 93, 6 "the man who is protected by the Aśvins etc. – the verb used is *uruṣyatām* – passes all *durita-* (pl.) like a desert".

Other words which may be used in contrast with *uru-* "wide, broad" – which, as we have seen, is an opposite of *aṃhu-* and as such can express the idea of "broadness, freedom, wide or free space, room" – are *nid-* "mocking, contempt; mocker, blamer", which 2, 34, 15 is coordinated with *aṃhas*: 5, 87, 6 *té na uruṣyatā nidáḥ* "protect us against contempt"; 6, 14, 5; *pariṣūti-* "urging from all sides, oppression, beleaguering": 1, 119, 6 *rebhám páriṣūter uruṣyathaḥ* "ihr befreiet den Rebha aus der Umschnürung" – 9, 85, 8 this "Umklammerung" is "vielleicht perzonifiziert, eine dem Soma nachstellende Unholdin"[43] –; *abhiśasti-* "imprecation, damnation; effect of imprecation, misfortune, evil, accusation, defamation" which 1, 91, 15 combining with *aṃhas*, depends on *uruṣya* "protect us, O Soma, against imprecation and distress" and 8, 66, 14 is accompanied by "desperateness" (*amati-*) and "hunger"; *aghāyat-* "who intends to injure": cf. 4, 2, 6 *víśvasmāt sīm aghāyatá uruṣya* "make broadness for him (i.e. protect him) against every malevolent being"; similarly, 5, 24, 3; *samṛti-* "(inimical) contact, conflict"; 8, 101, 4.

The importance of these semantic developments and the light which they throw on the difficulties of ancient Aryan life, many of which

[42] See Rodhe, *o.c.*, p. 74 etc.
[43] Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 78.

materialized as powers to be feared and revered, renders it worth while to consider some other words of a similar character. First the pair *durga-* and *suga-*. As an adjective *durga-* means "difficult of approach or access, impassable", as a substantive: "a difficult or narrow passage, a place difficult of access" and also "rough ground", or "a stronghold or citadel", then also "a difficulty, danger, distress": cf. e.g. ṚV. 8, 93, 10 "also on a difficult road, O Indra, procure for us a good path" (*durgé cin naḥ sugáṃ kṛdhi*); 6, 21, 12, likewise addressed to Indra: "be Thou our guide on good roads, on difficult roads preparing a way" (*sá no bodhi puraetā́ sugéṣūtá durgéṣu pathikṛ́t* ...). For definite classes of sinners the earth is hard to go upon: Ath. V. 12, 4, 23; in the same corpus, 10, 1, 16 "no road" (*apatha-*) is opposed to "light" (lux), and witchcraft which is to be cast out is ordered off "by a distant (road) beyond ninety difficult navigable (*suga-*) streams". In the more extended and general sense of "difficulties": 19, 50, 2 (night is implored for protection:) "do thou pass us always over difficulties (*durgāṇi*)"; 7, 63, 1. The opposite *suga-* is not only used for "a good path", but also for "an easy or successful course, prosperity, welfare". Compare e.g. ṚV. 8, 93, 10 (see above); 6, 51, 15 *kártā no ádhvann ā́ sugám* "schaffet uns unterwegs gute Fahrt" (Geldner); 2, 23, 7; 5, 54, 6; and for the 'completely metaphorical' use: 7, 104, 7 "things must not be going well with the criminal" (*duṣkṛ́te mā́ sugám bhūt*), cf. 10, 86, 5; 1, 106, 5; especially interesting is 1, 102, 4 (= 6, 44, 18) where *sugam* and *varivas* (a word related to *uru-*) are coordinated: *asmábhyam indra várivaḥ sugáṃ kṛdhi* "schaff uns Freibahn und gute Fahrt" (Geldner); cf. also 9, 62, 2 *vighnánto duritā́ puru sugā́* ... *kṛṇvántaḥ* "die die vielen Fährlichkeiten brechen und ... gute Bahnen bereiten" (Geldner; subject: the soma drops), and 10, 113, 10 *sugébhir víśvā duritā́ tarema vidó ṣú ṇa urviyā́ gādhám adyá* "may we pass over (surmount) with good paths (a successful course) all difficult roads (difficulties); find for us widely a ford, today".[44] ṚV. 1, 91, 1 we find *tváṃ rájiṣṭham ánu neṣi pánthām* "do Thou (Soma) guide us along the straightest way".

For reasons of space only one further point may be touched upon here. By performing certain sacrifices to Indra *sutrāman-*"Indra the protector" and Indra *aṃhomuc-*"Indra who delivers from distress", one could win blessings; the formula pronounced on that occasion runs as follows: "may the king, the slayer of Vṛtra, be our king and slay the enemy" (Taitt. Br. 1, 7, 3, 7; cf. TS. 1, 8, 9, 2). Here a relation appears to exist

[44] "Bildlich zu verstehen. Der Sänger wünscht alle Klippen der Rede glücklich zu umgehen" (Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 336). It would appear to me that the last part of this comment might be formulated in a more general way.

between the great mythical exploit, the Vṛtra combat, and deliverance from the evil called *aṃhas*. In this connection the undeniable fact may be emphasized that the very name of the great antagonist of Indra derives from the root *vṛ-* which means: "to cover, surround, obstruct, keep back, hinder, restrain". Now, Vṛtra is certainly not identical with *aṃhas* and *vṛ-* and *aṃh-* are no synonymous roots. But, to whatever view of the original character of the great evil or demon we may adhere, it represented a very formidable obstacle to the welfare of the Aryan community, whether it is described as encompassing the rivers or causing other obstruction. Its name ("der Bedränger") and character show without a shadow of doubt that the minds of the Vedic Indians and their forefathers were much preoccupied with fear of being enclosed and surrounded, not only on their earthly roads, pastures and territories, but also with regard to the range of action of divine powers active in the heavens and the atmosphere.[45]

This is a convenient place to discuss also the Vedic term *tyajas* which, if I am not mistaken, conveys a sense nearly related to that of *aṃhas*. The translations proposed by Grassmann:[46] "1) Wurfwaffe; 2) Angriff, Gewaltthat" are less convincing than those given by Roth:[47] "1) Verlassenheit, Noth; Gefahr; 2) Entfremdung, Abneigung, Missgunst, = *krodha*- Naigh. 2, 13". The latter equivalence was adopted by Geldner:[48] – "wie (*krodha-*) bedeutet *tyájas* Zorn, Hass, Feindschaft" – whose explication of the word was justly rejected by Oldenberg.[49] This scholar was no doubt right in arguing that a study of the meaning of the noun *tyajas* cannot be disconnected from that of the verb *tyaj-*. The thesis might indeed be defended that *tyajas* 'originally' denoted the idea of "abandonment" in both senses: "the act of giving up, relinquishing, or forsaking" and "the state of being forsaken". In more or less 'primitive' communities isolation, attended with anxiety and insecurity is much dreaded and considered a very great evil, which when manifesting itself in a striking form could be thought of as a power. To a man overtaken by *tyajas* all services were – we might easily imagine – refused and his very existence in the community was most difficult. That the verb *tyaj-* can express this meaning is beyond doubt: ṚV. 10, 71, 6 "who has left an intimate

[45] See also the author's *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism* (Utrecht, 1954), p. 28 ff. etc.
[46] Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, 553.
[47] Roth, in the *Petr. Dict.*, III, 412.
[48] R. Pischel and K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, II (Stuttgart, 1897), p. 32 f.
[49] H. Oldenberg, "Über *tyajas*", *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenl. Ges.*, LV (1901), p. 281 f. (with references and particulars not mentioned in the above text). — It is the author's intention to revert to the etymology of this word in another article.

friend in the lurch ... does not know the path of virtue" (*yás titydja sacivídaṃ sákhāyam ... nahí pravéda sukṛtásya pánthām*[50]). With regard to the substantive ṚV. 1, 166, 12 may be quoted as one of the most evident places: *índraś caná tyájasā ví hruṇāti táj jánāya yásmai sukṛ́te árādhvam* "auch Indra macht sie (die Gabe der Marut) nicht aus Feindschaft dem frommen Mann abwendig, dem ihr sie geschenkt habt", rather: "even Indra does not frustrate that to the prejudice of that man ..., abandoning him" (cf. also Sāyaṇa's *tyāgena*); 1, 119, 8[51] mention is made of a man (Bhujyu) who was lamenting in the distance, because he was "pressed down" ("ins Wasser hinabgestoszen", Geldner[52] or "oppressed") by the *tyajas* ("abandonment") of his own father. In 6, 62, 10 evil indicated by the words *sánutyena tyájasā* is imprecated upon the heads of the plotters: the adjective, deriving from *sanutar* "aside, off, away, far from" is used in opposition to *antara-* "near" – compare 6, 5, 4 where it has a similar sense – and a probable translation might be "wring the necks of the plotters by means of a distant abandonment on the part of men (human beings, cf. 8, 71, 1)", i.e. "destroy them in isolation". Elsewhere this meaning is in any case possible: ṚV. 8, 47, 7 those who are protected by the Ādityas are not afflicted by intense and heavy *tyajas*, both adjectives, *tigma-* and *guru-* admitting of a 'metaphorical' use; 1, 169, 1;[53] 4, 43, 4 (*uruṣyatam* in the same line); 10, 79, 6; 10, 144, 6; 6, 3, 1 (see above) *yám ... déva pā́si tyájasā mártam áṃhaḥ* "the mortal man whom Thou protectest against *aṃhas* as a result of *tyajas* (abandonment, isolation)".

In investigating the significance of Vedic terms relating to 'Weltanschauung' attention should be directed also to the etymologically related terms in the other Indo-European languages, in order to detect, as far as possible, which elements in the ideas under discussion were inherited and which were new and proper to the ancient Indians. Moreover, a comparative study is not only of interest, but a necessity from the point of view of comparative semantics, a province of historical linguistics much neglected by the authors of etymological dictionaries.

The cognate words in the Avesta, though semantically closely related, exhibit traces of what may appear to be a further development of sense without, however, showing reminiscences of nomadic life. The principal

[50] For the same use in later texts see e.g. *Petr. Dict.*, III, 408 f.
[51] See especially Oldenberg, *o.c.*, p. 281.
[52] Cf. also ṚV. 7, 68, 7 where Bhujyu is left in the lurch by malevolent companions in the midst of the waves.
[53] Cf. Geldner's note, *o.c.*, I, p. 246, drawing attention to a parallelism between *tyajas* and *enas* "sin, guilt".

meaning of *ązah* (AInd. *aṃhas*) seems to have been that of "straitness, distress, affliction": cf. e.g. Yt. 10, 22, where it is followed by *ⁱϑyaǰah-*, another term for "trouble, danger" which is etymologically identical with AInd. *tyájas-*, which has already been discussed. See also Yt. 13, 41; 146 etc. Sometimes the context seems to suggest the sense of "confinement, captivity" another form of "narrowness": Y. 10, 17; V. 18, 10 (in opposition to "liberty"). Cf. also the compound *ązō.būg-* "delivering from affliction or confinement", e.g. Yt. 13, 134. Bartholomae's translation[54] of *ązaŋhe* "zu bedrängen, in Not zu bringen" (Yt. 13, 39) seems to be correct; *ązō.ǰata-* (often "killed by dogs and wolves" V. 7, 3) may be "durch Erdrosselung getötet", since Yt. 5, 127 *hā hē maiδīm nyāzata* obviously means "she laces herself (tightly)". V. 13, 30 the same *nī-ąz-*: "pushing" (a piece of wood) into (a mouth, i.e. into a narrow passage). As far as appearances allow us to infer, the central or 'original' sense was, in Avestan, that of "narrowness", not that of "tying" ("schnüren") as was supposed by the author of the dictionary. The meaning "to lace oneself in", like "strangling", may be considered to be only a special form of "narrowing".

In Old-Slavonic we find *ǫzъkъ* "narrow"[55] (Matth. 7, 13; 14), an ancient *-u-* stem corresponding to AInd. *aṃhu-* etc. This word survives in Russ. *úzkij* "narrow" (Dutch "smal, nauw, eng"); Pol. *wąski* "narrow"; Cz. *úzký* "narrow; pinched, oppressed; anxious; needy, indigent"; Slov. *ózek* "narrow"; Serbocr. *ȕzak* "id". Other OChS. relatives are *ązostъ* "Enge, Beengung" ∽ OHD. *angust* "fear, fright" (cf. Lat. *angustus*),[56] and *ǫzilište* "prison." In Lithuanian *añkštas* (*añksztas*) means "narrow"; as a substantive it stands for "a narrow place"; the verb *ankštinù* means "to make narrow(er)". In Celtic languages we find for instance Brit. *enk* "narrow", *concoez* (<**com-anged-*) meaning "throat-disease", Ir. *ing* "Bedrängnis, Klemme" - for this Ir. *ing* the following meanings are, moreover, given: "force, compulsion, obligation; peril, danger; a neck of land" -; Cymr. *ing* "bedrängte Lage"; in these idioms the root under consideration is also clearly used in opposition to "broad, wide", but also to "abundantly, wealthy".

The German relatives are, generally speaking, of considerable interest. The Gothic *aggwus* (<IE. *oṅghu-*, cf. OChSl. *ǫzъkъ*) serves, Matth. 7, 13

[54] Chr. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Strassburg, 1904), 362.
[55] For the form of the word see W. Vondrák, *Vergl. Slavische Grammatik*, I (Göttingen, 1924), p. 148, 162, 426; *ibidem*, p. 209 f. on *vęzati* "to bind" (see also H. Pedersen, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, 38, p. 311; 39, p. 437).
[56] See e.g. K. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergl. Grammatik der indogerm. Sprachen*, II (1892), p. 289.

and 14 to render Gr. στενός "narrow, strait", (εἰσέλθετε διὰ τῆς στενῆς πύλης, as opposed to the πλατεῖα πύλη " the broad gate"). The subst. *ga-aggwei* translates στενοχωρία "confined space". In medieval and modern Dutch *enge* is opposed to "wide, broad, spacious" ("wijd, ruim"): it is used, inter alia, in connection with a path, gateway, passage, room, clothes etc.; often, but not always, the meaning of this adjective implies the idea of "being locked or closed in". Hence such connotations as "oppressive, causing a feeling of physical or (and) psychical oppression, of slight fear"; especially in colloquial usage (and among girls) *eng* means "producing a certain feeling of dislike, repugnance, aversion, horror etc."; creepy, weird": *'t is eng om in het donker langs een smalle weg te gaan; ik vind het eng om met die man alleen te zijn.* An *engerd* is a horrible fellow or horror.[57] Similar meanings belong to the Germ. *enge*:[58] the grave is called *das enge, dunkle Haus*: compare the English expression: *a narrow bed.* In the translation of the Bible *enge* is (Jos. 17, 15 and 2 Macc. 12, 21) used in connection with mountains: for a numerous people the mountains are too *enge*, they should descent to the woods and clear them, an injunction which could have been directed to the Vedic Aryans. Germ. *enge* further applies to paths, passes, defiles, tracts of land etc. – e.g. *denn dein wüstes, verstörtes und zerbrochenes Land wird dir ... zu enge werden, drinne zu wohnen*, again a Vedic thought, and hence Goethe's *mir wird zu eng.* As an adverb *eng(e)* occurs e.g. *in enge in einander wohnen* = *anguste habitare.* The substantive *Enge* is e.g. employed in the phrase *in die Enge treiben* "press a person hard, drive a person to the wall etc." In Old English *enge* meant "narrow" (houses, passes; hell being the *engestan* i.e. narrowest realm) and "anxious". The Old Norse *öngr* was equivalent to "narrow" (Dan. "snæver", Germ. "eng") also in the extended sense of economically "limited, pover, scanty" (Dan. "trang"); the subst. *öngd* means, in German "Bedrängnis, Drangsal". ON. *angr* may be translated by "sorrow, affliction, harm"; *angra* "do harm, teaze, vex, cause sorrow etc." It is significant that Germ. and Dutch *angst*, OHG. *angust* etc., which continuing a prehistoric **anghos-ti*, express such ideas as "fear, terror, fright, or anguish" belong to this same family of words, a frequent phrase being *mir ist, wird, angst* (hence the modern adj. *angst*). The cognate OHG *ango*, MHG *ange* is at the root of the adj. and adv. *bange*, Dutch *bang*[59] – in medieval Dutch *het doet hem*

[57] The reader may also consult *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, s.v.
[58] Cf. also Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, III (1862), 469 f.
[59] See e.g. Franck-van Wijk, *Etymologisch Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*[2] (Den Haag, 1929), p. 32 f.; Kluge-Götze, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*[15] (Berlin, 1951), p. 50.

anghe meant "it oppresses him, it makes it hot for him, worries him" – which, expressing the sense of "afraid, uneasy" does not only convey the idea of 'Mutlosigkeit', but also that of "eine quälende Sorge, zweifelnder, beengender Zustand überhaupt". Luther's attempt to define the contents of *angst*[60] may be reproduced here: "Angst im ebraischen lautet als *das enge ist*, wie ich achte, das im deudschen auch *angst* daher komme, das *enge* sei, darin einem *bange* und wehe wird und gleich beklemmet, gedruckt und gepresset wird, wie denn die anfechtungen und unglück thun, nach dem sprichwort, *es war mir die weite welt zu enge*". Thus we find in the German Bible Ps. 4, 2 *Gott ... der du mich tröstest in angst*. With regard to *bang*, *bange*, attention may be drawn to such instances as Bible, Es. 13, 8 *es wird inen bang sein, wie einer gebererin*; 26, 18 *und ist uns bange, das wir kaum adem holen*; Lam. Jer. 1, 20 *wie bange ist mir, das mirs im leibe weh thut*; 1 Macc. 9, 7 *da Judas sahe, das die feinde auf in drungen, ward im bang*; (Fleming) *das reisen macht mir bange*. In connection with the Dutch *angst* the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*[61] observes that, generally speaking, *angst* is "benauwdheid" (i.e. "closeness, oppression") but in an older and a younger sense which were clearly distinct in medieval usage, whereas in modern times the older has almost disappeared: in the first meaning *angst* refers to the state of the person who is oppressed, "who is in a state of closeness", in the second to the subjective feeling of embarrassment, fight, terror, distress. From the meaning "kwelling, nood" i.e. "vexation, torment, trouble, distress" another use developed, viz. that of "danger, risk". The second meaning may be illustrated by a few quotations: *de angst des doods* "the fits of oppression preceding the moment of dying", i.e. pangs of death; in (Conscience): *de angst had haar alle gevoel ontnomen*, *angst* is a feeling of oppression, tightness, fear; *de angst bekruipt iemand* means "fear creeps over a person". *Angst* is attended with a feeling of tightness of the chest, constriction, oppression, bewilderment, sometimes also with trembling, or even with paralysis. It may also appear without any objective cause, being occasioned by physical or psychical affections. The adjective *bang* originally also presupposed oppression, constriction, strain; the man who is *bang* felt uncomfortable; nowadays the usual meanings of the word are "uneasy; nervous; afraid", but in Flanders and Zeeland *de lucht is bang* or *het weer is bang* still means "het is benauwend, drukkend in de lucht", i.e. "the weather is close, sultry". Formerly, *bang* was generally used of anything which oppresses the body, especially breast, throat etc., and

60 Quoted in Grimm, *o.c.*, I, 358.
61 Vol. II (Den Haag-Leiden, 1898), 461.

also of that which at the same time makes the mind anxious, cf. e.g. *een bange droom* "a frightening dream"; *bange dagen* "anxious days"; moreover it is often used of occurrences which weigh heavily upon the mind alone, *het iemand bang maken* means "iemand in het nauw brengen".

In Latin, the *u*-stem **anĝhu-* may be supposed to have survived in *angi-portum-*, *-us* "a small and narrow bystreet". In the substantive *angor* which is based on **ang*$^{e}/_{o}$*s-* (> AInd. *aṃhas*, OHG. *angust*, ModGerm. *angst* etc.) the meaning "constriction, feeling of psychical oppression, uneasiness, anxiousness" (*angores* = *molestiae*, *sollicitudines*) combines with that of "physical oppression" and suffocation, strangling": *angor est animi vel corporis cruciatus* (Paul. F. 83). Although these meanings are usually given in the reverse order, the 'psychical' connotations cannot, in view of the above cognate words in other languages, be proved to be merely secondary in character. Anyhow the idea of tightness or narrowness was still present to the Romans themselves: cf. Ovid. Met. 9, 78 *angebar, ceu guttura forcipe pressus*; and also Cic. Tusc. 4, 18 *angor est aegritudo premens*. From **angostos* comes *angustus*[62] in which the primary sense of the word has been clearly preserved: "narrow (not wide or broad)", of a path, way, bridge, pit, opening, ravine or mountain-pass, steep and sloping mountains, the entrance of a harbour etc.; as a substantive, *angustum* means "a confined space"; *angusta viarum* are "passes". The same adjective has, moreover, a variety of extended meanings: "limited, indigent; precarious, critical; narrow-minded"; *angustum* being also "narrowness, unpleasant predicament, embarrassment, danger". The subst. *angustiae* is equivalent to "narrowness" (of a road), the plural meaning "mountain-passes", but *angustiae spiritus* is "shortness of breath"; moreover, "need, indigence, distress, straitened circumstances, difficulties" etc. The adj. *anxius* < **ang-s-io-s*, the source of Engl. *anxious* denotes the idea of "uneasy, solicitous, apprehensive, anxious, afraid". Those etymological dictionaries[63] which derive this word from the verb *angĕre* "to press tight, throttle, cause pain, vex" are mistaken: for **anxus*, *anxius* and *ango* cf. *noxa*, *noxius* and *noceo*; *alsus*, *alsius* and *algeo*; sometimes this adjective means "alarming" (e.g. Lucr. 3, 993). It is also open to doubt whether those authors are right who with Paulus (F. 8, 3: *angor ... strangulatione dictus*) regard the 'psychical' meanings of *angĕre*

[62] See also A. Ernout-A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, I (Paris, 1951), p. 59.

[63] See e.g. H. C. Wyld, *The universal dictionary of the English language* (London), s.v.

[64] Cf. e.g. K. E. Georges, *Ausführliches Lateinisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch*, I (Leipzig, 1879), 399. Walde and Pokorny do not even mention this meaning (cf. e.g. J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bern, p. 42).

("to alarm, torment, vex") as secondary:[64] at the root of both uses seems to have been the idea of oppressing, choking or gasping for breath, irrespective of the cause, which might have been lack of space or room (cf. e.g. Val. Fl. 4, 688 *fluctuque coacto angitur*), subjective feelings of fear or uneasiness, anyone's attempt to throttle the victim or the pressure of various difficulties and alarming circumstances.[65]

At first sight, the Greek relatives seem to have specialized in meaning: ἄγχω means "strangle, throttle", but this sense may be supposed to have arisen from that of "squeezing (tightly)", which still occurs in the Iliad: Γ 371 ἄγχι δέ μιν... ἱμὰς ἁπαλὴν ὑπὸ δειρήν "he was choked by the strop under his soft throat"; hence also such meanings as "to embrace" and "to hug (in wrestling)". The substantive ἀγχόνη stands for "strangling, hanging". The more original use of the word group ἀγχ- is still to be seen in ἀγκτήρ 1) "an instrument for closing wounds (more literally: "an object serving to make narrower"); 2) a part of the throat; 3) bandage"; 4) in the plural: "bonds" and in ἄγχι and ἀγχοῦ "near" (cf. Fr. *près* < Lat. *pressus*, *presse* "pressed, squeezed"), and in ἆσσον < *ἀγχ̯ιον "comparatively near, nearer", which is especially used of an hostile approach: cf. A 567. The absence of *u*-stems (Skt. *aṃhu-*) in Greek is worth noticing.[66]

In view of the above meanings and connotations there appears to be reason for doubt about the correctness of the opinions expressed by the authors of comparative dictionaries with regard to the 'original' or 'fundamental' sense of the root *an̑gh-*. Neither Walde-Pokorny's[67] "eng, einengen, schnüren" nor Hofmann's "einengen",[68] Buck's "tight or pressed"[69] and Boisacq's "serrer"[70] carry complete conviction. Some authors do not give any fundamental meaning at all.[71] The general idea

65 The name of the rather mysterious Roman divinity Angerona was brought into connection with the root under discussion by F. Stolz, *Hist. Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache*, I (Leipzig, 1894–5), p. 488 (rejected by A. Walde-J. B. Hofmann, *Lat. etymol. Wörterbuch*, I, p. 47) and H. Wagenvoort, *Mnemosyne*, N.S. III (1941), p. 215 ff., who draws special attention to the *fauces Orci* and the *angustiae* past which the nether world is reached.

66 See also Hj. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1954), p. 17 f. For αὐχήν see *ibidem*, p. 192, and Walde-Pokorny, *o.c.*, I, p. 62 f.

67 A. Walde-J. Pokorny. *o.c.*, I, p. 62. Similarly, Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 42.

68 J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*² (Heidelberg, 1938), p. 47; *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Griechischen* (München, 1950), p. 3.

69 C. D. Buck, *A dictionary of selected synonyms in the principal I. E. languages* (Chicago, 1949), p. 886.

70 E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, p. 11.

71 E.g. Hj. Frisk, *o.c.*, p. 17 f. suggesting, by doing so, that the sense prevalent in

expressed by this root seems rather to have been, primarily that of spatial narrowness in a general sense of the word, then also the feeling of physical and psychical oppression experienced by those who find themselves in a limited space. Hence, in part of the Indo-European territory the idea of social and economical 'narrowness', various special forms of confinement and the immediate bodily experiences such as want of breath, suffocation, strangling, psychical experiences such as fear, serious difficulties, etc. It would be interesting to examine the semantic relations between these concepts in a great variety of other, modern and non-Indo-European, languages. A close connection between "narrowness" and certain somatic and psychical sensations and conditions is a priori likely to appear in many of them. A few instances collected at random may be quoted in substantiation of this assertion. The Greek στενοχωρία "narrowness of space, a confined space" was also used for "straits, difficulty, distress"; the phrase στενῶς διακεῖσθαι meant "to be in difficulties": στενός "narrow". SCroat. *tjeskoba* "anxiety" 'literally' is "tightness, narrowness": *tijesan* "tight, narrow";[72] similarly, Czech *úzkost* "anxiety": *úzký* "tight, narrow". In Hungarian *szűk* "narrow, strait, tight" is also used to denote such ideas as "scarcity, dearth, shortage, deficiency"; in combination with other words also "restricted, illiberal, stingy etc." In Hebrew *ṣar* expresses the ideas of "narrow" and "oppression, distress"; *meṣar* and *muṣāk* those of "a narrow place" and "distress". In Malay, *sempit* – which belongs to a wide-spread root *pit* to which may be attributed the general sense "shutting in on both sides", various derivatives denoting such ideas as "nipping, pressing between two objects, persons, connected or unconnected surfaces, pressing together, holding tightly etc." – does not only mean: "confined (of space); shut in, cramped", but, in definite phrases, also "limited (in) means; poverty"; one of its opposites is *lapang* "empty space, vacuity". In the word *sesak* three meanings combine: "packed close together, tightness in breathing" and "pressure of want or sorrow or difficulties". Another word, *pitjik* "narrow, confined" (also to denote "smallness of the world, lack of space" for definite people), is dialectically used in the sense of "exiguous (of means)". In Bare'e (Celebes) *ipu* – which is identical with OJav. *ipu* "anxious, uneasy, troubled, desperate" – means "narrow, jammed, locked"; it helps to form phrases meaning "distressed; oppressed; uneasy, anxious".

Greek ("zuschnüren, endrosseln") was the original one. Cf. also S. Feist, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Gotischen Sprache* (Leiden, 1939), p. 13 f.

72 Cf. F. Miklosich, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der slavischen Sprachen* (Wien, 1886), p. 357.

The Buginese (Celebes) *séka* answers to our "narrow, limited", "choking, stifling", "oppressive", "difficult, intricate", "being in trouble". In Bola'ang-Mongondow (Celebes) *sisi'* is "narrow, limited", but also "difficult etc.".

ADHVARÁ- AND ADHVARYÚ-

The traditional explication of the term *adhvará-*, 'sacrificial ceremony' as 'not injuring, devoid of harm or mischief' (*a-dhvara-*), which is, for instance, given by Sāyaṇa on *Ṛgveda* (*ṚV*) 8. 13. 30, *adhvare hiṃsārahite yajñe*[1] or as 'not decaying, imperishable', proposed, *e.g.*, by the same commentator on *ṚV* 3. 28. 5, *adhvaram avināśinam*, is untenable. A translation 'that which may not be disturbed or interfered with' cannot substantiate this etymology and has therefore rightly been rejected by Benfey[2] and Grassmann,[3] who pointed out that the root *dhvar-* means 'to hurt, injure', not 'disturb.'[4]

Nowadays, most scholars[5] seem to be agreed upon the etymological relation between *adhvará-* and *ádhvan-*, 'way, course, journey,'[6] assuming an ancient *—r/n—* stem to underlie both the words.[7] With regard to the

1. *Cf.* also Th. Benfey, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, London, 1866, p. 18. As is well known, the ancient Indian interpreters had often recourse to explications by means of the privative *a-*: L. Renou, in *Bull. School of Or. St.* (*BSOS*) 10 (1940-42) 6.

2. Benfey, *Die Hymnen des Sāmaveda, Glossar*, Leipzig, 1848, *s.v. ṛtu-*.

3. H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, 1872, Leipzig, 1936, pp. 48 f.

4. Nevertheless C.C. Uhlenbeck, *Kurzgef etym. Wörterbuch d. altindischen Sprache*, Amsterdam, 1899, p. 7, proposes : the root *dhvel-*, Skt. *dhvar-* ; a meaning 'free from harm or deceit' might have developed into 'divine service, ritual ceremony'.

5. With the exception, perhaps, of P. Thieme, *Pāṇini and the Veda*, Allahabad, 1935, p. 24 : "Pāṇini would have derived *adhvarya-* which is found ... *MŚS* 2. 3. 8. 4, *adhvaryo 'yam yajño astu* ..., directly from the root *dhvṛ-* with a *kṛtya-kṛt* : "may this sacrifice be undamageable." (Miss J. M. van Gelder, *The Mānava Śrautasūtra*, New Delhi, 1963, p. 89, translates ; ". harmless").

6. See *e.g.* Renou, in *Bull. Soc. Ling* (*BSL*) 37 (1936) 23 f. ; G. Dumézil, *Rituels indo-européens à Rome*, Paris, 1954, pp. 58 f. ; J. B. Bury's attempt (*Bezzenberger's Beiträge*, 7, p. 339) to connect *adhvará-* with *madhu-* 'honey' is not worth discussing (see H. Oldenberg, in *Sacred Books of the East*, 46, on *ṚV* 1. 1. 4).

7. I refer to K. F. Johansson, in *Indog. Forsch.* 8 (1898) 180 ff. ; E. la Terza, 'Saggio di un leisico etym. dell' antico indiano,' in *Rivista indo-greco-italica*, 12 (1928) 226 f. (where other improbable attempts to explain the word) ; A. Walde-J. Pokorny, *Vergl. Wtb. d. indogerm. Sprache*, I, Berlin-Leipzig, 1930. p. 1?0 ; Renou, in *BSOS* 10 (1940-42) 6 ; M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgef. etym. Wtb. d. Altind.*, I, Heidelberg, 1956, p. 32 ; T. Burrow. *The Sanskrit Language*, London, p. 147 ; A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les Cent Chemins*, II, Paris, 1956, p. 146 (with a bibliography). This *-r/n-* stem seems to have escaped E. Benveniste, *Origines de la formation des mots en indo-européen*, PI, aris, 1935, p. 6.

semantic aspects of this etymology—which is indeed quite acceptable—scholars are, however, far from having established a *communis opinio*: Johansson's suggestion,[8] *viz.* a semantic development 'Gang' > 'feierlicher Gang' > 'Feier, Zeremonie' ('walk, course, march' > 'solemn, ceremonious course or march' > 'solemnity, ceremony'), though endorsed by other scholars—La Terza,[9] Pokorny,[10] Mayrhofer[11]— is one of those regrettable, superficial and mistaken attempts to account for semantic shifts of which Indo-European etymological literature is full. It is simply not possible to trace changes in meaning of terms belonging to the vocabulary of ancient religions etc. without a thorough knowledge of the contextual occurrences of the words concerned and without studying them against the background of the civilization in which they were current.[12] Grassmann[13] wisely refraining, it is true, from adducing non-Indian parallels, had already, at an earlier date, supposed the semantic transition to have been 'way' > 'course' > 'religious festival', which, for reasons which are to follow, is likewise unconvincing. Debrunner,[14] questioning the etymological relation between *adhvará-* and *ádhvan-*, quotes E. Leumann,[15] according to whom the former word originally meant: 'in accordance with the rite' ("dem Ritus entsprechend"), and *ádhvan-* should be taken in the transferred sense of 'norm, rite' (which however does not occur). Whereas Renou[16] in an earlier article tried to make the connection between *ádhvan-* and *adhvará-* clear by a reference to the movements or displacements ('*déplacements*') on the sacrificial ground which are indeed one of the characteristics of the

8. Johansson, *o.c.*, p. 181.

9. La Terza, *l.c.*

10. In Walde, *o.c.*, I, p. 130, referring also to the Germ. '*begehen*' (a) 'to go over', (b) 'to celebrate (a religious festival), to perform its ceremonies'; the ideas underlying *adhvara-* and *begehen* are however quite different.

11. Mayrhofer, *l. c.*

12. In considering 'semantic parallels' which are sometimes lavishly produced one has to proceed with caution. Johansson adduced, for instance, the group of Germ. *Eid*, 'oath', which according to R. Meringer (*IF* 18. p. 295) would (as an original 'Eidgang') derive from the root *ei-*, *i-*, 'to go'; however, although there is a Swedish word *edgang*, 'oath' (the oath being taken after a solemn walk), these German terms may be explained otherwise —if they can be etymologically explained at all; such a 'walk' or march is unknown in ancient-German legal proceedings (S. Feist, *Vergl. Wörterbuch der gothischen Sprache*, Leiden, 1939, p. 29), and an oath is no sacrificial ceremony.

13. Grassmann, *l.c.*

14. Wackernagel-A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2, Göttingen, 1954, p. 137; *cf.* p. 88.

15. E. Leumann, in M. Leumann, *Die lateinischen Adjektiva auf -lis*, Strassburg, 1917 pp. 141, 146.

16. Renou, in *BSL*, *l.c.*

activity of an *adhvaryu* while performing his ritual duties, modified his interpretation, later on,[17] thinking of the 'ways and means' in charge of which the *adhvaryu* has to perform various actions, returning in 1957 to "the walking (of the officiants) on the sacrificial ground."[18]

In my opinion none of these explications will carry conviction to anyone who takes the trouble to examine the words *ádhvan-* and *adhvará-* in their Vedic contexts The word *ádhvan-*, to begin with, clearly indicates, in the older Vedic texts, 'a way or road which leads to a goal, a comparatively safe and passable (also for horses : *ṚV* 6. 46 13 ; 10. 22. 4) way, a road which makes good going, a journey."[19] More literal uses occur, *e.g.* *ṚV* 1. 31. 16 ... *mīmṛṣo ... imám ádhvānam yám ágāma dūrát*, 'do not mind (O Agni) the way which we have come from afar,[20] (*Atharvaveda* (*AV*) 3. 15. 4, the same line with *dūram* : '... bear with the distant road we have gone,' to be recited in a rite on behalf of a merchant who wishes to be successful in trade) ; 10. 108. 1, *dūré hy ádhvā jáguriḥ parācaiḥ*; 2. 13. 2, *samānó ádhvā pravátām anuṣyáde* ; 10. 185. 2 ; *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* (*VS*) 9. 13. The word is also used in connection with divinities such as Dawn and Night : *ṚV* 1. 113. 3 ; the Sun : 1. 71. 9 ; 10. 179. 2 ; Agni : 7 42. 2 ; 10. 115. 3 ; Soma : 9. 52. 2 ; Indra : 1. 104. 2 ; *cf.* 4. 16. 2 ; the Maruts : 6. 50. 5, etc. Sometimes, these ways of divine powers are said to be ancient, customary, traditional' (*pratna-* : 9. 52. 2) or 'long since obtained' (*sanavitta-* : 7. 42. 2) ; that is to say, the god travels along his special road from time immemorial. It is not surprising to find a more or less metaphorical or at least extended application[21] of a word of this meaning which must also have, in daily life, been in frequent use : 8. 27. 17, the man who is protected by Varuṇa and other gods 'goes his journeys along ways which are easy to traverse' (*sugébhir yāty ádhvanaḥ*) ; *cf.* also 1. 72. 7 ; *VS* 26. 1. Yet, these ways and journeys are certainly not always concrete and mundane. When Pūṣan[22] protects the road and Bhaga, the divine distri-

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17. Renou, *Religions of Ancient India*, London, 1953, p. 32.

18. Renou, *Et. véd. pāṇ.*, III, Paris, 1957, p. 25.

19. The remarks made by E. Benveniste, in A. Martinet and U. Weinreich, *Linguistics Today*. New York, 1954, p. 137, on the ancient Indian words for 'way' are too brief and, hence, superficial.

20. See K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, I, Cambridge, Mass., 1951, p. 36 ; P. Thieme, *Der Fremdling im Veda*, Leipzig, 1938, pp. 110 ff. ; Renou, *Et. véd. pāṇ.*, XII, Paris, 1964, p. 79.

21. *Cf. e.g.* also *ŚB* 2. 3. 4. 37.

22. For *Pūṣan* as a guardian of the way of the cow with which the *soma* is bought *cf.* *VS* 4. 19. See S. D. Atkins, *Pūṣan in the Rig-Veda*, Princeton, 1941, pp. 16 ff. The same god is also a conductor of the deceased, who, knowing the ways, delivers them to the world of the Fathers (*ṚV* 10. 17. 3 ff.).

butor of wealth, has made his presence felt, the broad way towards well-being is open : *ṚV* 8. 31. 11, *étu pūṣā́ ... urúr ádhvā svastáye* (*cf.* Sāyaṇa : *tato mārgarakṣake pūṣaṇy āgate sati uruḥ vistīrṇaḥ adhvā mārgaḥ svastaye asmākam avināśāya bhavatu*).[23] Then Pūsan will guide the sacrificer to a good pasture : 1. 42. 8 (*cf.* st. 1). It may be recalled parenthetically that Soma, when ritually offered, is in 10. 76. 3 stated to have paved the way for Manu, *i.e.* the father of the human race, who is believed to have instituted sacrifices and religious ceremonies (*mánave gātúm áśret*). The end of the way is however concealed and kept from human knowledge : in 4. 5. 12 Agni, who is the lord of wealth in heaven and on earth (st. 11), is implored to say what will befall those speaking, because they do not know the farthest point.

Two places are of special interest because they exhibit both *ádhvan-* and one of the other terms which are studied in this article. *ṚV* 1. 23. 16, reads *ambáyo yanty ádhvabhir jāmáyo adhvarīyatā́m*, 'the mothers of those who perform a sacrificial rite, (their) sisters (*i.e.* the waters) go along (their) ways, Sāyaṇa explaining *adhvarīyatām adhvaram ātmana icchatām asmākam*...and *tā āpaḥ adhvabhiḥ devayajanamārgaiḥ...gacchanti*. *ṚV* 7. 42. 1d, *yujyā́tām ádrī adhvarásya péśaḥ* is followed by 2a *sugás te agne sanavitto ádhvā*. These places do not however prove the etymological connection (in the modern sense of this term) to be known to the poets, because 'popular', pseudo- or secondary etymologies play an important part in their works.[24]

What is, however, worthy of special mention is that *ádhvan-* occurs sometimes in similes illustrating ritual processes or procedures. *Cf.* *ṚV* 1. 173. 11, *yajñó hí ṣméndraṃ káś cid ṛndhán...tīrthé nā́cchā tā́tṛṣāṇám óko dīrghó ná sidhrám ā́ kṛṇoty ádhvā*, for, any act of worship which is successful...brings, like a long way the man who reaches his goal, Indra, like a thirsty man to a ford, towards the (sacrificer's) abode.' Here the *yajña-*, 'sacrificial worship' is compared to a way ; just as a way leads a man home, thus the sacrifice may bring the god to the dwelling of the sacrificer. In *ṚV* 7. 58. 3, it is no doubt the liturgical words of praise pronounced by the poet which are expected to lead those on behalf of whom the text is recited to the goal : *...jújoṣann ín marútaḥ suṣṭutíṃ naḥ/ gató nā́dhvā ví tirāti jantúm prá ṇaḥ spārhā́bhir ūtíbhis tireta*, 'that the Maruts take delight in our excellent praise ; just as a trodden path will lead

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23. Compare the above explication of *adhvará-* by *avināśin-* !

24. See my article, The etymologies in the ancient Indian Brāhmaṇas', *Lingua* (Amsterdam), 5 (1955) 61 ff.

a person further, so may it further us with (your) enviable assistance.'[25]

Whereas in 10. 51. 6 the sacrificial fire is compared to a carriage-horse—like a horse which covers a certain distance, the fire conveys the oblations to heaven by the paths which lead to the gods (st. 5 *patháḥ...devayā́nām*) : *agnéḥ pū́rve bhrā́taro árthaṃ etáṃ rathī̀vā́dhvānam ánv ā́varīvuḥ*—the poet of *ṚV* 6. 16. 3 addresses Agni as follows : *vétthā hi vedho ádhvanaḥ patháś ca devā́ñjasā́ ágne yajñéṣu sukrato*, 'for thou, O disposer,[26] knowest, O god Agni, truly the ways and paths, at (*i.e.* on the occasions of) the sacrifices, O thou resourceful one.'

It is worth while to examine also the relevant occurrences of *adhvan-* in post-Ṛgvedic texts. *VS* 5. 33, addressing the Sun (*Sūrya*) is of special interest ; *adhvanām adhvapate*[27] *prá mā tira svasti me 'smín pathi devayā́ne bhūyāt*, 'O lord of the ways, lead me onward ; may I be happy on this path which reaches the gods.' This path, of course, is the way of the sacrifice : *devayānaprāpake yajñamārge mama kalyāṇaṃ bhūyāt* (Mahīdhara) ; *cf. Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* (*PB*) 1. 4. 1. The combination of *ádhvan-* and *pathi-* occurs also in *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (*TS*) 2. 5. 11. 2, to denote the ways and paths which lead those who apply the ritual methods correctly to the world of the gods and the world of men : 'Clever indeed were the *hotars* of old ; therefore the ways were held apart, and the paths did not conflict.'

In the Brāhmaṇas the word under examination is sometimes used to denote the way to heaven or to the gods. *PB* 25. 10. 16, after arguing that the world of heaven is situated at the same distance as the spot where the Sarasvatī is lost in the sands of the desert, observes : *sarasvatīsammitenādhvanā svargaṃ lokaṃ yanti*, 'they go to the world of heaven by a journey commensurate with the S.' In 4. 6. 17 the words 'by means of six months they go hence on their way, by means of six they return' (*ṣaḍbhir ito māsair adhvānaṃ yanti ṣaḍbhiḥ punar āyanti*) are explained by the commentator : *...adhvānam eva yanti svargaprāptisādhanamārgam eva yanti...imam eva lokaṃ pratyāgacchanti*, the text continuing ; 'Where, then, is the world of heaven, for reaching which they perform a great Soma sacrifice ?' In 6. 15. 3 *ádhvan-* occurs in a simile : one applies the

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25. *Cf.* Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 234, and Renou, *Et. véd. pāṇ.*, X, Paris, 1962, p. 45, who seem right in following Sāyaṇa who considers *tireta* a singular form (otherwise ; H. D. Velankar, *Ṛgveda Maṇḍala VII*, Bombay, 1963, p. 135).

26. This translation is tentative ; see Renou, *Et. véd. pāṇ.*, VI, Paris, 1958, p. 68.

27. For this expression see my *Stylistic repetition in the Veda*, Amsterdam, 1959, pp. 260 f. The commentators Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara explain *adhvanām* otherwise and no doubt wrongly : *adhvanāṃ saṃcārāṇāṃ madhye vartamānam māṃ tvaṃ pratira.*

strongest hymns of praise in order to reach the world of heaven just like noblemen who, when about to undertake a journey *(adhvānam)*, yoke their strongest horses These ways between heaven and earth—mention of which is made also in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (*AB*) 3. 25. 3 ; 4. 20. 21 ; *cf.* *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*ŚB*) 12. 4. 1. 10—are, according to *ŚB* 2. 3. 4. 37, dangerous. That the ascension of the successful sacrificer to the heavenly regions was indeed considered a journey along a way through the atmosphere may appear also from *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (*JB*) 1 165:[28] *yo vā anavaso 'dhvānaṃ praiti nainaṃ sa samaśnute* I *atha yaḥ sāvasaḥ praiti sa evainaṃ samaśnute* I *ayaṃ vāva samudro 'nārambheṇo yad idam antarikṣam ; tasya nānavasenetthaṃ gatir asti nettham...* I

The author of *AB* 4. 30. 8 co-ordinates a journey and a long sacrificial session in the following way : *mahāntaṃ vā ete 'dhvānam eṣyanto bhavanti ye saṃvatsaraṃ vā dvādaśāhaṃ vāsate*, 'they who perform the year-session or the twelve-day rite are about to go a long journey.' The next paragraph explains what is meant. By reciting a hymn and invoking the gods for the sake of safety (*ṚV* 10. 63) one secures safety, *i.e.*, a safe passage (*svastyayanam*) so that one attains 'the other side of the year' (*svasti saṃvatsarasya pāraṃ aśnute*). 'One goes', it is stated in 5. 30. 1, with days and nights through the year, for they are the wheels of the year. If one sacrifices after sunrise, that is as if one were to perform swiftly a journey with a chariot with two wheels.' In this connection attention may be drawn to *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* (*KB*) 7. 7, 'the sacrifice is a chariot of the gods' (*devaratho vā eṣa yad yajñaḥ*). The introductory and concluding oblations are its two sides. He who makes them alike, just as one can perform a journey (*adhvānam*) as described by driving on in a chariot with two sides, so safely he attains the world of heaven. See also *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (*TB*) 1. 5. 12. 53.

Whereas *ádhvan-* could thus denote in the ritual spheres the way leading the sacrificer to the heavenly regions, in the Upaniṣads the knowledge of the all-important esoteric doctrine is compared to a means of transport enabling a man to go a long distance (*adhvānam* : *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (*BĀU*) 4. 2. 1), as well as the journey to the supreme abode successfully brought to an end by the man who has the right insight and control over the mind and the senses (*Kaṭha Upaniṣad* (*Ka. U*) 1. 3. 9). Moreover, the term applies also to the way by which those beings go and return

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28. Compare also Caland's note : "The sacrifice is, so to say, a journey to the heavenly abodes, during which one has to traverse the atmosphere which is like a sea." (W. Caland, *Des Jaiminīya-brāhmaṇa in Auswahl*, Amsterdam Acad., 1919, p. 63).

who, after death, are subject to reincarnations (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (*Ch. U*) 5. 10. 5). Thus *Kauṣ. U* 1. 1 also speaks of 'another way in the world (*loka-*) in which a person may be placed'.

There is no need to cite further examples. It is however worth recalling that words for 'way' or 'path' are frequently used not only in India,[29] but also in many other parts of the world in a religious sense, especially to denote the way of salvation.[30] The idea that, like all phenomena in this universe, man is, either in this world or towards the other world, on the way, whereas God, the goal, abides in absolute rest is common to many religions.[31] Sometimes this way is conceived as the morally and religiously correct behaviour of men, sometimes as the path of mysticism by which the individual soul approaches the divine presence to be absorbed in the highest Reality. Elsewhere again the idea of the way has developed into a journey towards heaven.[32] In the Veda the belief comes into prominence that on the one hand the gods travel through the universe, visiting the sacrificial grounds of the sacrificers and on the other the oblations, the sacrificial gifts (*dakṣiṇās*),[33] the religious merits of the sacrificers and the successful sacrificers themselves may travel heavenward. In short, the *pánthā devayā́naḥ* are too well known to be in need of comment. *Cf.* also *e.g.*, *ṚV* 2. 41. 5 ; 3. 54. 9 ; 4. 35. 3 ; 4. 45. 6 ; 5. 47. 6 ; 7. 73. 3 ; 10. 57. 1 ; by means of the sacrifice the way between gods and men has in the days of yore been cleared : 1. 83. 5, Thus the *Ṛgveda* speaks of sacrificers who have set out on the path which, being secure from menace, leads to well-being (6. 51. 16, *ápi pánthām aganmahi svastigā́m anehásam*[34]). The importance attached by the ancient poets and ritualists to terms for 'way' may appear also from a passage such as *ṚV* 10. 2. 3, *ā́ devā́nām ápi pánthām aganma*, 'we have set foot on the the way of the gods.' Here Sāyaṇa explains *vaidika-māgram*, as 'the Vedic way', or 'method of escaping (an undesirable destiny after death) in accordance with Vedic ritualism.'

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29. It is my intention to discuss this point in an article to be contributed to the *Mikkyo Bunka Commemoration Volume* to be published by the Koyasan University, Japan.

30. See *e.g.* F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*, Stuttgart, 1961, pp. 147 ff.

31. E. Lehmann, *Stället och vägen* ('Place and way', in Swedish), Stockholm, 1917.

32. For comparable ideas connected with the bridge see C. J. Bleeker, *The Sacred Bridge*, Leiden, 1963, pp. 180 ff.

33. *Cf. e.g. ŚB* 1. 9. 3. 1.

34. For *anehas-* *cf.* Renou, *Et. véd. pāṇ.*, VII, Paris, 1960, p. 97.

Turning now to the term *adhvará-*[35] it may first be observed that, as is borne out by the accent, it must be of 'adjectival' origin : [36] 'related to, or concerned with a way or journey', travelling, or 'that which proceeds on its path'.[37] *Cf. patará-* 'flying' beside *pataṅga-*, 'bird' (an ancient *-r/n-* stem : Hett. *pattar, paddan-* of 'wing').[38] One is therefore tempted to answer in the affirmative the question as to how far this theoretically probable 'original' sense is still reflected in passages such as *ṚV* 8. 35. 23, *namovāké prásthite adhvaré narā vivákṣaṇaṣya pītáye | ā́ yātam...* , "come, O Lords', the Aśvins are addressed, 'to (into the presence of) the act of homage, to the sacrificial ceremony which has departed',—*i.e.*, has started and is in progress,— with a view to drinking the *soma*...' This translation which seems preferable to Geldner's 'at the oblation which has been dished up' ("bei der vorgesetzten Opfergave")[39] is supported by other passages exhibiting the compound *pra-i-*, 'to go on, advance, proceed' in connection with *adhvara-*. In *ṚV* 8. 13. 30, it reads : *syáṃ dirghā́ya cákṣase prā́ci prayaty adhvaré*, 'he (Indra) is long to be seen while the sacrificial ceremony is going on further' (*gacchati pravartmāne sati*, Sāyaṇa) ; in 8. 71. 12, *agníṃ vo devayajyáyāgnim prayaty adhvaré*, 'I (invoke) for you Agni with worship of the gods, Agni while the sacrificial ceremony is going on' (*prakarṣeṇa gacchati pravṛtte sati*, Sāyaṇa) ; 10. 21. 6, *tvā́ṃ yajñéṣv īḷaté 'gne prayaty adhvaré* ; similarly, 6. 10. 1, *prayati yajñé*.[40] A sacrifice *yajña-* was considered to go or travel ; *AV* 18. 4. 15 is quite explicit on this point : *hutó 'yáṃ sáṃsthito yajñá eti | yátra pū́rvam áyanaṃ hutā́nām*, 'this offered sacrifice, which is completed, goes by (or to) the ancient track of the (former) oblations.'

There is no need to cite all stanzas in which *adhvara-* and words for 'way' are used in the same context, but it will be well to recall Sāyaṇa's interpretation of *ṚV* 3. 4 4, *ūrdhvó vāṃ gātúr adhvaré akāry ūrdhvā́ śocī́ṃṣi prásthitā rájāṃsi*, 'rising upwards' your (Agni and the *barhis* are meant) course (*yajñamārgaḥ*) has been undertaken at the

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35. For an attempt to trace the difference in meaning between *yajña-* and *adhvara-* see W. Neisser, *Zum Wörterbuch des Ṛgveda*, I, *Abh für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 16, Leipzig, 1924, 4, pp. 30 f. Sometimes *adhvara-* is distinct from *stoma-*, 'the ritual eulogic chant' (*e.g. ṚV* 10, 63. 6), or refers to the ritual acts (*e.g.* 9. 83. 5).

36. *Cf.* also T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language*, London, 1955, p. 147. See also Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altind. Gramm.*, II, 2, pp. 136 ff.

37. The last interpretation has recently been given by S. S. Bhawe, *The Soma-hymns of the Ṛgveda*, I, Baroda, 1957, p. 39.

38. *Cf.* also Benveniste, *Origines*, I, p. 14 ; Mayrhofer, *o.c.*, II, pp. 198, 199.

39. Sāyaṇa unconvincingly combines *prasthite* and *namovāke*.

40. See also further on.

sacrificial rite : rising upwards the (Agni's) flames have set out for the atmosphere' and 3. 57. 4 ; 9. 98 3 ('moving upwards').

In *AV* 5. 12. 2 Agni is requested to place the *adhvara-* of those speaking among the gods. Whatever the original connotations of the word might have been, it must denote something which can be removed or transferred. In *AV* 18. 2. 32, the *adhvara-* is stated to have 'entered' (*niviṣṭa-*) Yama, the ruler of the realm of the deceased. I would now be inclined to revise my opinion of *AV* 14. 1. 46, *vi nayanty adhvarám*[41] which—though different from the parallel stanza *ṚV* 10. 40. 10, *vi mayante adhvare*, which may mean, 'they take turns at the sacrificial rite'[42] is translatable as 'they (*i.e.* those concerned lead) way (*i.e.* perform) the rite'.

The use of the verb *hi-* in connection with the sacrifice may point in the same direction. Generally speaking, it expresses the idea of 'setting in motion, impelling, urging on'. In *ṚV* 1. 23. 17 the wish is expressed that the waters will 'promote' (Geldner) the cult ; or, does *hinvantu* mean, more literally : '(they) must set in motion, urge on ?' This meaning would seem to be right in 7. 56. 12, *śúciṃ hinomy adhvaráṃ śúcibhyaḥ*, (*viz*. the Maruts). *Cf*. also 10. 30. 11. Elsewhere the officiants are urged on to conduct the sacrifice to the gods : *ṚV* 4. 58. 10, *imáṃ yajñáṃ nayata devátā* ; 10. 101. 2, and compare 10. 66. 12. The same idea recurs in the Brāhmaṇas : *ŚB* 3. 5. 3. 17 quoting *VS* 5. 17, *prācī pretam adhvaraṃ kalpayantī ūrdhvaṃ yajñaṃ nayatam*, explains, in agreement with Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara : 'convey this sacrifice upward to the world of the gods'. The *mantra* is to consecrate the bringing forward of the carts in which the *soma* is conveyed (*Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* (*Āp. ŚS*) 11. 6. 11). *Cf*. also *ŚB* 3. 9. 3. 5, quoting *VS* 6. 25 ; 14. 1. 4. 14, quoting *VS* 37. 19, and see *ŚB* 1. 3. 4. 6 etc. *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (*JB*) 1. 277, *devā anyām vartanim adhvarasya mānuṣāsa upajīvanty anyām*, 'the gods subsist on one track (course)[43] of the cult, men on the other'.

The well-known similes comparing the activities of the officiants in regard to the sacrifice to the specific doings of charioteers or travellers are, if I am not mistaken, not foreign to the above conception of the sacrifice ; *ṚV* 7. 34. 5, *yajñáṃ yáteva pátman tmánā hinota*, 'urge the sacrifice like a

41. In *Indological Studies in honor of W. Norman Brown*, New Haven, Conn., 1962, p. 84, n. 40, I had my doubts about the correctness of Whitney's translation : "they lead away the sacrifice" (W. D. Whitney-Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharva-veda Saṃhitā*, Cambridge, Mass., 1905, p. 749).

42. See *Indol. Studies W. Norman Brown*, pp. 78 ff., especially, p. 84.

43. "Spur", W. Caland, *Das Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa in Auswahl*, Amsterdam Acad., 1919, p. 108.

traveller (his horses) on his march', and similarly in st. 6, *tmánā́ samátsu hinóta yajñám*, 'urge on the sacrifice during the contests'.[44] Geldner[45] may be right in supposing the same simile to be implied in passages such as 7. 73 3, *áhema yajñám*, 'we have urged on the sacrifice' : "Das Opfer unter dem Bilde des wettfahren Wagens." The frequent conception of sacrifice and ritual recitation as chariots, however self-evident in the ancient Aryan society,[46] may indeed now become still more comprehensible. In *ṚV* 1. 129. 1 ; 1. 175. 3 ; 1. 178. 3 ; 2. 18. 1 etc., Indra is besought to drive, or to hasten the course of the 'chariot' of the sacrificer[47] (Sāyaṇa on 1. 175. 3, *svargagamanasādhanaṃ yajñākhyaṃ ratham ; cf.* also the same, on 2 8. 1). Compare also 2. 31. 1-4 ; 5. 35 7 ; 8 ; 5. 66. 3 ; 5 ; 8. 6. 2. In *ṚV* 10. 114. 6 the inspired sages (*kavayaḥ*)[48] are described as setting the chariot (*i e.*, the sacrifice : *yajñam*, Sāyaṇa) in motion by means of *ṛcas* and *sāmans* (*ṛksāmā́bhyām prá ráthaṃ vartayanti*). Another passage alluding to the idea of the 'sacrificial chariot', *i.e.*, to the conception of the sacrificial ceremony (*adhvara-*) as a vehicle,[49] is *ṚV* 7. 42. 1, where the two stones for pressing the *soma* are enjoined to put (the *soma*) which is called the ornament of the *adhvara-*[50] to the (sacrificial) chariot ; in the same stanza the *soma* is paraphrastically indicated by the expression : 'the neighing of the one who springs forth'.[51] The same phraseology occurs also in connection with *yajña-*. Thus *ṚV* 7. 43. 2, reads *prá yajñá etu hétvo ná sáptiḥ*, 'the sacrifice must proceed like a courser which is to be urged on'. Compare also passages such as 4. 5. 12 and 13. It may be interesting to add that the Ṛbhus who are

44. For the use of *hi-*, see above.

45. Geldner, *o c.*, II, p. 247.

46. For an explicit simile *cf.*, *e.g.*, *ṚV* 5. 60. 1 ; 7. 34. 5. For chariot races etc. in Vedic antiquity see, *e.g.*, H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, Berlin, 1879, pp. 291 ff. ; A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, Delhi, 1958, II, pp. 201 ff. ; my *Change and Continuity in Indian R ligion* The Hague, 1965, ch. III, passim ; Jagdish Chandra Jain, *Life in Ancient India*, Bombay, 1947, p. 75.

47. Geldner, *o.c.*, I, p. 179. Compare also Geldner (-Nobel), *o.c.*, IV, Register, pp. 192 and 219.

48. See *The Vision of the Vedic poets*, The Hague, 1963, pp. 16, 44 ff. etc.

49. For the *rátha-ṛtásya*, see H. Lüders, *Varuṇa*, Göttingen, 1951-59, pp. 457 ff.

50. Renou, *Ét. véd. pāṇ.*, IV, Paris, 1958, p. 103, rightly observes that the *soma* indeed is *athvaraśrī-*. It is doubtful whether Neisser (*o.c.*, p. 30, n. 1) is right in considering *ṚV* 1. 44. 3, *yajnānām adhvaraśriyam*, an argument in favour of the thesis that the idea expressed by *yajña-* is more general than that denoted by *adhvara-*.

51. *Cf.* also Renou, *ibid.*, V, Paris, 1959, p. 45. Oldenberg's comment (H. Oldenberg, *Ṛgveda, Noten*, II, Berlin, 1912, p. 39) is no longer tenable in all respects.

renowned wagon-builders[52] are explicitly stated in *ṚV* 3. 54. 12 to have fashioned also the 'cult' (*adhvara-*).[53]

Agni, the messenger, who bears the oblations (to the gods) is also called the charioteer of the sacrificial rites (*ṚV* 1. 44. 2, ... *dūtó ási havyavā́hanó 'gne rathī́r adhvarā́ṇām* ; 8. 11. 2 ; 6. 7. 2 ; 7. 7. 4). The same god who is called upon to 'drive' the *yajña-* (10. 188. 3) is known as the charioteer (*rathiam*) of the sacrifice (*yajñasya*) : 8. 44. 27 ; 10. 92. 1. He is, Sāyaṇa explains (on 1. 44. 2 etc.), the one who conveys the sacrifices to the gods in a chariot. From these passages *ṚV* 1. 27. 1 can hardly be disconnected : here, Agni who is said to rule over all sacrificial rites is compared to, and praised as an excellent horse. See also *ŚB* 1. 4. 2. 10 and 11 (*rathīr adhvarāṇām*). In *ṚV* 3. 23. 1 Agni is described as the 'leader' or 'guide' of the *adhvara-* ; it is stated in the same stanza that he has received the food for the gods and so it is clear that Agni is represented here also as conveying the oblations to the heavenly abodes and that, consequently, the *adhvara* was conceived of here also as something movable. Sāyaṇa explains : *nirvāhako netṛtvāt*. *Cf*. 8. 19. 2 ; 8. 43. 20, and *ŚB* 12. 4. 4. 1. Also in *ṚV* 3. 28. 5 the god of fire is besought to convey the *adhvara-* to, or rather to place it among, the gods. In 7. 2. 7 the two divine *hotars* (one of whom is Agni) are called upon to make the *adhvara-* go upwards (*i.e. devābhimukham*, Sāyaṇa). Of Agni's function as a messenger or ambassador for the *adhvara-* we are informed in *ṚV* 4. 7. 8 ; this god indeed, the poet states, is well-formed as to the ascents to heaven. Compare also 4. 9 6 ; 7. 3. 1 ; 7. 7. 1. In *ṚV* 2. 2. 5 we learn that Agni, as a *hotar*, must *pari-bhū-*[54] the entire *adhvara-*. In contradistinction to Geldner[55] who takes the verb to mean 'keep together', and Renou[56] who translates : "that he (Agni) surrounds the entire sacrificial ground" I would suppose these words to mean 'he (Agni) must, as a *hotar*, accompany (take care of) the cult' ; for *pari-bhū cf*. 7. 31. 8. Reference should also be made to *ṚV* 3. 14. 7 where Agni is implored to pay attention to everyone, *i.e.* to every sacrificer, who has a good chariot : *tvám viśvasya suráthasya*

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52. A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 132 ; A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, II, Breslau, 1929, pp. 134 ff.

53. The predilection for phraseology borrowed from chariot-driving etc. which —considering the great interest in chariots in the noble milieu of the sacrificers—is in itself far from surprising, did not however prevent the poets from incidentally resorting to other expressions : *tan- adhvaram*, *ṚV* 8. 43. 20 ; 10. 17. 7 ; *vi-tan*,- *AV* 9. 6. 27.

54. *Cf*. *ṚV* 1. 1. 4 ; see also further on.

55. Geldner, *o.c.*, I, p. 278.

56. Renou, *Et. véd. pāṇ.*, XII, p. 42.

bodhi. Notwithstanding Sāyaṇa's *śobhanayānopetasya,* I venture to suggest that the chariot denotes, metaphorically, the cult.[57]

There is no point in pursuing this matter any further.[58] What is however relevant to our main theme is that the sacrificer who performs an *adhvara-* is explicitly stated to go to the gods. *ŚB* 1. 2. 4. 5, *ādade 'dhvara-kṛtaṃ devebhya iti | adhvaro vai yajño ; yajñakṛtaṃ devebhya ity evaitad āha,* " 'I take (you) who performs (a) sacred rite(s) to the gods', he says ; because a sacred rite means a sacrifice, 'who performs (a) sacrifice(s) to the gods', he thereby says." In 1. 9. 3. 2 the same Brāhmaṇa asserts that the path on which the sacrifices go to the heavenly world becomes also the way by which the sacrificer himself ascends to the abode of the gods.[59] For the 'journey' of the sacrificer compare, e.g., also *AB* 5. 30.

The above assembling of data is not to argue that the *adhvara-* is always conceived of as something moving as being en route for the heavenly regions. However, even when this idea is absent the *adhvara-* may be represented as being connected by roads with the celestial abodes of the divine powers. Gods are invited to visit it by the paths which lead to them or serve them as a way, *pathíbhir devayā́naiḥ* ; see *ṚV* 4. 37. 1 ; *cf.* 6. 16. 46 ; 50. 9 ; 7. 84. 1 ; 8. 3. 5 ; 8 12. 31 ; 10. 17. 7 ; and compare also places such as 1. 47. 2 ; 1. 121. 1 ; 1. 165. 2 ; 10. 32. 2 or 3. 29. 7 where Agni is said to be the *havyavāh-*, 'the bearer of the oblations (to the gods)' at the *adhvaras.*[60] For gods coming (driving) to the *adhvaras* see also *ṚV* 1. 4. 13 ; 101. 8 ; 135. 3 ; 5 ; 5. 51. 2 ; 5. 71. 1 ; 6. 68. 10 ; 7. 82. 7 ; 7. 92. 5; 8. 66. 1.

The question may even arise whether the term under reference is not used adjectivally. Although semantically wrong Sāyaṇa takes it thus in *ṚV* 9. 7. 3 where *soma* is said to go at the head of the accompanying words, and (to proceed) towards his seat ; the last pāda *sádmābhi satyó adhvaráḥ* is now usually translated : "(he) the true sacrifice ('oblation',

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57. Renou, *Ét. véd. pāṇ* , XII, p. 120 is silent on this point. *Cf.* also Geldner, *o.c.*, I, p. 351, whose interpretation of st. 1a of this is disputable.

58. In *AB* 2. 34. 6, I would not translate, with A. B. Keith, *Rigveda Brāhmaṇas,* Cambridge, Mass., 1920, p. 159, *rathīr adhvarāṇām* (the sun) by ' charioteer of the offering".

59. I refer to the remark made by S. Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upaniṣads,* London, 1953, p. 432.

60. In 1. 26. 1, *sémáṃ no adhvaráṃ yaja,* does not mean "offer these oblations up for us" (Geldner, who translates the same words in 1. 14. 11, otherwise : "consecrate this sacrifice for us") ; the meaning no doubt is : "perform this solemn act of sacrificial worship for us" ; similarly 6. 52. 12.

Geldner), towards his seat.'[61] 'The travelling one,' or 'the one who sets off' would however give a very good sense. One might compare *itvará-*, 'going' (*ṚV* 10. 88. 4) which is explained by *pathika-*.[62] Another passage exhibiting this meaning is perhaps *ṚV* 3. 60. 7 : here Indra is invited to approach the song of praise of the invoker *stómaṃ jaritúḥ*, 'on the occasion of (making) an oblation of that which goes on' (? ; *adhvárasya hómani*). Here Sāyaṇa explains : *somasya home*; Geldner translates : "zur Darbringung des Opfers."[63] A third passage of interest is *ṚV* 8. 35. 21, inviting the Aśvins to seize or pull towards themselves the sacrificial rites of Śyāvāśva as (if these were) reins. Here also Geldner translates *adhvara-* (plur.) by "Opfergaben" ('oblations'). The idea expressed (*raśmī́r iva yacchatam adhvarā́ṃ upa ...*) might however be this : 'touch the rites—which are movable and compared to a vehicle—as a charoiteer seizes the reins (in order to urge the horses on).'

With regard to the combination *yajñám adhvarám* in *RV* 1. 1. 4 Renou observed that an interpretation : "the sacrifice, *viz.* the ritual requiring, or being incumbent on, an *adhvaryu*" would be too 'precise'. As however *adhvaryú-* is no doubt, with respect to *adhvará-*, a derivative, we may in attempting to discover the original sense of the latter term, leave the *adhvaryú-* out of consideration.[64] Could not *adhvará-* have here its more original sense of 'proceeding on its paths,' the translation of the stanza being : 'O Agni, the sacrifice which thou dost accompany (take care of[65]) when it proceeds on the path, that indeed reaches the gods" (*ágne 'yáṃ yajñám adhvaráṃ viśvátaḥ paribhū́r ási* | *sá íd devéṣu gacchati*). In 1. 128. 4, *agnír yajñásyādhavarásya cetati*, was translated by Geldner : "Agni knows about sacrifice and divine service." However, as Agni is especially concerned with the conveyance of the sacrificial offerings, one might be tempted to take *adhvara-* here also in the above adjectival sense. Similarly, also in *ṚV* 8. 10. 4.[66] The same explication may apply to the phrase *ṚV* 8. 59 (Vāl. 2), 10, *médhe adhvaré*, taken by the Geldner[67] in the sense of 'sacrifice and

61. *Cf.* Geldner, *o.c*, III. 15 ; Bhawe, *o.c.*, I, p. 36 ; Renou, *Et. véd. pāṇ.*, VIII, 1961, p. 6 ; *cf.* however, the same, p. 55.

62. See *Petrograd Dictionary*, I, 793. For the root *andhadh-* see *e.g.* Johansson, in *IF* 3. pp. 201 ff. (see above).

63. It is, in my opinion, questionable whether *adhvara-* ever denotes 'the oblations (alone)' (*cf.* also, *e.g* , Sāyaṇa, on *ṚV* 4. 2. 10, and Neisser, o.c.).

64. We had therefore better say the *adhvarya-* is not to be disconnected from *adhvara-* than (with A Hillebrandt, *Lieder des Ṛgveda*, Göttingen-Leipzig, 1913, p. 9, n. 2) that *adhvara-* is not to be disconnected from *adhvaryu-*.

65. See above (*ṚV* 2. 2. 5).

66. *Cf. ṚV* 4. 9. 7.

67. Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 373.

divine service'; *médha-* being '(the quintessence of) the offering'[68] could no doubt be regarded as setting out for its destination. *Cf.* 8. 35. 23, *prásthite adhvaré*; 8. 27. 3, *prá sú na etv adhvaró*;[69] 5. 22. 2, *prá yajñá ètv ānuṣák*; 5. 26. 8, etc.; 1. 177. 4, *ayám yajñó devayā́ḥ*, 'this is the act of worship which goes to the gods.' The *adhvara's* going on is moreover in 1. 18. 8 connected intimately with its success. The same deity who is said to make the oblations successful is also stated to 'bring the cult forwards' (*prā́ñcaṃ kṛṇoty adhvarám*).[70] Finally, the mantra *adhvaro yajño 'yam astu devā oṣadhībhyaḥ paśave no janāya* ... (*TS* 3. 1. 9. 3; *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra* (*Āp.ŚS*) 12. 20. 12; 14. 27. 7), usually translated: 'this sacrifice must be harmless for plants, for our cattle, for our folk ...', may admit of a similar translation: '... must proceed (well).'

Among the other Vedic contexts which might shed light on the ideas connected with the term *adhvara-* is *AV* 7. 58. 1, where it—according to Whitney—[71] is said to be Indra and Varuṇa's chariot which is to approach for the feast of the gods (*yuvó rátho adhvaró devávītaye* ... *úpa yātu*). The stanza is, however, largely identical with *ṚV* 6. 68. 10 with which the (Kashmirian) Paippalāda text of the *AV*[72] concurs in reading *adhvaram*; then doubtless the sense is: 'your chariot must come to the rite.' The reading of the Śaunakīya text might, on the other hand, perhaps mean, 'your travelling chariot'.[73] The question may also arise whether *AV* 5. 27. 8, *uṣā́sānáktemám yajñám avatām adhvarám naḥ*, could not mean 'let Dawn and Night favour our act of worship' here, which sets out (on its journey)'; Whitney adopted tentatively the ancient interpretation 'inviolable'. The phrase *ūrdhvám adhvarám* in st. 9, which must mean 'the rite which tends upwards' would, in that case, continue the same thought, *adhvara-* being elliptically 'the (travelling) rite'. The *adhvara* is in that stanza welcomed by heavenly officiants. The hypothesis of an elliptic origin of *adhvara-* is not falsified by the explication '*adhvara-* means *yajña*' in *SB* 1. 2. 4. 5; 2. 3. 4. 10; 3. 5. 3. 17, because these places only prove that the author of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* regarded both terms as synonyms.

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68. *Cf.* Geldner, *o.c.*, I, p. 469; Renou, *Et. véd. pāṇ.*, Paris, 1958, IV, p. 13.

69. See above.

70. Also *ṚV* 8. 44. 13, *asmín yajñé svadhvaré*.

71. W. D. Whitney-Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharva-veda Saṃhitā*, Cambridge, Mass., 1905, p. 427.

72. L. C. Barret, *The Kashmirian Atharva Veda*, XIX and XX, New Haven, 1940, p. 96.

73. The comm. takes it as an adjective (*hiṃsārahitaḥ śatrubhir aparājitaḥ*).

The denominative verb[74] *adhvarīyati* occurs in *ṚV* 1. 23. 16[75] (=*AV* 1. 4. 1) *ambáyo yanti ádhvabhir jāmáyo adhvarīyatā́m*, 'the mothers (the waters) go on their ways, sisters of those who perform adhvaras.' In 2. 1. 2; 10. 91. 10 and 11 it practically means to officiate as an *adhvaryu-*'. (Agni is the subject). *Cf*. also 4. 9. 5 ; 6. 2. 10. The shorter present stem *adhvarya-*[76] occurs in 1. 181. 1 ; *VS* 17. 56. There can be no doubt whatever that *adhvaryu-*, like and beside this verb, derives from *adhvara-* not directly from *ádhvan-*.[77] Literal translations such as "who is in charge of 'ways and means'," [78] as 'acolyte' (from the Greek *akólouthos*, 'follower', lit. 'fellow-traveller', from *kéleuthos*, 'road, journey'[79] or as "in charge of the ways"[80] should therefore not be adopted.[81] Quite intelligibly, the term also applies to Agni : *ṚV* 2. 5. 6 ; 3. 5. 4 ; 4. 6. 4,

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74. See *e.g.* L. Renou, *Grammaire de la langue védique*, Lyon-Paris, 1952, p. 302.
75. St. 17 has already been discussed.
76. That is, *adhvar-+-ya-* , *cf. e.g. vadhar-ya-ti*, 'to hurl a bolt'.
77. Wackernagel- Debrunner, o.c., II, 2, p. 844.
78. Renou, *Religions of Ancient India*, p. 32.
79. A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les Cent Chemins*, II, Paris, 1956, p. 146.
80. Minard, o.c., I, p. 167, comparing the Latin *pontifix*, 'who makes the *bridges*'> 'high-priest'.
81. Notwithstanding *ṚV* 8. 101. 10, *véty adhvaryúḥ pathíbhī rájiṣṭhaiḥ práti havyā́ni vītáye* and *AV* 7. 73. 5, *prá vām adhvaryúś caratu.*

ALTIND. °ANTA-, °ANTARA-, USW.

Im Altindischen begegnen bekanntlich einige sehr bekannte Wörter, die mit *ant-* anfangen: *anta-, antar, antara-, anti, antika-,* usw. Sie sind etymologisch von verschiedener Herkunft und teilweise homonym. Schon bei oberflächlicher Beurteilung ist es deutlich, daß hier die Möglichkeit gegenseitiger Beeinflussung, welche sich bei derartigen Gruppen mehrmals findet, vorliegt. Da der Zusammenhang und die formale und semantische Entwicklung der einzelnen Wörter, so viel ich weiß, noch nicht in einer Zusammenfassung dargestellt wurde und die in den Wörterbüchern und anderswo angegebenen Erklärungen mich nicht immer befriedigen[1]), so gebe ich hier einen Ueberblick über die wichtigsten Hauptsachen des auf diese Wortgruppe bezüglichen Materials, wobei zumal Einzelheiten worüber man einverstanden ist selbstverständlich nur oberflächlich erörtert werden.

Aus dem Indogermanischen ererbt waren:

A. ṛgved. usw. *ánta-* „Ende im Raum, Endpunkt usw.": got. *andei-s* „Ende", ais. *endi(r)*, as. *endi,* ahd. *enti,* nhd. *Ende.*

B. ved. (ṚV., AV.) *ánti* adv. (pur. präp.) „gegenüber, in Gegenwart" : griech. *ἀντί* präp., „gegenüber, statt, für usw.", lat. *ante* adv. u. präp. „vor", osk. *ant* „usque ad" usw.

C. ṛgved. usw. *antár* adv. u. präp. „innerhalb, zwischen durch, hinein": awest. *antarə,* altpers. *antar* „innerhalb, zwischen; im Kreis von (unter)", lat. *inter* meistens präp. „zwischen, in der Mitte von", deutsch *unter,* niederl. *onder,* usw. in der Bed. „zwischen; included in usw."; eigentlich auf (gr. *ἐν* „in", lat. *in* „in", germ. *in* usw.) idg. *en-* „in" mit Suffix *-ter* gebildet, also

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[1]) Pet. Wtb. (I, 233 flgg.) gibt z.B. nur ein Wort *anta-* mit vielen Bedeutungen an; gleichfalls Monier Williams und Cappeller, wo auch *ante* „at last; close by, near, in the presence of, in, within", usw.

„zwischen zwei hinein", „à l'intérieur de deux", räumlich und zeitlich; dazu idg. *entero-s* adj.: *ántara-*[1]) „im Innern befindlich" (fast nur ved.); subst. n. „das Innere", awest. *antara-* „Innere", meistens *antarāt̰* „innerhalb", lat. (**intero-s* >) *interior* „der Innere"; ṛgved. *ántama-* „innigst befreundet", awest. *antəma-* „innerste, intimste", lat. *intimu-s* „innerste, vertrauteste".

D. ved. Pr. usw. *ántara-* (*-antara-*) adj. „verschieden von, der andere": awest. *antara-* „der zweite, der andere", got. *anthar* „anderer", ais. *annar-r,* ahd. *andar,* nhd. *ander,* lit. *añtra-s* „anderer"[2]).

A (*anta-* „Ende") ist bekanntlich im Altindischen, schon im Ṛgveda, häufig zu belegen; dem Anschein nach später, außer in Komp., seltener; m. E. kommt aber nicht allen im PW. angeführten Stellen die Bedeutung „Ende" wirklich zu. Bedeutungen: I Ende; Saum, Rand, Grenze; II Ende, Ausgang; Lebensende, Tod; III das Letzte (Höchste, Beste), Gipfel. Zu I br.[3]) *antaka-* Rand, Saum eines Feldes; zu II das Ende bereitend; Tod; br. *antama-*, *antima-* „letzte" (PW.), *-antika-* „reichend bis"; *nāsāntika-* „bis an die Nase reichend"[4]).

Im Ṛgveda heißt B *anti* „gegenüber" (1, 176, 1 *śatrum anti na vindasi,* „du findest keinen Feind dir gegenüber"), „gegenwärtig, vor Augen" (4, 2, 18), meistens aber „nahe, in der Nähe befindlich", und zwar mit ausgedrücktem Gegensatze: 1, 79, 11 *yo no agne 'bhidāsati anti dūre padīṣṭa saḥ,* „Wer uns, Agni, in der Nähe und Ferne nachstellt, der soll zu Fall kommen"; 94, 9 *vadhair... apa... jahi dūre vā ye anti vā ke cid atriṇaḥ,* „schlag mit den Waffen... die Atrin's, die fern sind und die nahe sind"; 9, 67, 21 *yad anti yac ca dūrake bhayam... vi taj jahi,* „die Gefahr in der Nähe und in der Ferne, zerschmettere sie", usw.; vgl. auch AV. 10, 4, 9. Daneben finden wir aber *antike*: Ṛ̣V. 9, 78, 5 *jahi śatrum antike dūrake ca,* „erschlage den Feind nahe und fern". Dieses Wort findet

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1) Dazu z.B. Hj. Frisk, Zur Indoir. u. Griech. Nominalbildung, Göteborgs Kungl. Vet. Samh. Handl. 5 A IV, 4, S. 5.

2) Hinsichtlich der in Einzelheiten verschiedenen etymologischen Ansichten, sowie der Frage eines etwaigen näheren Zusammenhanges und andrer Punkte, die hier nichts zur Sache tun, verweise ich auf die bekannten etymologischen Wörterbücher. Zur Orientierung besonders Walde-Pokorny, Vergl. Wtb. der Indogerm. Sprachen, I, 65 ff.; 125 ff.; Ernout-Meillet, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine, 53 ff.; 457 ff.; Feist, Etym. Wtb. d. Got. Spr., 34 ff.

3) d.h. in Brāhmaṇa's.

4) Vgl. unten.

sich später öfters und setzt *anti* fort, vgl. nur Nala 1, 25 *yaṃ haṃsaṃ samupādhāvad antike,* oder mit vorhergehendem Genitiv Nala 1, 22 *Damayantyās tadāntike nipetuḥ,* „in der Nähe"; „in der Gegenwart von", mit Gen. z.B. Manu 2, 202 *antike striyāḥ* (*kāminīsamīpe* Komm.); häufig am Ende eines Komp., z.B. Manu 11, 188 *vaseyuś ca gṛhāntike,* „in der Nähe des Hauses", *gṛhasamīpe.* Dazu *antikāt* „aus der Nähe", z.B. AV. 4, 16, 1 *antikād iva paśyati,* auch nachvedisch; neben *dūrāt* „aus der Ferne, von fern". Öfters aber *dūrāt* im Gegensatz zu *antitaḥ* (ṚV.), z.B. ṚV. 2, 27, 13 *nakiṣ ṭaṃ ghnanti antito na dūrād*; daneben auch *dūrataḥ* „aus der Ferne her" (AV. 4, 38, 5; klass.). Der Akkusativ *antikam* ṚV. 10, 161, 2 *mṛtyor antikam* „in die Nähe des Todes", *dūrakam,* „in die Ferne, 10, 58; daneben häufig *dūram* ṚV. usw. Zuletzt erscheint *antika°* auch im Komp. Anfang *antikastha-* u. dgl., vgl. PW. I, 253.

Durch das Nebeneinander dieser Formen scheint nun, wie schon von Wackernagel bemerkt worden ist[1]), aus ved. *anti* durch Umbildung *ante* „in der Nähe" entstanden zu sein, das sich schon ṚV. 10, 34, 11 vorfindet: *so agner ante vṛṣalaḥ papāda,* „fast dem gr. *ἄντα,* lat. *ante* gleichbedeutend"[2]). Dieser Lokativ ist häufig zu belegen. Vgl. z.B. Çatap. Br. 1, 6, 1, 21 *yadi ha vāpi dūre san yajate yady antike, yathā haivānte sata iṣṭaṃ syād;* 11, 5, 1, 11 *saṃvatsaratamīṃ rātrim āgacchatāt tan ma ekāṃ rātrim ante śayitāse*; 12, 5, 2, 7 (2 ×, nach Gen.); 3, 1, 2, 17 *no hānte gor nagnaḥ syāt*; *jāyāyā ante nāśnīyāt*; Āp. Dh. S. 2, 29, 7 *apām ante* „vor Wasser". Dann auch: Kālid., Ragh. 2, 26 *Gaṅgāprapātāntavirūḍhaśaṣpa-,* „in der Nähe des Gangesfalls".

Wiewohl ich mit Wackernagel den hier etwas näher begründeten Entwicklungsgang für richtig halte, so möchte ich doch daran erinneren, daß im Griechischen neben *ἀντί* auch *ἄντα* (fast nur episch) adv. „entgegen, gegenüber", präp. „gegenüber, gegen" existiert, welches ein Akkusativ ist neben dem Lok. *ἀντί*[3]) und vermutlich zu *ἀντᾶν* „begegnen" Anlaß gab[4]), und daneben *ἄντην* „gegenüber", worin man mit dem Ausgang *-ην* nach anderen Adverbien[5]) einen Akk. sg. f. auf *-āν, -ην* zu sehen hat, und dessen

[1]) Altind. Gramm. II, 1, S. 67.
[2]) Grassmann, Wtb., S. 63.
[3]) Vgl. Ernout-Meillet, o.c., S. 55.
[4]) Debrunner, Griech. Wortb., S. 91.
[5]) Brugmann, Grundriß, II², S. 687.

Existenz als selbständigen Stamm **ἀντᾱ-* Schwyzer[1]), kaum mit Recht, angenommen hat[2]); bisweilen wird auch *κατ-ἀντ-ης*, —*-ες* („herabgehend usw.", neben *κάτ-αντα, κατ-άντην* „von oben herab") angereiht[3]). Es ist also nicht ganz ausgeschlossen, daß neben **ant-*[4]), *ant-ā* usw. (??) auch **anto-* existiert hat, und irgendwie im Altindischen weiterlebte.

Neben ved. *antitaḥ* und (s.o.) *antikāt* (im Gegensatz zu *dūrataḥ* und *dūrād*) entstand *antāt,* vgl. auch *āsāt* „aus, in der Nähe" (ṚV.), z.B. ṚV. 1, 27, 3 *dūrāc cāsāc ca* „fern und nah"; dazu ṚV. 1, 30, 21 *āntād ā parākāt* „nah und fern". Also „existierten von **anta-* „Nähe" anfangs nur einige Kasus". Vgl. auch *udakāntaṃ gataḥ* und PW. I, 234, 3.

Insofern wird Graßmann, der[5]) *antama-* zu *anta-* „Nähe" in Beziehung setzt, recht haben, daß ṚV. 1, 27, 5 *ā no bhaja parameṣu ā vājeṣu madhyameṣu śikṣā vasvo antamasya,* wo die fernsten (oder höchsten) und die mittleren Siegespreise neben dem nächsten, dem nahe befindlichen[6]) Gute begegnen, diese Verknüpfung möglich ist.

Im ṚV. und AV. steht *antara-* erstens im Gegensatz zu *para-* „fern usw.", zweitens im Gegensatz zu *bāhya-,* „außen befindlich". Graßmann, der das Wort mit *anta-* „die Nähe" verknüpft[7]) und die Bedeutungsentwicklung 1° näher, 2° recht nahe, 3° nahe befreundet, 4° lieber, recht lieb annimmt, hatte Unrecht[8]). Die Bedeutungen von *antama-,* des zweifellos damit verwandten lat. *intimus* und die des lat. *interior* machen wahrscheinlich, daß ṚV. 1, 31, 13 *tvam agne yajyave pāyur antaro... idhyase,* „du Agni... der vertraute, sehr befreundete, nahe stehende Wächter"; 1, 44, 12 *yad devānām... purohito antaro yāsi dūtyam,* „als Vertrauter, sehr Befreundeter"[9]), das Wort *a.* nicht von der Sippe C getrennt werden darf; vgl. lat. *interior amicitia*; *interiores litterae, interiora consilia,* usw., wo gleichfalls die Bedeutung „vertraut, intim, sehr befreundet usw." vorliegt. Vgl. z.B. auch AV. 1, 19, 4 *brahma varma*

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1) I.F. 30, 434.

2) Dagegen Walde-Pokorny I, 66.

3) Vgl. Brugmann-Thumb, Gramm.[4], S. 499; ?. Oder Rückbildung?

4) Ganz unsichere Vermutungen z.B. Schulze, Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift, 1890, 1472.

5) Wtb., s.v. (Sp. 63).

6) Vgl. auch Geldner, Rigveda-Glossar, S. 9.

7) Wtb., s.v. (Sp. 65).

8) Vgl. auch Bergaigne, J. As. 1884, I, SS. 212 f.

9) „Oder: Mittler", Geldner, Rigveda übersetzt, I, S. 49.

mamāntaram. Ich gebe allerdings zu, daß es ṚV. 3, 18, 2... *agne antarāṃ amitrān tapā* „verbrenne, Agni, die nahestehenden Feinde" (Sāyaṇa: *abhibhāvakān*) naheliegt, *a.* mit *anta-* „Nähe" zu verknüpfen, wiewohl auch die andere Verbindung möglich ist. Näher bei „Nähe" steht es ṚV. 2, 41, 8 *na yat paro nāntara ādadharṣad,* „weder ein Fremder noch ein Nahestehender". Es ist auch mir wahrscheinlich, daß man bisweilen „volks-etymologisch" *antara-* mit *anta-* „Nähe" in Beziehung gesetzt hat.

Was *antarā* (adv.) betrifft, so es ist mir nicht möglich mit PW. (I, Sp. 244) das Wort ṚV. 3, 40, 9 *yad antarā parāvatam arvāvataṃ ca hūyase | indreha tata ā gahi,* durch „in der Nähe" zu übersetzen: „Wenn du zwischen die Ferne und Nähe gerufen wirst, so komm...", vgl. auch Sāyaṇa: *a.*: *tayor madhyadeśe.* Auch im AV. ist diese Bedeutung nicht zu belegen. — Vgl. z.B. auch Rām. 2, 57, 13 *na drakṣyāmaḥ punar jātu dhārmikaṃ rāmam antarā* „wir werden niemals... R. in (unserer) Nähe sehen".

Die Präposition *antar* „zwischen"; innerhalb, in; in — hinein" wird nicht nur mit Lok., Gen., Akk. verbunden, sondern nachvedisch auch als zweites Kompositionsglied mit dem Stamm eines andern Wortes, und zwar auf die Fragen wo, wohin, wann? Z.B. Manu 8, 79 *sabhāntaḥ sākṣiṇaḥ prāptān, dh. sabhāmadhyaṃ sākṣiṇaḥ saṃprāptān* (Kullūka), wie bekanntlich *-madhye* sehr oft in dieser Weise begegnet: *sabhāmadhye* usw. Zusammen mit *madhye*: Kss. 4, 1 *madhye Vindhyāntaḥ.* Man beachte nun, daß öfters dasselbe auch anders ausgedrückt werden konnte. „Im Wasser" z.B. heißt *jale, antar jale* (Yājñ. 3, 302), *ambho 'ntaḥ* (Yājñ. 1, 149) [1]), *jalānte* (Pañc. 4. B. Einl. *yuṣmadīyaṃ ca jalānte gṛhaṃ*), *jalāntare* (z.B. Kss. 6, 116), „in dem (den) Brunnen" heißt *kūpe* (*k. patitaḥ*), *kūpasyāntaḥ* (vgl. PW. I, 239, [c]), *kūpāntaḥ* (*k. pātitaḥ,* Pañc. 4. B., 5. Erz.), *kūpāntaṃ* (*k. patitaḥ,* Pañc. 2, 86); „darin" *tadantaḥ* und *tadantare* (vgl. PW), vgl. Muṇḍ. Up. 3, 1, 5 *antaḥ śarīre,* Kss. 4, 11 *ahaṃ sadā śarīrāntarvāsinī te Sarasvatī* und Mbh. *Anaṅgena śarīrāntaracāriṇā*; vgl. auch Pañc. 5. B., 9. E. *ghaṭāntarvartibhiḥ* („im Topfe befindlich") *saktubhiḥ* — Pañc. *tāṃ sa prākṣipat pañjarāntare*; Āp. Dh. sū. 2, 17, 8 *śālāntare*; und Hemacandra (vgl. PW.) *antara-* = *antar.*

Wie hat *ante* aber diese Bedeutung (*jalānte* „im Wasser") bekommen?

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[1]) Z.B. Gobh. G. Sū. 3, 4, 14 *apsv antar praviṣṭā.* — Kathāsarits. 75, 38 (= Vet. Einl. 18 *mahāśmaśānāntar,* Var.: *-ante.*

Es ist hier noch Raum für die folgenden Erwägungen. Das Wort *antar* konnte, wie z.B. auch *prātar* „früh, morgens" u.dgl., im Satze auch als *antaḥ* erscheinen. Ein Wort wie *adhas,* adv. „unten" konnte auch als *adhaḥ, adho* und *adhe* erscheinen, je nach dem Eintreten der Pausa und dem Anlaut des folgenden Wortes. Im Sanskrit blieb bekanntlich die *-as*-Form vor tonlosen Dentalen erhalten, wurde vor tonl. Palat. *-aś*; sonst wurde die Pausaform verallgemeinert; diese entwickelte sich dann vor tönenden Lauten zu *o*. In den Prākrits wurde aus *aḥ* < *ar* meist *o*[1]): *aho* < *ahaḥ* < *ahar, pāo* < *prātaḥ* < *prātar, anto* < *antaḥ* < *antar*. Pāli *pāto* „früh morgens", *anto,* Praep. „innerhalb" usw. setzen also dieselbe Entwicklung voraus. Aus *as* entstandenes *aḥ* wurde in allen Prākrits zu *o*; hie und da entwickelte sich die mehr ursprüngliche Form zu *-e*[2]); dies *-e*[3]) wurde bekanntlich im Nomin. Sing. der *a*-Stämme in Ardhamāgadhī, Māgadhī und in einigen Adverbien in Ardhamāgadhī allgemein: amg. *purise,* mg. *puliśe* = skt. *puruṣaḥ*. Bei den Adverbien schwankt der Schlußlaut zuweilen, *ahesiraṃ - ahosiraṃ* (skt. *adhaḥśiraḥ*), *rahe* = skt. *rahaḥ,* aber *rahokamma* usw.[4]). Auch das Pāli kennt Formen mit *-e*; man hat sie als Magadhismus betrachtet, oder auch an Beibehalten der ursprünglichen Sandhi-Formen auf *-e* gedacht[5]). Skt. *śvaḥ* (Sandhidoublette *śvo*) „morgen" = çaurasenī *suvo,* aber amg. *suve, sue,* pāli *sve, suve,* vgl. *svedivasa*. Im Pāli begegnen nebeneinander *atippage* und *atipaggo* „(est ist) zu früh am Morgen"[6]), = skt. *atiprage,* „allzu früh am Morgen", Manu; pāli *tadahe* „an demselben Tage" ist wohl lautgesetzlich < *tadahas,* vgl. skt. *tadahas* „an demselben Tage"; man hat es aber als thematischen Lokativ auffassen können[7]), zum Stamm *aha-* „Tag", vgl. p. Instr. *ekāhena* usw., vgl. auch skt. *ekāhena, tryāhena*; jedenfalls ließ es sich ganz gut in ein *a*-Stamm-Paradigma einreihen. Neben p. *pure* („is the genuine representative, with Māgadhī *e* of Vedic *puraḥ*"[8])) indecl., „vorn, usw.", finden wir im Pāli **puro-* in *purohita* „Hauskaplan", und **pura-* in *purakkharoti,*

1) Pischel, Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen, § 342.
2) Vgl. auch Bloomfield, Am. J. Ph. 3, 34.
3) Vgl. auch Bartholomae, K.Z. 29, 573.
4) Weitere Beispiele Pischel, aaO.
5) Die ältere Literatur verzeichnet K. F. Johansson, I. F. 3, 219.
6) Vgl. Senart, Mahāvastu I, 418; Johansson, a.a.O., S. 220.
7) In dieser Weise erklärt das Pāli-Wtb. von Rhys Davids-Stede, I, 91.
8) Rhys Davids-Stede, sv.

puraskaroti, woneben durch Einwirkung von *pure,* die beweist, daß man sich des Zusammenhanges bewußt war, *purekkharoti*[1]). Merkwürdig ist nun das Wort *antaḥpura-,* in der sanskrit Literatur bekanntlich „die im Innern der Stadt (Burg) gelegene Wohnung des Fürsten, sein Wohnpalast, (meistens zugleich) die Wohnung seiner Frauen, die im Innern der königlichen Burg befindliche Wohnung der Frauen", Manu, Mbh., Rām. usw.; der Bildungstypus ist alt: AV. 11, 9, 15 *antaḥpātra-,* „der innere Raum eines Gefässes". Skt. *antaḥpura* und seine Ableitungen haben in ihren Prākritformen aber *e* für *aḥ,* nicht *o*: m. amg. u.a. *anteura* usw.[2]). Auch im Pāli erscheint das *-e*: *antepura,* daneben aber vereinzelt das *-o*: Jāt. 1, 262, 14 *eko amacco antopure padubbhitvā.* „p. *ante-puraṁ,* pr. *aṁteura-*..., mag es aus **antas* entstanden oder durch *pure* veranlasst sein, weist jedenfalls auf Verallgemeinerung einer vor tönenden Lauten in Satzsandhi lautgesetzlich entwickelten Form hin", urteilte schon Johansson[3]), wiewohl er die erste Möglichkeit für wahrscheinlicher hält; es ist wahrscheinlich, daß *mahye nagare, madhye mārge* usw. Einfluß geübt haben auf *antaḥpure* > *antepure,* während in anderen Fällen das Vorderglied oft in der dem Pāli eigentümlichen Form steht: *antovana-* „Waldinneres", vgl. skt. *antarvaṇa-*. Auch in pkt. *anteāri-*[4]) = skt. **antaścārin-* (cf. *antaścara-*) finden wir *e.*

Sehr merkwürdig ist nun skt., pāli *antevāsin-* usw., da hier andere Bedeutungen (jedenfalls eine andere Bedeutung) von *anta-* vorliegen. In der Bed. „an der Grenze, am Ende befindlich" wird *antevāsin-* von Lexikographen verzeichnet: = *prāntaga-,* vgl. dazu *ante'vasāyin-* Mbh. 13, 2590 (= 48, 28) *a-aṃ* | *śmaśānagocaraṃ*... *bāhyair api bahiṣkṛtam,* u.a.; daneben *antāvasāyin,* Mārk. Pur. 17, 25 „Person aus niedrigster Kaste, wie auch *antevāsin-* = *cāṇḍāla-* überliefert ist"[5]). Skt. *antevāsa-* heißt aber Ait. Br. 3, 30 *tava vā ime 'ntevāsās tvam evaibhiḥ saṃpibasva* „Nachbar" oder „Begleiter"[6]), *pārśvavartin-.* Im ersteren Falle ist *anta-* Lok. von „Ende", hier die Umbildung von *anti.* Was hat man aber zu sehen in *antevāsin-* „Schüler"?: Çatap. Br. 5, 1, 5, 17; Bṛh. Ar. Up. 6, 3,

1) Vgl. Johansson, a.a.O., SS. 220 f., wo weitere Fälle.
2) Vgl. Pischel, a.a.O., § 344.
3) A.a.O., S. 221, vgl. S. 219, Fn. 1.
4) Hemacandra 1, 60 e.a.
5) Vgl. P.W. I, 254 s.v.
6) „pupil", Keith.

7 ff.; Ch. Up. 3, 11, 5 *jyeṣṭhāya putrāya pitā... prabrūyāt praṇāy-yāya vāntevāsine*; Manu 4, 33; Bhavabh., Utt. S. 89, 27 S. In der Pāli Literatur begegnen *antevāsika* (vgl. z.B. Jāt. I, 166 *ekaṃ eḷakaṃ gāhāpetvā antevāsike āha*) und *antevāsin*. Rhys Davids-Stede[1]) erklären das Wort: „one who lives in, i.e. lodges or lives with his master or teacher, a pupil"[2]). Es ist schwierig zu entscheiden, ob *ante* hier die Umbildung von *anti* oder eine volkstümliche, in das Sanskrit aufgenommene > *e* entwickelte Form von *antar* ist. Auch semantisch ist beides möglich. Ich zweifle nicht daran, daß die volkstümlich etymologisierende Reflexion im alten Indien hier nach beiden Seiten hin hat anknüpfen können. Bhāravi, Kirāt. 3, 24 ~ *ante*: *taṃ upāsasāda vasann ivānte*, vgl. Mallinātha: *ante vasaṃś chātra iva*.

In beiden Bedeutungen „an der Grenze wohnend" und „Mündel" begegnet aber vereinzelt auch *antavāsin*[3]). Neben *antiṣad-* „sitzend bei" (Patañjali) begegnet *antasad-* „Mündel".

Es lagen also im Pkt., P., Skt. einige Wörter vor, die zu der Auffassung, in *ante* einen zu *antar* „innen usw." gehörigen Lokativ zu sehen, Anlaß geben konnten. Dazu kommt noch, daß im Pkt. die Formen auf *-ar*, welche der Auffassung der Formen mit *-e* als thematische Lokative entgegenarbeiteten, fehlen; im Pkt. fallen ja schliessende Konsonanten ab, eine Erscheinung, die in weitem Umfang zur Thematisierung beigetragen hat: nachdem die konsonantische Deklination fast ganz untergegangen war, wurden die Wörter entweder durch Antritt von *-a* usw. vermehrt, oder auch — aber weniger häufig — traten sie in die vokalische Deklination herüber, welche dem vorhergehenden Vokale und Genus entsprach. Es wurden also allerlei konsonantische Stämme zu vokalischen und wie diese flektiert. Zahlreiche Neubildungen traten auf[4]).

Im Amg. finden wir *adhaṃ*, d.h. zu den *a*-Stämmen übergegangenes *adhaḥ*, auch *puraṃ* = skt. *puraḥ*[5]), *pāyaṃ* = *prātar*[6]), und (zu *antar*): amg. *antaṃ*, die Verbindung *anto anteṇa, antāo*[7]), also

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[1]) Pāli Wtb. s.v.
[2]) Vgl. *antepurikā* „im *antepura* wohnende Frau", *antevāsika-*.
[3]) P. W. s.v. (I, 251).
[4]) Vgl. darüber u.a. R. O. Franke, Die Sucht nach *a*-Stämmen im Pāli, Bezz. Beitr. 22, 202 ff. Vgl. dazu auch Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. II, 1, S. 67.
[5]) Pischel, a.a.O., § 345.
[6]) Ders., § 342.
[7]) Ders., § 342.

flektierte Formen eines *a*-Stammes. Im Amg. begegnet auch ein Ablativ *antohiṃto* „von innen", wie *jalāhiṃto* = skt. *jalāt, mūlāhiṃto* = skt. *mūlāt* usw., neben *bāhiṃhiṃto* = *bahiṣṭāt* [1]), also in Bedeutung = skt. *antarāt*.

Es ist schon wiederholt darauf hingewiesen worden, daß auch im Altindischen die Erscheinung auftritt, daß Wörter in eine andre Klasse hinübertreten: aus Adverbien können sich z.B. Nomina herausbilden [2]): *atra* und *paratra* begegnen in Lokativformen *atre, paratre*, Mbh. 13, 7688 (= 165, 62) lesen wir den Zieldativ *syāt paratrāya śubhā gatiḥ* „... der Gang zum Jenseits...", das Pañcatantra (S. 58, 17 Bo.) hat den Nominativ „das Jenseits": *paratraṃ na virudhyate*. Auch in Adjektiva können sie sich verwandlen: *nūna-* „neu" < *nūnam* adv. „nun, alsbald"; *nānāsu nārīṣu* „in verschiednen Weibern" < *nānā* adv. „mannigfach", das klassisch vereinzelt als Prädikat begegnet, usw. [3]). Ich erwähne noch *sāyam*, das in den ältesten Texten (ṚV. +) als Adverb begegnet, nur daß ṚV. 8, 2, 20 *sāyaṃ karad* Objektbedeutung vorliegt; T.B. 1, 5, 3, 3 *Varuṇasya sāyam* „der Abend ist des V." erscheint Subjektbedeutung, Çatap. Br. 7, 3, 2, 18 *sāye bhūte* (und nicht *sāyam bhūte*) „wenn es Abend geworden ist", dann auch *sāye* Çāṅkh. Br. 2, 8. Man könnte vermuten, daß die oben genannte Form *sve* (= *svo*), vgl. *svo bhūte* „wenn es morgen geworden ist" das ihrige zu dieser Entwicklung beigetragen hat. Lexikographisch verzeichnet ist *pura-*, „das Osten" [4]), vgl. *puras*, adv. u.a. „im Osten".

Auch auf andere Weise wurde der lautliche Unterschied zwischen *anta-* und *antar(-ḥ)* durcheinander geworfen. *antastha* heißt „am Ende stehend", Nirukta 10, 17, daneben aber auch (statt *antaḥstha-*, vgl. z.B. *dvāstha-* statt *dvāḥstha-* [5])) „im Innern stehend". Vgl. Rām. 4, 28, 11 *antastanitanirghoṣam*...: *antargatastanitarūpo n.* In Kompositis wie *antaḥkośa-* „der Raum einer Vorratskammer"; *antaḥpātra-* „der innere Raum eines Gefäßes" lag die Möglichkeit vor *antaḥ*° aufzufassen als *vanas*° in *vanaspati* u. dgl. neben *vana-*.

Neben *jalānte*, „im Wasser", *kūpāntam* mit „Akkusativbedeutung" usw. können sich also *jalānta-* usw. gebildet haben.

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1) Pischel, a.a.O., § 365.

2) Vgl. Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. II, 1, a.a.O., S. 4; Renou, Gramm. sanscr., S. 273.

3) Vgl. auch Renou a.a.O., §§ 205, 245.

4) Vgl. P. W. IV, 776, sub C.

5) Vgl. z.B. Renou, Gr. sanscr., S. 38.

Auch die Bedeutungen von *upānta-* usw. können m.E. einiges Licht auf die Sache werfen. Die Erklärung und Klassifizierung im P.W. scheint mir nicht ganz richtig: „1) Nähe des Endes; Saum, Rand — 2) unmittelbare Nähe". Kālid., Kum. 7, 32 haben wir ohne Zweifel *upa* + *anta-* „Ende": *upāntabhāgeṣu ca rocanāṅko gajājinasyaiva dukūlabhāvaḥ,* „an den Säumen mit... geziert", *upāntabhāgeṣu*: *añcalapradeśeṣu*; *upānta-* „sich am Ende, Saum, Rand befindend", wie ved. *upānas-a* „auf dem Wagen befindlich", *upakāñci-* „près de la ceinture", wie adverbialisch mehrere Male, z.B. im Kirātārj., 5, 19 *upakāntam* „in der Nähe des Geliebten". Meistens aber bedeutet *u.* „Umgebung, Nachbarschaft, Umgegend", besonders von Bergen: z.B. Kālid. Megh. 18, vgl. 74; Ragh. 7, 24 *Meror upānteṣu*; auch eines Flusses; Ragh. 16, 21, wo *upānta-* = Ufer; *tīropānte* Pañc. 4. B., Einl., nicht „am Rande des Ufers", sondern „am U.". Bhavabh. Uttarar. 1, 26 *smarasi ca tadupānteṣv avayor vartanāni*? (*tad°* = *Godāvarī*); auch sonst: vgl. z.B. Varāh. BS. 56, 8 *vanopāntanadīśailanirjharopāntabhūmiṣu,* usw., vgl. auch P.W. V, 1198. Kumāras. 3, 69 *diśām upānteṣu sasarja dṛṣṭim* liegt etwa die Bedeutung von *diganteṣu* vor. Z.B. Kss. 16, 4 *°upāntam* = *°samīpam, °antikam,* auch *°upāntād.*

Zu welchem *anta-* gehort nun *upānta*? Ved. *upa* + Lok. heißt „bei, in der Nähe von", *upatīram* heißt „am Ufer" usw. (s.o.), *upakūpe* „in der Nähe eines Brunnens", *upagiri-* „Land das an ein Gebirge grenzt"; *upapakṣa-, upapārśva-* „Achsel", *upabāhu-* „Unterarm" (*uparāja-* „Unterkönig" usw.), *upapura-* „Vorstadt", vgl. *upaśalya-, upakaṇṭha-* „Nachbarschaft, Nähe", *nagarop.* wie *nagaropānta-*. Also *upānta-* = **upa ante sant-,* „beim *anta-* eines Gebietes seiend". Hier mag ursprüngliches *a.* „Ende" leicht umgedeutet sein, z.B. *nagaropānte* „an der Grenze d. S." > „in der Nähe d. S.", „in der Nähe des Stadtgebietes". Es scheint mir aber, daß bei Gebirgen, Flüssen usw. „Ende" nicht Ausgangspunkt gewesen sei. Jedenfalls stimmt die Bildung *upānta-* sowohl zu „Nähe" wie auch zu „Gebiet, Sphäre".

In *nyantena* „in der Nähe" (Br., vereinzelt später) liegt „Nähe" vor.

Vanānta- (Mbh. +, nach PW.). Rām. 2, 30, 14 *śādvaleṣu yadā śiśye vanāntar* bedeutet *vanāntar vanamadhye* (Komm.), *kāntāramadhye* (z.B. 5, 28, 2) „mitten im Walde". So auch *vanānte* „im Walde, in der Waldgegend", z.B. Mbh. 9, 24, 63 *yathā vanānte vanapair visṛṣṭaḥ* | *kakṣam dahet kṛṣṇagatiḥ*; Ath. Par. 70 c, 32, 26

āraṇyo grāmavāsī mṛgaśakunigaṇo grāmavāsī vanānte; Rām. 5, 28. 1 *vitatrāsa yathā vanānte siṃhāvipannā gajarājakanyā*; Ṛtus. 1, 26. Anfangs wohl nur Lok. Dann auch: *vanānta-* „Wald, Waldgegend", wie schon im PW. angegeben[1]): z.B. Rām. 2, 54, 42 *tatra kuñjarayūthāni caiva hi | vicaranti vanānteṣu tāni drakṣyasi;* 4, 37, 8 *tāpasāśramaramyeṣu vanānteṣu,* vgl. *tapovana-*; Mbh. 3, 163, 4; gleichfalls im Plural; Jātakamālā 19, 8 *anutsuko vanānteṣu vasañ chamaparāyaṇaḥ,* wo auch wir „in den Wäldern" sagen können[2]) (vgl. das häufig begegnende *vane vasan, vanavāsa-,* z.B. ibid. 20, 8; 16 *vijaneṣu vaneṣu vastum*); also häufig im Lok. Plur. Nicht im Lok. z.B. Rām. 4, 28, 26; 27; 33.

In den Gedichten Kālidāsa's finden wir *vanānta-*, „Wald, Waldgegend" einige Male. Vgl. z.B. Megh. 23 *phalapariṇatiśyāmajambūvanāntāḥ... Daśārṇāḥ,* wo Mallinātha: *...śyāmāni yāni jambūvanāni tair antā ramyāḥ,* also *anta-* für ein Adjektiv „schön, angenehm" hält. Diese Anschauung findet sich auch sonst in Kommentaren[3]), z.B. Mallinātha, zu Çiçup. 4, 40[4]) *antā*: *ramyāḥ,* mit einem Zitate aus dem Wörterbuch Sabdārṇava: *mṛtāv avasite ramye samāptāv anta iṣyate.* Ich glaube aber, Mallinātha c.s. wußten sich keinen Rat mit dem suffixartigen *anta-* und haben diesem Wortteil aufs Geratewohl eine Bedeutung zugeschrieben. Ganz deutlich ist der von Kāle[5]) angeführte Vers Uttararāmac. 2, 25 *Godāvaryāḥ payasi... yatra ramyo vanāntaḥ,* wo *-anta-* nicht = *ramya-* sein kann. Kālidāsa auch sonst: Ragh. 2, 19 (2, 8 *vicacāra dāvam* „er streifte durch den Wald", 14 *tasmin vanaṃ... gāhamāne* „als er den Wald betrat", 17 *śyāmāyamānāni vanāni paśyan* „er sah die dunklen Wälder") *taṃ āvartamānaṃ... vanāntāt* „als er vom Walde zurückkehrte"[6]); vgl. 2, 58 „Wald, Waldgegend"[7]). Zum Schluß Kirātārj. 6, 17, wo Arjuna den Indrakīla ersteigt, *adhiruhya puṣpabharanamraśikhaiḥ paritaḥ pariṣkṛtatalāṃ tarubhiḥ | ... mūrdhni gireḥ... āsasāda sa vanāntabhuvam* („Waldrevier"), wo Mallinātha: *antaḥśabdaḥ svarūpavacanaḥ* und das Wörterbuch Vaijayantā anziehend: *„anto 'dhyavasite mṛtyau svarūpe niścaye 'ntike"*, also *a.*:

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1) = *vanabhūmi*, Wilson-Goldstücker, I, 114, 54.
2) „in the deepest of the forest", Speyer, Bijdr. 42, S. 486.
3) Vgl. schon P. W. I, 235, sub 17. Z.B. Çiçupālav. 4, 40.
4) Vgl. Wilson-Goldstücker I, 114, 26 ff. (nicht richtig).
5) The Meghadūta of Kālidāsa, Bombay 1934.
6) Kale, The Ragh. of K., I, S. 45 Komm.: „from the skirt of the forest".
7) „In this tract of the forest", Kale, ibid., S. 58.

svarūpa-, d.h. „Wesen, Natur, Eigentümlichkeit", *vanānta-* also „dasjenige das das *svarūpa-* eines Waldes hat". Wohl analogisch: *kānanāntāni* „wooded district, forest", z.B. Rām. 4, 48, 14. Vgl. auch *vanasthalī* „Wald(gegend)". Vgl. z.B. Kirātārj. 1, 36, wo Mallinātha *vanānta-*: *vanabhūmi-*; 5, 44; Jātakam. S. 106, 22 *vanāntabhūmau* (vgl. schon Rām. 4, 28, 34); 108, 16 *vanānteṣu*. Rām. 4, 15, 16 lesen wir *A.... vanāntam upanirgataḥ*, Komm. (Rāma): *vanāntam*: *vanamadhyam*.

Aus *vana-* + *-antare, -ram, -rāt* ist *vanāntara-* entsprungen: *vanāntare* „im Walde (im Inneren eines Waldes)": Rām. 2, 92, 23; 4, 25, 36; *-rāt* heißt m.E. Kāl. Ragh. 1, 49 „aus dem Inneren d. W., aus dem W." *vanāntarād upāvṛttaiḥ... pūryamāṇam... tapasvibhiḥ* „angefüllt von Asketen die aus d. W. zurückkehrten"[1]; *-ram*: Kss. 42, 7 *praviveśa v.* („betrat den W."); 56, 308 *videśaṃ sa Nalo vrajan* | *Damayantyā saha prāpa... van.* (*v.* = der Wald). Dann in der Stammform: *v-acara-* und *-cārin*. Dann im Rām. 4, 28, 41; 30, 34 und anderswo *vanāntarāṇi* pl. „forests" (Monier-Williams); es begegnet einige Male in der Jātakamālā, S. 30, 12 *gaganatalamadhyam abhilaṅghamāne... savitari... abhivṛddhacīrīvirāvonnāditeṣu vanāntareṣu*, „in den Wäldern, Waldgegenden"[2]; 8, 8 *kathaṃ bhayaṃ te 'sti na rākṣasebhyaḥ* | *viviktagambhīrabhayānakeṣu... vanāntareṣu*; 185, 20, wo die Rede ist von den Haremfrauen eines Königs, die ihn, während er schlief, verlassen hatten um die Schönheit des Waldes (*vanaśobhā-*, S. 183, 12) zu bewundern; erwacht fragt er wo sie sind und bekommt die Antwort: *etā deva vanāntarāṇy upaśobhayamānās tadvibhūtiṃ paśyanti*[3]; vgl. auch S. 183, 21 *vanaramaṇīyatā-*; 185, 24 *tad vanam anuvicacāra*. Die Existenz des Wortes wird z.B. auch bezeugt durch newārī *banāntar* und das bekannte Wort ajav. *wanāntara*, mal. *belantara* usw. im Archipel. Man hat diese Wörter verschieden erklärt: Kern: Nāgarakṛtāgama 54, 1, c[4]) *madhya nikaṅ w.*, „'t midden van 't dichte woud"; Berg: „het diepste van het woud" (Kid. Sunda 3, 14); richtiger Poerbatjaraka: Arj.-wiw. 2, 3, c, Smarad. 9, 6 „bosch"; Ādip., S. 145 ∾ Mbh. 1, 155, 24 ff. Dann > ajav. *walantaga*: Van der Tuuk,

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[1]) Nicht, mit Mallinātha, Kāle u.a. = *anyasmād vanād*.

[2]) Speyer (Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 42, S. 168) nicht ganz richtig: „the interior of the woods".

[3]) Speyer, a.a.O., 44, S. 354 „... are now embellishing other parts of the forest, to admire the splendour of which they walked on". Kaum richtig.

[4]) Kern, Verspreide Geschriften VIII, 47.

K.B.W. III, 576. Derselbe, o.c. 455 führt die jav. Uebersetzung an: *tĕṅah iṅ alas* „(mitten) im Walde" und vergleicht mit Recht mal. *bĕlantara* „siernaam v. e. bosch of woeste vlakte", worüber ganz verfehlt Klinkert, Mal. Wdb., s.v. (< *bĕr* + *antara* „tusschenliggend"), *hoetan belantara* ist eine im Malaiischen sehr gewöhnliche Kombination von Synonymen, nicht „tusschenliggende wouden"; oder gibt er eine volksetymologische Erklärung?, wie Wilkinson, Malay-engl. Dict.[1]): „associated by Malays with *bĕr- antara* and interpreted as a „boundless waste of forest".

Sāgarānta- heißt *sāgaratīra-* (Komm. zu Rām. 6, 33, 16); *samudrānte* z.B. Mbh. 8, 41, 10; 15 „am Meeresufer"; *samudrāntare,* Pañc. 4. B. Einl. „(mitten) im Meer": *asti s. suramye pulinapradeśe 'smadgṛham*; *sāgarāntargata-* „living in the ocean". Eine schwierige Stelle ist Karpūram. 3, 3, 14 *tambavaṇṇīsaṃgadasaṃmuddanteṇa gado so mahāmeho,* von Lanman[2]) übersetzt: „the great cloud went near (?) the place where the Tāmraparṇī empties into the ocean", mit der Anmerkung: „Is *anteṇa* used prepositionally (like *antareṇa*), here compounded with its „governed" word-stem and in the sense of *ante* 'near'?"; Konow[3]): *samuddanta* = „sea-shore"; der Instr.: „entlang, in der Richtung von...", vermutlich bedeutet *sammudanta* hier „Meer". Rām. 4, 47, 11 *vicitāḥ parvatāḥ sarve vanāni gahanāni ca | nimnagāḥ sāgarāntāś ca sarve janapadāś ca ye,* hier erklärt Rāma *s.*: *sāgaramadhyavartidvīpāḥ*; „Ufer" und „Meer" wären möglich, aber 4, 52, 9 lesen wir *vicitya tu vanaṃ sarvaṃ samudraṃ dakṣiṇāṃ diśam,* „Meer" ist also vermutlich die Bedeutung. Rām. 4, 37, 3 *parvateṣu samudrānte* (d.h. *ye sthitāḥ*), vgl. 39, 12 *pārvateyaiś ca sāmudraiś ca.* Wichtig ist die schon von Bühler[4]) erörterte Stelle aus Vatsabhaṭṭi's Mandasor Praśasti (A.D. 473/4), 23 *catuḥsamudrāntavilolamekhalām... vanāntavāntasphuṭapuṣpahāsinīṃ Kumāragupte pṛthivīṃ praśāsati,* „während K. die Erde beherrschte, welche die 4 Ozeane wie ein beweglicher Gürtel umgeben... usw." Mit Recht macht Bühler auf die Komposita *samudrānta-* und *vanānta-* aufmerksam. „*Samudrānta*... bedeutet sonst nur „Meeres-

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[1]) Mytilene, 1932, I, S. 106.

[2]) Harvard Oriental Series, IV.

[3]) A.a.O., Glossary, s.v.

[4]) Bühler, Die indischen Inschriften und das Alter der indischen Kunstpoesie, Sitz. Ber. phil.-hist. Classe Ak. d. Wiss. Wien, 122 (1890), XI, S. 22, Text S. 94.

ufer". Hier kann es diesen Sinn nicht haben, weil die Ufer zur Erde gehören und nur die wogenden Oceane zu dem Bilde von dem schwingenden, beweglichen Gürtel passen." Ich bin selbstverständlich mit Bühler der Ansicht, daß *°anta-* hier die Bedeutung des Wortes nicht wesentlich modifiziert. Ich gebe ihm die Wahrscheinlichkeit zu, daß die Form mit *°anta-* hier (und nicht nur hier) metrischen Rücksichten seinen Ursprung verdankt, füge noch das Streben nach Assonanz als Ursache dazu, meine jedoch, daß an unserer Stelle nicht nur Analogie von *vanānta-,* sondern wahrscheinlich auch hier die Entwicklungsreihe *°antar* (vgl. Kss. 12, 112 *samudrāntar nyadhīyata* „wurde in das Meer geworfen") > *°ante* „im Meer" > *°anta-* „Meer" eine Rolle gespielt hat. — Ueber *udakānta-* vergleiche man z.B. die PW. I, 234 genannten Stellen.

jalāntara-; auch hier hat wahrscheinlich eine Verschiebung der Bedeutung stattgefunden: Hitop. 39, 8: im Wasser[1]). — In altjav. Texten begegnet es mehrmals in der Bed. „auf dem Wasser gehen" (von Yogins), obwohl „through water"[2]) nicht ganz ausgeschlossen ist; vgl. in einem Zitate[3]): *ajalantara*: *wĕnaṅ manampak tasik,* „es vermögen das Meer zu betreten"[4]). Weil *ṅgagana* heißt: „in die Luft gehen", *amārga* „einen Weg gehen", so wäre es möglich, daß *jalāntara-* einfach *jala* gleichgesetzt wäre.

Hemac., Anek. wird *jalāntara-* als Synonym von *plava-* verzeichnet, also „das Anschwellen eines Flusses, das Ueberfliessen"; der Komm. bemerkt: *jalāntaraṃ viśiṣṭaṃ pūrayuktaṃ jalam, ambuvṛddhir ity arthaḥ.*

In der Jātakamālā S. 95, 6 (Kern) lesen wir *kasmiṃścid... tīrāntaruhatarukusumāvakīrṇe sarasi,* von Speyer[5]) übersetzt: „covered with the blossoms of the trees growing on its borders", ich glaube gewiß mit Recht. Also finden wir hier *tīrānta-* = *tīra-* „Ufer, Gestade"; vgl. Rām. 2, 95, 4 *nānāvidhais tīraruhair vṛtāṃ puṣpaphaladrumaiḥ* (*nadīm*). Monier-Williams (Dict., s.v.) erwähnt, sich auf Wilson berufend, *tīrāntara-* „the opposite bank". Auch Jātakam. S. 130, 11 (Kern) begegnet das Wort: *taraṅgāṅgulisaṃkṣiptaiḥ*

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[1]) Vgl. z.B. meine Anmerkung Agastyaparwa, SS. 191 ff.
[2]) Vgl. R. Mitra, Patañjali Yogasūtra, Preface, p. XL.
[3]) Van der Tuuk, Kawi-Bal.-Ned. Wdb. III, 799.
[4]) Vgl. auch Pryohoetomo, Nawaruci, Diss. Utrecht 1934, S. 217; Swellengrebel, Korawāçrama, Diss. Leiden 1936, S. 317, in dessen Anmerkung, S. 225 die semantische Frage nicht berücksichtigt wurde.
[5]) Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 42, S. 462.

kamalotpalareṇubhiḥ | *abhyalaṃkṛtatīrāntaṃ hemasūtrair iva kvacit* (22, 11), „shore" Speyer [1]).

Hieran lassen sich anknüpfen *janānta-* und *ekānta-*, ursprünglich wohl nur im Lok. Vgl. z.B. Rām. 4, 48, 23. Vgl. Sāhityad. 425 (S. 170 der Ausg. Bibl. Ind. 1851) *anyān apavāryāntarā kathāṃ* | *anyonyāmantraṇaṃ yat syāj janānte taj janāntikam,* (unter den szenarischen Bemerkungen), „das einander unter vier Augen Anreden indem man während des Gespräches die andren Leute ausschließt heißt *janāntikam*", also *rahasyakathanam* (Komm.), also nicht dasselbe wie *svagatam, ātmagatam* „für sich". Dann das Adverb *janāntam* (Daśarūpa NSP. 1897, 1, 65 a); daneben *janāntike* und adv. *janāntikam* Kss. 60, 110 *pṛṣṭaś ca*... *taṃ uvāca janāntikam*; 70, 349 *abravīd*... *j.* Im Gegensatz dazu *ekānte* (nicht Saṃh. u. Br.) „unter vier Augen, im Geheimen", eig. „in Gegenwart einer Person", vgl. z.B. Nala 16, 33 *tām*... *Sudevena sahaikānte kathayantīm*; Kss. 4, 44 *tām evam ekānte vaṇig abravīt*; 5, 18 *mām*... *ekānte*... *abravīt*; 12, 99 *taṃ ca nītvaikānte jagāda sā*; hier also immer mit „sprechen zu". Dann auch Mbh. 3, 207, 11 ff.: Kauśika besucht den Dharmavyādha, der in seiner Fleischbude sitzt, *ākulatvāc ca kretṝṇām ekānte saṃsthito dvijaḥ,* worauf der Dh. *ājagāma yato vipraḥ sthita ekāntadarśane* („eine Zusammenkunft unter vier Augen"); 1, 25, 4 *samudrakakṣāv ekānte*; Manu 2, 61 *ācāmed ekānte* (*janair anākīrṇe śucideśa iti,* Kullūka). Mbh. 3, 36, 28 *ekāntam unnīya* „bei Seite nehmend", auch *ekāntam āsthāya,* — *āsādya* (vgl. P.W. I, 1085); *-āśritya* (Rām. 4, 25, 39; 33, 27 u.a.). Vgl. z.B. auch Rām. 4, 25, 39 und Bhāsa, Avim. 3, 9-; 6, 14- *ekānte* „beiseite" (+ *sthita-, tiṣṭha*). In diesen und derartigen Ausdrücken also *ekānta-* „ein einsamer Ort, ein abseits gelegener Ort", „in Zurückgezogenheit" z.B. Daśakc. 6. Ucchv. Anf. (n., Hemac. Abhidh. 742) [2]).

Ebenso *janānta-*: Suśr. 1, 204, 5 im Gegensatz zu *atīvāsannanilayāḥ* (*mṛgāḥ*): *dūre janāntanilayāḥ,* nicht mit PW. (III, 28) „ein von Menschen fernliegender Ort, eine von M. nicht bewohnte Gegend", sondern wohl „das Land andrer Leute, die Fremde" (vgl. auch Z. 7 Gegensatz *samīpodakagocarāḥ*), wie *jana-* Āp. śr. sū. 9, 11, 4 „die

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1) Ibidem 44, S. 213.

2) Die Bed. „Ende" hat das Pāli erhalten, aber nur in *ekantalomin.* Dort hat sich für „à part, aside, beiseite" *ekamantaṁ, ekamante* gebildet. Neben *ekānta-* wieder *ekāntar* (neuind.); in neuind. Sprachen *e.* „private place".

Fremde". Vgl. dann *janānta-*: *deśa-* (ÇKDr. im PW. a.a.O.). Anderswo finden wir die Bedeutung: „eine von Menschen bewohnte Gegend". In der Jātakamālā finden sich einige schöne Belege: 8, 10 steht *janānte* „im großen Haufe", „in a crowd", gegenüber *eko 'pi*; hier ist also der Ausdruck noch deutlich *jana-* + *-ante*; 19, 22 (S. 114, 1) *prāpnotu ramyāc ca vanāj janāntam* „in die Gesellschaft der Leute", „into the company of men"; 21, 10 ist die Rede von einer Frau: *vasatv iyaṃ tena janānta eva*, im Gegensatz zu *viviktesu* (9) „an einem einsamen Ort", also: „an einem bewohnten Ort"; im Adj. S. 200, 9 *nāgavane... tiraskṛtajanānte*. Interessant ist S. 160, 15 ff. (24, 33) *yāvad... gahanād itas tvāṃ grāmāntapaddhatim anu pratipādayāmi* („... ich werde dir aus dem Waldversteck hinaus wieder den Weg nach den *grāmānta-*; s.u., „region inhabited by men"[1]) zeigen"; (34) *ekākinaṃ...hi vane bhramantam | kaścit samāsādya... karoti... iti sa... taṃ puruṣam... janāntam ānīya pratipādya cainaṃ tan mārgaṃ punar uvāca* („führte ihn nach die Gegend, wo Menschen wohnten", niederl. „bracht hem (weer) in de bewoonde wereld", „to the border of the inhabited region" Speyer): *prāpto janāntam asi... vanāntam etat... utsṛja* („thou hast reached the habitations of men"); also *janānta-* und *grāmānta-* im Gegensatz zu *vanānta-*.

Das Wort *grāmānta-* begegnet schon im Çatap. br. 13, 2, 4, 2 *samantikaṃ*[2]) *grāmayor grāmāntau syātām*, „(falls man das Opfer vollendet mit einem zahmen Tiere, so) the village boundaries of two villages would be contiguous" (Eggeling), wenn mit einem wilden Tiere *vidūraṃ g. g. s.* „the v. b. ... would be far asunder". Ohne Zweifel ist *grāmānta-* hier nicht dasselbe wie *grāma-*, sondern „Dorfende, Dorfgrenze". Wir finden den Ausdruck einige Male in der Gṛhyasūtra- und Smṛtiliteratur. Pār. G. S. 2, 11, 6 wird gelehrt: Unterricht finde nicht statt, wenn es friert, Musikinstrumente tönen usw.: *nīhāre vāditraśabda ārtasvane grāmānte śmaśāne* „an der Grenze eines Dorfes, auf einem Bestattungsplatz" übersetzt Stenzler[3]); Hs. B hat *grāme grāmānte*. Da der Autor, § 4, gesagt hat, daß Unterricht verboten ist in einem Dorfe, in welchem eine Leiche ist usw. (*antaḥśave grāme*), so war es folglich nicht in einem Dorfe

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[1]) Speyer, Bijdr. 44, S. 254.

[2]) Vgl. die Anmerkung Eggeling's.

[3]) Abh. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes, VI. Hillebrandt, Ritualliteratur, S. 60 oben „im Dorfwalde (?)" wohl als Uebersetzung dieses Wortes.

schlechthin verboten. Es folgt „oder in einem Dorfe in welchem Cāṇḍālās sind" (?): *'ntardivākīrtye.* Hs. B hat *grāme grāmāntard.,* C *grāmāntard.,* und am Rande *grāme,* also *a. grāme grāmāntard.,* dh. *grāmā + antar* usw.

Manu 4, 116; er studiere nicht *śmaśānānte grāmānte govraje 'pi vā,* von Kullūka erklärt: *śmaśānasamīpe grāmasamīpe,* von Bühler übersetzt: „near a burial-ground, near a village". Man möchte jedoch verstehen „auf einem Bestattungsplatz" (vgl. oben Pāraskara), „im Gebiet des ś." Aus 107 *nityānadhyāya eva syād grāmeṣu nagareṣu ca,* 108 *antargataśave grāme* und 118 *caurair upaplute grāme* geht aber wiederum hervor, daß *grāmānte* nicht = *grāme.* Āpast. dh. sū. verwendet einen anderen Ausdruck: man studiere nicht *grāmāraṇyayoś... saṃdhau,* „am Ort wo Dorf und Wildnis zusammentreffen" (1, 11, 9); Gautama, 16, 18 hingegen *śmaśānagrāmāntamahāpathāśauceṣu.* Ein Mörder soll, lehrt Manu (11, 78), seinen Aufenthalt haben *grāmānte* oder in einem Standort der Heerden (*govraje... vā*), oder auch *āśrame vṛkṣamūle vā.* Āp. dh. sū. (1, 29, 1) aber: er darf im Dorfe um Lebensunterhalt fragen: *ko bhrūnaghne bhikṣām iti grāme prāṇavṛttiṃ pratilabhya śūnyāgāraṃ vṛkṣamūlaṃ vābhyupāśrayen na hi sa āryaiḥ samprayogo vidyate.* Auch einem Eremit ist das Betreten des Dorfes zu diesem Zweck gestattet (2, 21, 10) *grāme p. p.*; vgl. Manu 6, 28 *grāmād āhṛtya vāśnīyād.*

Auch in der vierten Lebensperiode darf man das Dorf betreten zwecks des Lebensunterhaltes: *grāmam annārtham āśrayet* Manu 6, 43; Yājñ. 3, 59. Er habe keine feste Wohnung, sondern verweile *grāmānte devagṛhe śūnyāgāre vā vṛkṣamūle vā* (Vās. dh. ś. 10, 13). Viṣṇusmṛti 96, 12: *na grāme dvitīyāṃ rātrim āvaset.* Baudh. dh. ś. aber: *grāmānte grāmasīmānte* (2, 17, 12; nicht in allen Hss.), von Bühler übersetzt: „to the extremity of the village or to the extremity of the boundary (of the village)", besser „auf dem offenen Platz vor dem Dorfe oder nahe an den Dorfgrenzen". Vgl. 3, 1, 17 *nirgatya grāmānte grāmasīmānte vāvatiṣṭhate tatra kuṭīṃ maṭhaṃ vā karoti kṛtaṃ vā praviśati.*

Im Pāli: *gāma-* „Dorf", *gāmanta-* „Nachbarschaft eines Dorfes, Grenzgebiet e. D., das Dorf selbst"; *gāmantanāyaka-* „leading to the village", *gāmantaraṁ gacchati* „ins Dorf gehen".

Das Wörterbuch Amarakoṣa lehrt (2, 2, 20) *grāmānta upaśalyaṃ syāt,* d.h. *g.* = „offener Platz vor einer Stadt oder einem Dorfe", wie umgekehrt Nīlakaṇṭha zu Mbh. 3, 15, 6 *upaśalyasya*: *grāmāntasya*

und Mallinātha, zu Kāl. Ragh. 15, 60 *upaśalyeṣu*: *grāmānteṣu* und zu 16, 37 *upaśalye*: *grāmānte* [1]). Ragh. 15, 60 beschreibt der Dichter den Anblick Ayodhyā's: die Seher waren herbeigerufen, hatten ihre Erdenwohnung verlassen und sich in den offenen Platz vor der Stadt begeben: *upaśalyaniviṣṭais tais* usw.; 16, 37 läßt der König sein Heer sich dort lagern: *upaśalye*... *niveśayāmāsa balāni.*

Wir können also wohl nicht umhin zu schliessen, daß *gramānta-* einen besonderen Begriff bezeichnete, jedoch auch hier mitunter mit unbestimmten Grenzen. Vgl. Jātakam. 160, 16 (s. oben) und z.B. auch pā. [2]) *gāmantanāyaka-* „nach dem Dorfe führend". Daneben nun auch pā. *gamantaraṃ gacchati* „to go into the village".

veśanta- „Teich" (Lexx.), *veśantā́-* (AV.), *veśantī́-* (AV.), daneben *veśā́ntā-*, m.E. eine Umbildung der Form *-ant-*, alsob *-anta-* darin stäke [3]).

raṇānta-: [Kālid.] Kum. 17, 3 °*cāpamuktā bāṇāḥ*... °*bāṇa-saṅghān*... *vicicchidur alaṃ kaṇaśo raṇānte,* wo der Kommentator Sītārāma: *raṇānte*: *saṅgrāmamadhye*. Also °*anta-* „das Mitten von -", *raṇānte* ± *raṇe.*

ratānte begegnet in einem Verse Bhāsa's, Subhāsitāvali 1994 in der Bedeutung *rata-* „Liebeslust": „der Mondschein verwirrt Mensch und Tier: *kapāle mārjāraḥ paya iti karānl leḍhi śaśinas* | ... | *ratānte talpasthān harati vanitāpy aṃsukam iti,* „when they rest on the couch of lovers the maiden seizes them, saying it is my robe", übersetzt Keith [4]), der Schwierigkeit ausweichend. Ist „Ende des Liebesgenusses" hier wohl richtig? Gleichfalls Kss. 19, 30 *iti saṃcintayaṃs tasyā bhāryāyāḥ sa bahiḥ sthitaḥ* | *ratāntavisrambhajuṣaḥ kathālāpam ivāśṛṇot* „... seiner Frau, welche sich der Vertraulichkeit der Liebeslust hingab" [5]); vermutlich auch Kss. 6, 89 *ratāntasuptām udyāne sarpas tāṃ jātu daṣṭavān,* wo Tawney-Penzer *r.* auslassen „and... a snake bit her as she was sleeping in the garden".

Vāsaveśmāntaraṃ hṛṣṭā kaṇṭhe lagnā ināya tam, Kss. 12, 88, heißt „führte ihn ins Schlafzimmer hinein"; daneben Kss. 31, 73

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[1]) Vgl. Schol. zu Hemac. Abhidh. 963, 64 *grāmāntaḥ*: *ante cihnārthaṃ śalyaprakṣepād upaśalyam.*

[2]) Rhys Davids-Stede s.v. *gāmanta* „the neighbourhood of a village, its border, the village itself".

[3]) Vgl. schon Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. II, 1, S. 37.

[4]) Keith, Sanskrit Drama, S. 109.

[5]) Tawney-Penzer übersetzen „to hear his wife confidentially conversing with her lover".

praviṣṭā vāsaveśma; 45, 280; 50, 156; 64, 44. Im Rāmāyaṇa findet sich einige Male *veśmānta-*, z.B. 1, 5, 19; 2, 42, 23 wo der Komm. Rāma's *veśmamadhyabhāga-*.

śuddhānta- (= *antaḥpura-*, z.B. Mallinātha ad Kāl., Kum. 6, 52), wird im PW. erklärt: „(das reine Innere) [>] die für die Frauen bestimmten inneren Gemächer eines fürstlichen Palastes, Gynaeceum". Die älteste Belegstelle scheint zu sein Mbh. 5, 59, 3. Vermutlich aus *śuddha-* „rein" + *anta-* „das Innere", jedoch ist die Möglichkeit nicht auszuschliessen, daß das Streben den langen Ausdruck *śuddhāntaḥpura-* (vgl. Gopālakelicandrikā [1]) S. 44, 16: *śuddhāntaḥ-puracāriṇī*) zu verkürzen, dazu beigetragen hat.

vṛddhānta-: Monier-Williams s.v.: „senior's limit" (>) „the place of honour"; Cowell and Neil, Divyāvadāna, S. 691 „seniors' end, place of honour". Es begegnet in buddhistischen Sanskrit Texten: z.B. Divyāvad. 85, 21 *anyatamaś ca krodamallako vṛddhānte cittaṃ abhiprasādayaṃs tiṣṭhati*; 306, 17 *upasaṃkramya vṛddhānte sthitvā kathayati*; 432, 4 *vṛddhānte sthitvā kṛtāñjalis... uvāca*; die mir bekannten Stellen in diesem Text immer Lokativ. Gegensatz *navānta-* (349, 26 *sa vṛddhānte praṇāmaṃ kṛtvā yāvan navāntaṃ gatvā...*), *navakānta-* (404, 14 *-ṃ gataḥ*) „novices' end". Cowell and Neil. Also °*anta-* etwa „Platz".

pādānta-; wie *mamāntikam* usw. begegnet auch *padāntikam*, vgl. Mārk. Pur. 70, 11 *dūrād eva mahīṃ mūrdhnā spṛśan pādāntikaṃ yayau* „ging er in die Nähe der Füße", d.h. „ging er zu ihm". Daneben finden wir *pādānte*, z.B. Boehtlingk, Indische Sprüche², 1939 *tvaṃ pādānte luṭhasi* „du wälzest dich zu meinen Füßen", PW. (IV, 654) erklärt „das Ende oder die Nähe der Füße". Ich meine aber, die Bedeutung „Ende" liege hier gar nicht vor. Vgl. auch Sāhityad. S. 48, 7 (B. Ind.) *pādānte vinipatya* „zu Füßen gefallen" (einer Geliebten)[2]), wie *pādayoḥ papāta* Daśakc. S. 226, 7; *patito 'smi pāde* Caurap. 36. Da *mūla-* = *samīpa-* „Nähe" [3]) sein kann, vermute ich, *pādānta-* sei „Teilsynonym" neben *pādamūla-* (z.B. Rām. 2, 78, 25 *sā pādamūle Kaikeyyā nipapāta*). *pādāntare* heißt Mbh. 1, 192, 9 „am Fußende"; das Bett wird zurecht gemacht für die Pāṇḍava's, ihre Mutter und Draupadī (= Kṛṣṇā): *Agas-*

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[1]) Ausgabe Caland, Verh. Kon. Akad. v. Wet., A'dam, Lett. N. R. XVII, 3 (1917).

[2]) „When he fell at my feet" mit Recht Ballantyne (Bibl. Ind. IX, 2, S. 78).

[3]) Rāma zu Rām. 2, 64, 49.

tyaśāstām abhito diśaṃ tu | *śirāṃsi teṣāṃ Kurusattamānām* | *Kuntī purastāt tu babhūva teṣām* | *pādāntare cātha babhūva Kṛṣṇā.* Die Uebersetzung im PW. (IV, 654) „unmittelbar neben" ist nicht richtig, Nīlakaṇṭha hatte Recht: *pādasamīpapradeśe.* Dieselbe Bedeutung hat (*pādānta-* >) *pāanta-* Karpūram. 1, 14d *pāantapuñjia-paḍam mihuṇāi peccha* „the blankets heaped [unused] at the foot [of their couches] (Lanman). Pañc. 3. B. 2. E. *tenāpi*... *pādāntenākrāntaḥ* „er packte ihn mit seinem Fuße".

keśānta-[1]) heißt bekanntlich in älteren Texten „Haarende, Stirnrand des Haares", z.B. Tait. Up. 1, 6, 1 *yatrāsau k. vivartate, vyapohya śīrṣakapāle,* „where is the edge of the hair..."; auch Rām. 6, 32, 2, anderswo (Mbh. usw. nach PW.) aber „Locken, (das herabhängende) Haar", eng. „tuft" [wie auch *keśapāśa-* häufig begegnet, „Haarmenge, Schopf", vgl. auch *keśakalāpa-* usw. „Haarbündel, -menge, -schopf" (*kalāpa-*, „Inbegriff, Masse, Gesammtheit"), *keśahasta-* usw. „Haarmenge"; *keśapakṣa-*, mit Bedeutungswandel „Seite des Haares"; Epos, später „Haarschopf"[2]), PW. IV, 344, also mehrere Komposita für „whole collection of hair"], möglicherweise anfangs nur *keśānte* „im Haar" (z.B. *k. gṛhītvā,* Pañc.) = *keśamadhye* (Halāyudha, im ÇKDr. 2, 397), dann auch *keśānta-* = „Haar", vgl. z.B. *veṇīkṛtakeśānta-*, Mbh. 4, 575; *sukeśāntāni*... *mukhāni rājñām* Nala 5, 6; 16, 21. Analogiebildung: *śiroruhānta-*, dieselbe Bed. Ṛtus. 4, 15 *ghananīlaś.* (*keśaprāntā* Komm.) *taruṇyaḥ*[3]). Weiter *keśānta-* in einigen Gṛhyasūtra- und Smṛtitexten „die Zeremonie des Haarschneidens"[4]) = *godāna-* („das Bartscheren") und wohl wie dieses < *keśāntavidhi-* (vgl. *godānavidhi-* Kālid., Ragh. 3, 33), vgl. auch *caula-m* (sc. *karman*) „das zerimonielle Haarschneiden beim Kinde". Man schert das Haar und den Bart ganz, nicht nur die Enden des Haares.

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[1]) Als Adj. „bis an die Haare reichend", wie *prāyaṇānta-* „bis zum Tode —" (Praśnop. 5, 1), z.B. Vaikh. sm. sū. 2, 4, 1 *k.... daṇḍaḥ,* nicht „of such length as to reach to the end of his hair" (Caland), vgl. a.a.O. *lalāṭānta-* „reaching to his front", *nāsikānta-*, = *nāsāntika-* Manu 2, 46, wo auch *keśāntika-* „bis an die H. reichend" (P. W., Bühler anders), vgl. Manu 3, 1 *grahaṇāntikam* „bis zur Erlernung"; *keśāntāyatam,* Vaikh. 9, 3 wurde von Caland übersetzt: „so long as to reach up to the upper part of his head".

[2]) Vgl. Mahābh. 7, 14, 59 *keśapakṣa-*, 61 *keśānta-*.

[3]) Das Komp. *kacānta-* kenne ich nicht; *kaca-* ist mir vielfach im Plur. und als Kompositionsglied begegnet.

[4]) Vgl. z.B. Hillebrandt, Rituallitteratur (Grundriß), S. 50.

sīmānta-; Kātyāyana[1]) lehrt für ved. *sīmánta-* neben kl. *sīmānta-* Elision des *-a* vor *a-*, „*sīmánta-* [ist] ältere... Nebenform von Saṃh. *sīmán-* „Scheitel", wofür *sīmānta-* durch Umdeutung; als stäke *anta-* „Ende" darin"[2]). Wenn *sīmānta-* wirklich auch als „Scheitel" verwendet wurde (PW. gibt keine Belege), so ist Einfluß von *keśānta-* nicht ausgeschlossen; daß neben dem ursprünglicheren *sīman-*[3]) (schon AV., öfters Br. usw.), *sīman-ta* (AV. usw.), *sīmā-* (Nir., Manu usw.) auch *sīmānta-* „Grenze, Markung eines Dorfes" entstand, können wir begreifen, möglicherweise unter Mitwirkung von *anta-* „Ende, Grenze", *sīmāntara-* „the boundary of a village" begegnet uns im Mbh. und Ṛtus. 3, 16.

karmānta- begegnet in der älteren Literatur nur einmal: Sāmavidh. br. 1, 3, 6 (7) *karmānte* (: *uktakarmasarvānuṣṭhānānte*) „nach diesen Handlungen", wie 1, 2, 3 (5) *dvādaśarātrasyānte*, „nach Ablauf der 12 Nächte". Diese Bedeutung auch anderswo[4]). Dann Mbh., Manu usw. „Geschäft, Arbeit, Verwaltung eines Amtes; work, business, administration". Vgl. Mbh. 2, 5, 32 *kaccin na sarve karmāntāḥ parokṣās te viśaṅkitāḥ*, wo Nīlakaṇṭha u.a. *karmaṇā atyante badhyanta iti karmāntāḥ kṛṣyādikarmabaddhāḥ kṛṣīvalādayaḥ*. Manu 8, 419 ...*avekṣeta* (d.h. der Fürst) *karmāntān vāhanāni ca* | *āyavyayau ca*, hier sind die Kommentatoren uneinig; ich zitiere kurz Bühler's Anmerkung[5]): „the completion of his undertakings"; „the works, i.e. agriculture, offices for collecting tolls and duties, &c"; „the workshops, e.g. for making arms"[6]). Gleichfalls 7, 62 *teṣām* (sc. *sacivānāṃ*)... *niyuñjīta śūrān dakṣān*... *ākarakarmānte*, Kommentare[7]): „management" i.e. „sugar-mills, distilleries, &c",... and „storehouses of grain", „manufactories of ornaments and weapons &c." Bühler vermutet, die Bedeutung sei „for superintending mines and manufactories" (*ākarakarmānte*)". Mbh. 12, 146, 11 *sa gatvāṅgārakarmāntaṃ gṛhītvāgnim athāgamat* | *tataḥ śuṣkeṣu parṇeṣu pāvakaṃ so 'py adīpayat*, wo PW.[8]) „Kohlenbrennerei"; Nīlakaṇṭha: *karmāragṛhasamīpam*, „nach einer Schmiede";

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1) Zu Pāṇ. 6, 1, 101.
2) Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, S. 318.
3) Vgl. griech. ἱμαντ-; anord. *sími* usw.
4) Vgl. z.B. Monier-Williams, s.v.
5) S. B. E. 25, S. 327.
6) „The last explanation is perhaps the best", Bühler, a.a.O.
7) Bühler, o.c., S. 225, „cultivated land" Benfey, Lex.
8) V, 953, wo Näheres.

er meint also *-antam* = *-samīpam*, und *-karman-* „Geschäft", so wie wirklich *kṛṣikarman-, paśukarman-, naukarman-*, usw. existieren. Aber auch *kṛṣikarmānta-*, Divy., S. 3 *Balaseno .... nityam eva k—e udyuktaḥ* usw. Hemacandra[1]) erwähnt: *karmānta-* = *karmabhū-*, „bebautes Land", wie auch in *karmodaka-* „Wasser zur Bewässerung der Felder" (Kauṭ. 170, 17) *karman-* die Landwirtschaft bezeichnet. Das Wort *karmāntika-* wird von Monier-Williams erklärt: „completing an act > labourer, artisan". Ich möchte es betrachten als eine Ableitung mit *-ika-* von *karmānta-*, wie *kārtāntika-* „Wahrsager" zu *kṛtānta-* „Schicksal". Man erwartet Vṛddhi in der ersten Silbe, wie regelmäßig mit *-ika*: *dhārmika-, dauvārika-, āhnika-* usw.[2]); es finden sich aber auch Ausnahmen: *goṣṭhika-* neben *gauṣṭhika-*; vgl. auch *janapada-*: *jānapada-*?[3]). Mehrere Berufsnamen werden mit *-ika-* gebildet: *dauvārika-, hairaṇyika-, paurāṇika-, vārttika-*. Das Wort *karmāntika-* würde also ohne Dehnung gebildet sein[4]), wohl unter dem Einfluß des Mittelindischen, vgl. z.B. pāli *kappa-* — *kappika-, dhamma-* — *dhammika-*, neben skt. *dhārmika-* (einige Male *dharmika-*[5])). Im Pāli heißt *kammantika-* Jāt. 1, 377 etwa „Arbeitsmann": *so* (ein Kaufmann) *ekadā paccante uṭṭhānakabhaṇḍassa pañca sakaṭasatāni pūretvā kammantikamanusse āha: gacchatha bho*...; 1, 227 *mahākammantika-* etwa „Werkmeister" („business manager" Rhys Davids-Stede). Rām. 1, 13, 7 *karmāntikāñ śilpakārān vardhakīn khanakān api*, etwa „Arbeiter"[6]), ohne Unterschied heißen aber die genannten Handwerksleute (Handwerker, Zimmerleute, Gräber) 1, 13, 32, wenn die Arbeit, die ihnen aufgetragen war fertig ist *karmāntikāḥ*: *te ca k. sarve... sarvaṃ nivedayanti sma... yad upakalpitam*. Rām. 2, 80, 2... *khanakā yantrakās... karmāntikāḥ sthapatayaḥ puruṣā yantrakovidāḥ*..., wo der Kommentator *k.*: *vetanajīvanaḥ*, „Lohnarbeiter"; 2, 82, 20 ist die Rede von Fronarbeitern (*viṣṭikarmāntikāḥ*), Komm.: *viṣṭayo bhṛtiṃ vinā karmakarāḥ, karmāntikā uktāḥ*. Vgl. auch Kss. 102, 105. Also *k.* = „Arbeiter, Handwerker", im allgemeinen. Vgl. dazu pā.

1) Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, 963.
2) Ueber diese Vṛddhi z.B. Renou, Grammaire sanscrite, § 142.
3) Vgl. Speyer, W. Z. K. M. 16, 106. Ausnahmen auch Renou, o.c., SS. 184, 284.
4) Siṃhāsanadv. (Jain. Rec.; Ind. Stud. XV, 295): *tārkikāḥ, saiddhāntikāḥ, v e d ā n t i k ā ḥ ... paurāṇikāḥ.*
5) „Wohl nur fehlerhaft" P.W. s.v.
6) Kommentator (Rāma): *āsamāpti karmanirvāhakān.*

kammanta- [1]); es wird genügen einiges aus Rhys Davids-Stede, s.v. anzuführen: „*k.* 1. doing, acting...; work, business, occupation, profession; *khettakammanta-* occupation in the field [skt. *kṣetra-karman-* „Feldbau"]; 2. deed, action in ethical sense = *kamma*..., etc., *pāpa*° doing wrong [skt. *pāpakarman-*]...".

Es zeigt sich also, daß in diesen Beispielen °*anta-* nicht „Ende" heißt, sondern, daß *karmānta-* ganz oder beinahe = *karma-*. Bezeichnend ist die Stelle Yājñavalkya's (1, 321 ∾ Manu 7, 62; 80, s.o.) „der König stelle in verschiedenen Zweigen der Verwaltung Aufseher an, die sich befleissigend Einkünfte und Ausgaben überwachen": *āyakarmāntavyayakarmasu codyatān*. Der Ausdruck *karmāntara-* heißt Bhāg. Pur. 10, 9, 1 „irgend eine Verrichtung": *ekadā gṛhadāsīṣu Yaśodā Nandagehinī | karmāntaraniyuktāsu nirmamantha svayaṃ dadhi.* Ich zweifle ob Boehtlingk, Indische Sprüche 2. Aufl. 3166 *eṣa* (der Mensch, die Seele) *vidher niyogavaśagaḥ karmāntarair badhyate* richtig übersetzt: („Die Seele ist von Gaunern, Sinne genannt, betrogen worden; diese kümmern sich nicht weiter um das Uebrige, nachdem sie ihr Ziel erreicht haben.) die Seele aber wird jetzt in Folge dessen durch a n d e r e Werke in Banden gehalten". Neuind. begegnet *karmāntara* „Begräbnisfeier".

kathāntare [2]) heißt „im Verlauf eines Gesprächs": *ekadātra k. rājñī... abravīt* Kss. 123, 1, wie 75, 140 *kathāmadhye,* vgl. auch *smartavyo 'smi kathāntareṣu bhavatā,* beim Abschied, Mṛcch. 110, 11 St.; daneben auch *kathānte,* im PW. unter *anta-* „Ende, Ausgang": z.B. Nala 22, 4 (1 *gaccha... jānīhi ka eṣa rathavāhakaḥ...,* 2 *abhyetya kuśalam... pṛcchethāḥ puruṣaṃ hy enam... brūyāś cainaṃ kathānte*), wäre an sich „im Laufe des G." möglich; vgl. auch Rām. 1, 52, 12 (vgl. 11 I).

Neben *vṛtta-* „geschehen, stattgefunden habend" *vārtā* „Kunde, Nachricht, Rede von etwas", das auch „Lebensunterhalt, Gewerbe" bedeutet: *vṛttānta-* (gleichfalls zu *vṛtta-* „stattgefunden habend usw.") „Verlauf einer Sache, Hergang, Begebenheit; Bericht über einen Vorfall; Erlebnisse usw.", im Sāhityadarpaṇa 407 „Verwickelung (im Bühnenspiel)", öfters mit *sarva-* oder im Plural. Vgl. z.B. Bhāsa, Avim. 6, vor 5 und 5 *vṛttāntaṃ na bravīṣi... na bhāṣase*

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[1]) „Pleonastische Composition", Franke, a.a.O., S. 207.

[2]) Auf Java *kathāntara* Uebers. von skt. *śravyam anyad*. Van der Tuuk, Kawi-Balin.-Ned. Wdb. IV, 644.

vṛttam; Uttararāmac. S. 11, 10—13, 23 Stch. Daneben, mir nur im Altjav. bekannt, *vṛttāntara-* Wir. 42 (?).

Es finden sich also mehrere Wörter welche ein fast „überflüssiges", suffixartiges °*anta-* „Gebiet, Sphäre u. dgl." aufweisen. Zu °*anta-*: °*antara-* in dieser Bedeutung vgl. auch das Nebeneinander von *adhaḥ adhara-* usw. und *antara-*: *sthāna-*.

Als erste Belegstelle für die Bedeutung *anta-* „Zustand" geben Böhtlingk und Roth (PW. I, 235, 13) an Bṛhadāraṇyakop. 4, 3, 18; 16; 17. Tatsächlich finden wir diese Auffassung der genannten Stelle öfters: „Zustand" Deussen[1]); „state, condition" Hume[2]); Hertel[3]) aber übersetzt: „Ende; Grenze, Grenzlinie". Man soll jedoch den ganzen Passus, Bṛh. Ār. Up. 4, 3, 9—19, in Zusammenhang überblicken. Wir lesen dort[4]), daß dem *puruṣa-*, d.h. der Seele, zwei *sthāna-*'s gehören: *tasya vā etasya puruṣasya dve eva sthāne bhavata idaṃ ca paralokasthānaṃ ca,* und noch ein drittes: *sandhyaṃ tṛtīyaṃ svapnasthānam.* Das Wort *sthāna-* bedeutet in erster Linie „das Stehen, Verweilen, Aufenthalt"; weiter auch „Standort, Stelle, Ort, Wohnstätte". Man soll m.E. an unserer Stelle nicht „Zustand", „condition" übersetzen; Röer übersetzte mit Recht „places"[5]), Hertel „Gebiete", Senart „sièges"[6]). Die Seele kann also in der anderen Welt und in dieser Welt verweilen, auch aber an der Stelle, die am „Verbindungspunkt, Uebergangspunkt, Berührungspunkt dazwischen" liegt, die das Grenzgebiet bildet, dessen Name also *svapnasthāna-* ist „das Verweilen im Traumschlaf; die Stelle des Traumschlafes". Von hier überblickt der *puruṣa-* die beiden genannten Gebiete: *tasmin sandhye sthāne tiṣṭhann ete ubhe sthāne paśyatīdaṃ ca paralokasthānaṃ ca.* Es folgen einige Mitteilungen über das Verhalten der Seele während des Traumschlafes — die bekannte Hauptstelle über den Traumschlaf: „Wenn er nun einschläft, dann entnimmt er aus dieser Welt das Material... Dort

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1) Deussen, 60 Upanishad's des Veda.

2) R. E. Hume, The thirteen principal Upanishads translated from the Sanskrit², Oxford, 1931, S. 135.

3) Joh. Hertel, Die Weisheit der Upanischaden², München, 1922, SS. 121 ff.

4) Vergleiche über die Reise, auf der sich die Seele während des Schlafes befindet, z.B. Hillebrandt, Ueber die Upanisaden, Zeitschr. f. Buddhismus, 4, S. 44. Ueber den Traumschlaf und den Tiefschlaf Betty Heimann, Die Tiefschlafspekulation, Zeitschr. f. Buddh. 4, SS. 255 ff.

5) The twelve principal Upaniṣads, vol. II, by E. Röer, Ausgabe Madras, 1931, S. 333.

6) Bṛhad-āraṇyaka-upaniṣad, Paris, 1934, S. 72.

sind nicht Wagen, nicht Gespanne, nicht Wege, sondern er schafft sich Wagen, Gespanne, Wege,... denn er ist der Schöpfer". Dann werden „die Verse die darüber sind" angeführt: (11) *svapnena śārīram abhiprahatya | asuptaḥ suptān abhicākaśīti; | śukram ādāya punar eti sthānam | hiraṇmayaḥ puruṣa ekahaṃsaḥ,* „Im Schlafe (mit dem S.) niederhaltend (abwerfend) was des Leibes ist schaut er schlaflos die schlafenden (Organe), das Lebensprinzip[1]) ergreifend kehrt er, der goldene Puruṣa, der einzige Vogel, zu seinem Ort wieder"[2]). Die Seele ist nun ein Vogel der dem Nest entfliegt, unsterblich: (12) *bahiḥ kulāyād amṛtaś caritvā*; dann schweift er umher wo es ihm beliebt (*īyate... yatrakāmam*). 13 *svapnānta uccāvacam īyamānaḥ | rūpāṇi devaḥ kurute bahūni,* „*svapnānte* auf und nieder schweifend erschafft er, der Gott, sich vielerlei Gestalten, er ergötzt sich mit Frauen usw." Der Ausdruck *svapnānte* an dieser Stelle ist auf verschiedene Weisen übersetzt worden: ich nenne nur „in his dream" (Röer), „dans le rêve" (Senart), „im Traumesstande" (Deussen), „in Traumeswelten" (Oldenberg), „in the state of sleep" (Hume), „bei Schlafes Ende" (Hertel). Ich frage mich, ob etwas dagegen ist es als synonym, wenigstens beinahe synonym, mit *svapnasthāna-* (§ 9) aufzufassen. „*Atho khalv āhuḥ*" wird weiterhin gesagt, *jāgaritad e ś a evāsyaisaḥ*[3]), „das (dh. der Traum) ist für ihn eben die Stätte des Wachens", „son siège est, dans le sommeil, le même que dans la veille" (Senart). Hier also *-deśa-*, „das Gebiet (des Wachens)". Nachdem die Seele sich im Traumschlaf nach Belieben aufgehalten hat, tritt sie den Rückweg zum *buddhānta-* an: *punaḥ pratinyāyam pratiyony ādravati buddhāntāyaiva,* und zwar *ananvāgatas,* nichts folgt ihr. Und wieder zurück: (17) *sa vā eṣa etasmin buddhānte ratvā caritvā dṛṣṭvaiva puṇyaṃ ca pāpaṃ ca punaḥ pratinyāyaṃ pratiyony ādravati svapnāntāyaiva.*

Es folgt ein Gleichnis: „wie ein Fisch an den beiden Ufern (eines Stromes) entlang[4]) sich fortbewegt: (18) *tad yathā mahāmatsya*

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[1]) Ueber *śukra-* vgl. Senart, a.a.O. S. 73 mit Anm. Deussen: „ihr Licht entlehnend", Die Phil. der Upan. S. 272; „tränkt sich in Glanz" Oldenberg, Lehre der Upanishaden, S. 163.

[2]) „Il revient à son siège", Senart., a.a.O.: „place", Hume: „Heimat", Oldenberg, a.a.O.

[3]) Hiernach hat die Mādhyandinarezension einen mehr ursprünglichen Text. Vgl. auch Erich Frauwallner, Untersuchungen zu den älteren Upaniṣaden, Zeitschr. f. Indol. u. Iran. 4 (1926), S. 37, Anm. O.

[4]) P. W. II, 965: „von einem Ufer zum andern reicht".

ubhe kūle anusaṃcarati, pūrvaṃ cāparaṃ ca evam evāyaṃ puruṣa etāv ubhāv antāv anusaṃcarati svapnāntaṃ ca buddhāntaṃ ca[1]). Und schließlich läuft die Seele wie ein Falke oder ein Adler auf seinem Nest zu auf der Stelle (*anta-*), wo sie traumlos schläft: (19) *etasmā antāya dhavati yatra supto... na kaṃcana svapnam paśyati.*

Wenn wir diesen Passus überblicken und die wiederholte Verwendung von Verben des Bewegens berücksichtigen[2]), müssen wir m.E. den Schluß ziehen, daß die Interpretation diese Punkte als feststehend annehmen darf: die Seele kann sich in drei Regionen (*sthāna-, deśa-*) frei bewegen; in dieser Welt verweilt sie wenn der Mensch wacht (*jāgaritadeśa-*), in jener Welt wenn er traumlos schläft (*paralokasthāna-*); das Zwischengebiet, worin sie im Traume verweilt wie ein Fisch in einem Strome, ist das *sandhyaṃ svapnasthānam.* Diese Wörter haben lokale Bedeutungen; sollen *anta-*, *svapnānta-* die sich daneben finden nicht gleichfalls diese lokale Bedeutung haben?

Der Ausdruck *svapnānta-* begegnet auch sonstwo in den Upaniṣaden. Chānd. Up. 6, 8, 1[3]): *Uddālako... uvāca: svapnāntaṃ me saumya vijānīhīti,* „nature of sleep" übersetzten Mitra und Cowell[4]), „condition of sleep" Hume, „la vérité sur le sommeil" Senart[5]), „Ende des Schlafs" Hertel. Es folgt: *yatraitat puruṣaḥ svapiti nāma satā saumya tadā sampanno bhavati,* also eine Erklärung des Schlafes: „wenn es heißt daß der Mensch schlafe, dann ist er mit dem Seienden zur Vereinigung gelangt"; *svam apīto bhavati, tasmād enaṃ svapitīty ācakṣate* „zu sich selbst (*sva-*) ist er eingegangen, darum sagt man von ihm: er schläft (*svapiti*)". Ich übersetze also: „lerne von mir was der Schlaf ist". Vergleiche den Anfang des § 3 *aśanāyāpipāse me saumya vijānīhi* „connais de moi... la faim et la soif", hier nicht: „la verité sur..." (Senart). Kaṭhop. 4, 4 *svapnāntaṃ jagaritāntaṃ cobhau yenānupaśyati,* m.E. wie oben im Bṛh. Ār. Up. Anderweitig finden wir eine andere Terminologie: vgl. Maitrī Up.

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1) Hier — wie auch §§ 16 und 17 — übersetzt nun auch Senart „état": § 16 „revient... vers son point de départ, à l'état de veille"; § 18 „ce personnage longe ces deux états, état de sommeil et état de veille".

2) Vgl. auch Chānd. Up. 8, 10, 1 *ya eṣa svapne mahīyamānaś caraty eṣa ātma*; id. 8, 3, 2b.

3) Vgl. Deussen, Die Phil. d. Upan. (= Allg. Gesch. d. Phil I, 2), S. 268.

4) The twelve principal Upaniṣads, Madras, 1932, S. 204.

5) Chāndogya-Upaniṣad, Paris, 1930, S. 83.

7, 11, 7 cākṣuṣaḥ svapnacārī ca suptaḥ suptāt paraś ca yaḥ | b h e d ā ś caite 'sya catvāras tebhyas turyaṃ mahattaram, aber wenn auch *bheda-* hier steht, so folgt doch *triṣv ekapāc cared Brahma tripāc carati cottare.* Beachte auch die Bedeutung von *sthāna-* (s. oben): Māṇḍ. Up. 3 *jāgaritasthāna-*, 4 *svapnasthāna-*[1]), 5 *suṣuptasthāna-*; Bhāg. Pur. 6, 16, 54 *evaṃ jāgaraṇādīni jīvasthānāni cātmanaḥ | māyāmātrāṇi vijñāya,* 61 *ātmanaś ca gatiṃ sūkṣmāṃ sthānatraya-vilakṣaṇām.*

Wir wissen, daß manches in den Upaniṣaden später anders interpretiert worden ist als die Verfasser oder Redakteure es auffaßten. Wir wissen, daß nach einiger Zeit die Bedeutung der verwendeten Ausdrücke sich mehr oder weniger verschoben hat. Es ist bekannt, daß man in Indien wie auch im Abendlande mehrmals die älteren Stellen gemäß den jüngeren Ansichten interpretiert hat. Die Traumerlebnisse sind dem „primitiven" Menschen tatsächliche Vorgänge: „ce qu'un sauvage connait en rêve est juste aussi réel pour lui que ce qu'il voit quand il est éveillé"[2]). Er ist der Ansicht, daß die Seele in der Traumwelt auf Reisen sei und, während sein Leib im Schlafe unbeweglich daliegt, Vieles sehe und erlebe. „La représentation de soi-même, en songe, agissant, voyageant, conversant avec des personnes éloignées ou disparues, persuade que l'âme abandonne en effet le corps pendant le sommeil et se rend là où elle a conscience d'aller"[3]). Wir finden auch in den älteren Upaniṣaden die „primitive" Anschauung von der Abwesenheit der Seele während des Schlafes: vgl. auch Chānd. Up. 8, 12, 3; wir finden Angaben über die Stelle wo sie sich im Traumschlaf aufhält[4]). Diese Ansichten änderten sich: die Orte, wohin die Seele reiste, wurden Zustände, worin sie sich befand. Çaṅkara zu Vedāntasūtra 3, 2, 1 und Govinda dazu sprechen von *avasthā* „Zustand", *svapnāvasthā*[5]). Nach Çaṅkara ist die Schriftstelle Bṛh. Ār. Up. 3, 10, 12 *bahiḥ kulāyād* uneigentlich, bildlich zu verstehen[6]) (*śrutir gauṇī vyākhyātavyā*); das Gehen

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1) „Dreaming state" Hume.

2) Spencer und Gillen, angeführt von Lévy-Bruhl, Les fonctions mentales etc.[9], S. 55.

3) Lévy-Brühl, a.a.O.

4) Eine kurze Uebersicht gibt Keith, The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, SS. 567 ff.

5) Thibaut, Vedāntas. (SBE. 34, S. LX): VS. III, 2, 1—6 „treats of the soul in the dreaming s t a t e". In seine Uebersetzung: „by intermediate place (or state)". Vgl. z.B. auch Ait. Up. 3, 12.

6) Çaṅkara, ad Vedāntas. S. 782, 5 ff. Th.

usw. im Traume ist als eine Täuschung zu betrachten. Der den Traum Schauende verläßt seinen Körper nicht, wiewohl auch nach späterer Anschauung die Seele im Traumschlafe durch den ganzen Leib zieht, im Tiefschlafe im Herzen in Brahman eingeht usw. Für das Nähere verweise ich auf die Literatur[1]). In dieser Weise änderte sich auch die Bedeutung der Wörter[2]).

Ich möchte noch daran erinnern, daß die Lehre der (später) vier *sthāna*-'s auch im Archipel bekannt war. Goris hat ganz kurz darüber geschrieben[3]). Der altjavanische Ausdruck war *caturpada* („de 4 staten" Goris): *jagrapada, svapnapada, suṣuptapada* usw.[4]). Im „mitteljavanischen" Prosatext Nawaruci[5]) begegnet eine einheimische Erklärung dieser Wörter[6]): *ajāgrapada ṅa(ranya) aṅadĕg awas tumiṅal* „im Wachzustand heißt aufrecht und deutlich sehen", ... *aswapnapada ṅa(ranya) aturu aṅampĕlu,* „im Traumzustand heißt schlafen und (im Schlafe) reden".

Ich weise noch auf einige Ausdrücke in der Sanskrit Literatur hin: *svapne pitaraṁ adrākṣam* (Rām. 2, 69, 8) heißt „ich sah meinen Vater im Traume"; daneben aber begegnet *svapnāntare*; neben *dṛṣṭvā svapnagataṃ Rāmam* (Rām. 3, 39, 17) finden wir *svapnāntaragata-* „geträumt".

Man soll aber auch die Stellen in Pālitexten, wo das Wort begegnet, berücksichtigen. In den Jātakas ist bekanntlich mehrere Male von Träumen die Rede: „er sah einen Traum" heißt z.B. *supinaṁ addasa* (6, 324, 11; 540, 22) — *passi* (6, 574), *supinakaṁ addasa* (5, 354, 12); vgl. 5, 354, 20. Jāt. 4, 413, 23 heißt es von der Königin Khemā: *paccūsakāle supinaṁ addasa, evarūpo supino hoti* von Cowell c.s. übersetzt: „(Queen Kh.) in the dawning, saw a dream", usw.

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1) Z.B. Deussen, System des Vedānta, S. 369 ff.; Allg. Gesch. d. Phil. I, 3, S. 606; Walleser, Der ältere Vedanta, SS. 39 ff.; Garbe, Sāṃkhya-Phil.², S. 336 ff. usw.

2) Auch d. *Zustand* (zu *zu* + *stehen*), *Lage* (zu *liegen*) usw. haben eine Bedeutungsentwicklung erfahren. — Vgl. auch Przyluski, B.E.F.E.O. 32, S. 143. „Les états (*sthāna*)... correspondent donc à des expériences, à des tentatives de diviser la conscience en trois ou quatre degrés. En „reliant" ces états entre eux, les yogins tendent justement à conserver leur lucidité, leur attention concentrée jusqu'au dernier état, c'est-à-dire l'état cataleptique", M. Eliade, Yoga, București-Paris, 1936, S. 177, 1.

3) Bijdrage tot de kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche Theologie. Diss. Leiden 1926, SS. 67 ff.

4) Ausgabe M. Pryohoetomo, Diss. Utrecht 1934. Alter mutmaßlich XVI. Jht.

5) Ibidem, S. 64; vgl. S. 98.

6) S. 43, Uebersetzung S. 101.

Jāt. 4, 256, 29 aber lesen wir: *paccūsakāle supinantena... migaṁ attano dhammaṁ desentaṁ disvā,* übersetzt: „(she) saw at the morning in a dream how..." (vgl. 2, 4 *supinena... moraṁ dhammaṁ desentaṁ disvā*). Jāt. 6, 131, 30 ff. hat man aber *so ekadivasaṁ paccūsasamaye supinantena... Tāvatiṁsabhavanaṁ disvā...* übersetzt: and one day at dawn, at the end of his sleep he saw the heaven of the 33 Gods"; wohl nicht mit Recht. Vgl. auch 5, 328, 27 *yadā suttâpi suppante Nandaṁ passāmi āgataṁ*[1]); 5, 40, 18 *dohaḷo me mahārāja supinanten' upaccagā,* „... all in a dream..."; 6, 186, 20 ... *mātā supinantena addasa* „sah in einem Traum". Diese Stellen, die sich vermehren liessen, deuten, wie bekanntlich auch andere Stellen und Ausdrücke, auf eine gewisse terminologische Uebereinstimmung zwischen Upaniṣaden und Buddhismus.

In den älteren Upaniṣaden begegnen Wörter mit °*anta-* wiederholt, und es scheint mir keinem Zweifel zu unterliegen, daß in den Kreisen, welche hier am Worte sind, einige dieser Ausdrücke aufgekommen sind. Senart[2]) hat schon darauf hingewiesen, daß die Stelle Bṛh. Ār. Up. 4, 1, 1 „(est) significatif pour l'interprétation de *vedānta* et des mots similaires de la langue philosophique": *Yājñavalkya, kim artham acārīḥ, paśūn icchan aṇvantānīti,* „... est-ce du bétail que tu désires ou de subtils enseignements", „Fragen mit feiner, spitzfindiger Lösung" (P.W.), *aṇvantān*: *sūkṣmāntān sūkṣmavastunirṇayāntān praśnān* (Çaṅkara). Vgl. unten.

Zwei Parallelstellen: Bṛh. Ār. Up. 2, 4, 13 und 4, 5, 14 *atraiva mā bhagavān amūmuhat* bezw. *mohāntam āpīpadat... na vā are 'haṃ mohaṃ bravīmi.* Ist *mohāntam* „un trouble extrême"[3]) oder „Sphäre des *moha*".

4, 3, 33 *atra ha Y. bibhayāṃ cakāra*: *medhāvī rājā sarvebhyo māntebhya udarautsīd iti,* Senart übersetzt: „Et Y. eut peur: Le roi est habile, pensait-il, il m'a délogé de toutes mes doctrines" und bemerkt dazu: „Mais, en même temps, on peut croire que l'idée de „positions", de „postes fortifiés" a flotté devant l'esprit de l'auteur".

Was heißt *anta-* Bṛh. Ār. Up. 2, 4, 1 und 4, 5, 2? *Maitreyi...*

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[1]) Im Kommentar zu *suppante* im Vers 5, 329, 6 *soppante* (sic) *ti tāta Sona yadâhaṁ suttā supinena N.ā.p.,* also erklärt *supina-* das Wort mit *-ante,* wie auch im Kommentar zu Ther. 258: *supinam eva supinantaṁ.*

[2]) Senart, Bṛhad-āraṇyaka-upaniṣad, S. 65; vgl. S. 77.

[3]) Senart, a.a.O., S. 88; s. auch Hume, Principal Upan.

udyāsyan (pravrajiṣyan) vā are 'ham asmāt sthānād asmi; hanta te 'nayā Kātyāyanyāntam karavāṇīti. Senart übersetzt[1]: „il faut que je règle la situation pour toi avec K." und „je veux donc faire un arrangement entre K. et toi". Beide Uebersetzungen sind zulässig. Deussen: „wohlan, so will ich zwischen dir und der K. da Teilung halten"[2]), wie z.B. auch Röer[3]): „let me divide (my property) amongst thee and K. there". Kaum richtig.

Chānd. Up. 8, 2, 10 *yaṃ yaṃ antam abhikāmo bhavati... so 'sya saṃkalpād eva samuttiṣṭhati,* vgl. 1—9... *yadi pitṛ- (mātṛ-,... gandha-, anna-), lokakāmo bhavati,* Mitra-Cowell übersetzen 1—9: „region", 10 „country", Senart „monde" und „(quelque) objet (qu'il ait en vue)", s. unten, S. 485.

„*Vedānta* heißt wörtlich", sagt Deussen[5]), „Ende des Veda" und bezeichnet zunächst die meist als Schlußkapitel der einzelnen Brāhmaṇa's des Veda auftretenden theologisch-philosophischen Abhandlungen, welche später gewöhnlich Upanishad, d.h. „(geheime) Sitzung", „Geheimlehre" genannt werden. — Sodann wird der Name *Vedānta* in der Umdeutung als „Endziel des Veda" dem auf den Upanishad's beruhenden theologisch-philosophischen Systeme beigelegt, welches man füglich als die Dogmatik des Brahmanismus bezeichnen kann....". „*Vedānta* as a technical term" lehrte M. Müller[6]), „did not mean originally the last portion of the Veda, or chapter placed, as it were, at the end of a volume of Vedic literature, but the end, i.e. the object, the highest purpose of the Veda." Ueber die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Wortes sagt Deussen[7]): „V. kann ursprünglich entweder 1. „Ende des Veda", oder 2. „Dogmen des Veda" (vgl. *siddhānta, rāddhānta*), oder 3. „Endziel des Veda" bedeuten. Für letztere Ansicht spricht sich M. Müller (Upanishads I, p. LXXXVI N.) aus; doch setzt dieselbe eine Wertschätzung des Dogmatischen auf Kosten des Rituellen voraus, wie sie für die Zeit der Entstehung des Wortes... schwerlich anzunehmen ist". Er weist darauf hin, daß wir schon TAr. p. 817, 2 =

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1) O.c., SS. 30, 85; „final settlement", Hume, o.c.
2) Vgl. Allg. Gesch. d. Phil.⁴, II, 1, S. 334.
3) Röer, The twelve principal Upaniṣads II, (Theos. publ. House, 1931), SS. 235; 373.
4) O.c. III, 252 ff.
5) Deussen, Das System des Vedānta, S. 3 f.
6) S. B. E. I, S. LXXXVI Anm.
7) A.a.O., S. 3, Anm.

Muṇḍ. 3, 2, 6 usw. das Wort in völliger Erstarrung antreffen.

Daß wir uns nicht auf T. Ār. (S. 820 RM.) berufen dürfen, sah schon M. Müller[1]).

„Der auffallende Umstand, daß weder *vedānta* noch *upanishad* in ihrer etymologischen Bedeutung zu belegen sind, erklärt sich, wenn wir annehmen, daß beide ursprünglich populäre Termini der Schülersprache waren und aus dieser erst in einer gewissen Umdeutung in die Sprache des höhern Stils übergingen. Der Lehrer mochte dem Brahmacārin am Schlusse des Cursus (vgl. Ind. Stud. X, 128; Chānd. Up. 4, 10—15, nur zu Ende der Lehrzeit war auch ein Kapitel wie Bṛh. 6, 4 möglich) gewisse leicht zu mißdeutende und daher geheime Mitteilungen ... machen, „welche die Schüler als den *Vedānta*, d.h. als „den Abschluß der Lehre" und der (nicht selten ... harten) Lehrzeit freudig begrüßen und bezeichnen mochten"[2]). „Für gewisse Kreise (sind) die am Ende (*anta*) des Veda in den Upaniṣaden verkündeten Gedanken die Basis aller wahren Erkenntnis geblieben: *Vedānta* ist die Lehre der „Aupaniṣadas", d.h der Upaniṣadanhänger" sagt Strauß[3]). Speyer[4]) war der Meinung: „V., d.i. het einde, het einddoel, de ware en hoogste zin van de Veda." Hume[5]): V. = Veda's End. Monier Williams Dict. s.v. „called Vedānta either as teaching the ultimate scope of the Veda or simply as explained in the Upanishads which come at the end of the Veda". Usw.

Es ist fast unmöglich, die ursprüngliche Bedeutung der Komposition *vedānta* zu ermitteln: unsere ältesten Belegstellen geben das Wort fertig und erstarrt[6]). Es hat gewiß seinen Ursprung in den philosophierenden Kreisen, es war ein technischer Terminus, und, wie auch anderswo, in denselben Kreisen sind mehrere Wörter mit demselben Suffix, hier mit dem suffixartigen *-anta* entstanden. Die

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1) A.a.O.

2) Deussen, a.a.O. Vgl. Keith, Relig. and Phil. S. 514 „the end of the Veda in which its deepest secret is disclosed".

3) O. Strauß, Indische Philosophie, S. 226.

4) Indische Theosophie, S. 120.

5) Principal Upan., S. 566.

6) Die Erstarrung der Komposition geht auch aus der Pluralbildung hervor: *vedānteṣu* (Kull. zu Manu 6, 83) = *upaniṣatsu*; Kṣur. Up. 10; *sarve vedāntāḥ*; Belege auch P.W. VI, 1364. Das Adj. *vedāntaga-* bedeutet „einer der die Veden ganz durchstudiert hat", z.B. Mbh. 12, 34, 16, = *vedapāraga-*; das Wort wurde aber auch aufgefaßt: „follower of the Vedānta" (M. Will.).

späteren Interpretationen[1]) sind nicht notwendig mit der Auffassung der Schöpfer dieser Ausdrücke identisch. Anfangs wurden die Upaniṣads noch nicht zum Veda gerechnet[2]), später wurden sie zum Vedānta (Çvet. Up. 6, 22; Muṇḍ. Up. 3, 2, 6)[3]); die *pratiṣṭhā*, Stütze, Unterlage der Upaniṣads sind die Veda's mit ihren Gliedern (Kena Up. 4, 8). Vielleicht wurde einmal dem Worte *vedānta-* die Bedeutung „was sich auf den Veda gründet, was zur Sphäre des offenbarten Wissens gehört" beigelegt. Die Entwicklung zum Namen des Systems, das in den Gedanken der Upaniṣaden die Grundlage der wahren Erkenntnis sah, mag derjenigen des Wortes *Veda* > „Upaniṣaden" parallel gewesen sein. Von *trayī* „die drei Veden" + *anta-* Nachbildung *trayyanta-*, Gopālak.

Damit wäre die Bedeutung von *dṛṣṭānta-*, auf dieselbe Weise erklärt, im Einklang: *dṛṣṭa-* n. heißt „die Wahrnehmung; die Empirie"; *dṛṣṭānta-* episch usw. „Gleichnis, Beispiel, Muster, Beleg (etwas worüber alle einig sind, phil.)", also vielleicht „was im Bereich der Wahrnehmung ist"[4]).

Das Verbaladj. *siddha-* ist u.a. „aus etwas folgend, sich aus etwas ergebend; erwiesen, bewiesen", oft in grammatischen und philosophischen Texten; *siddhānta-*[5]) = ein Lehrsatz, eine feststehende, begründete Lehre: *yaḥ parīkṣakair bahuvidhaṃ parīkṣya hetubhiś ca sādhayitvā sthāpyate nirṇayaḥ sa siddhāntaḥ* (Car. 3, 8). Vgl. auch *rāddha-* „zu Stande gebracht"; *rāddhānta-* „ein bewiesener Satz, a demonstrated conclusion, doctrine". Gleichfalls m.E. *aṇvanta-* (s.o.). Vermutlich dieselbe „Bedeutung" von °*anta-*.

Vergleiche auch *kṛtānta-* „Dogma, erwiesener Satz", und „Schicksal", auch in der zweiten Bedeutung ist etwa „Sphäre des *kṛta-*" im Bereich der semantischen Möglichkeit.

In der Pāli Literatur heißt ein *suttantiko bhikkhu* einer der die Sutta's kennt; *suttanta-* heißt ein Kapitel der Schrift, ein Sutta, ein Dialog; vgl. Ang. 3, 107 *suttantā kavikatā kāveyyā citt'akkharā cittavyañjanā bāhirakā sāvakabhāsitā.* Sanskritisierungen Divyāvad.

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[1]) Vgl. z.B. auch Medh. zu Manu 2, 161; der altjav. Text Agastyaparwa (vgl. dort meine Anm. S. 203 f.), S. 61, 23 *wedānta ṅaranya sari saṅ hyaṅ Caturweda*, w., d. h. die Quintessenz (das Allerbeste) der vier Veden".

[2]) Vgl. Deussen, Gesch. d. Phil. I, 2, 53; 55; 21.

[3]) Dazu auch Gaut. Sū. 19, 12, vgl. S.B.E. 2, 272; *vedāntayos Taittirīyabṛhadāraṇyasaṃjñayoḥ* (P.W. VI, 1364).

[4]) Neuind. (Mar.) wird auch „a vision or divine appearance" verzeichnet.

[5]) Wohl nicht „established end".

274, 14 *tathā sthavirair api sūtrānta upanirbaddham*; ibid. 397, 8 *sūtrāntako 'yaṃ sthavira 'bhiṣiktaḥ.*

anta- „Gebiet" und „das Innere" haben wir in *svānta-*, im Kām. Nīt. 12, 18 *svāntaprakopa-* „politische Unruhen im eigenen Reiche", und *svānta-*, wie schon PW. VII, 1470 erklärt: „(das Gebiet des Ich), das Herz als Sitz der Gefühle", vgl. z.B. Gītagov. 19, 10 (10, 10) *tvayā... ākrānte svānte parānavakāśinī* (*s.*: *citte, abhyantare* Komm.); *svāntaja-* = *manoja-*, vgl. *svāntaṃ svīkaroti*, s. Kss. 37, 27.

Ich lenke die Aufmerksamkeit auf einige Stellen, wo *anta-* in einem interessanten Zusammenhang begegnet: Ch. Up. 8, 2, 1—9 lesen wir neunmal: ...*yadi pitṛ-* (*mātṛ-* usw.) *lokakāmo bhavati*..., und zum Schluß (10) *yaṃ yaṃ antam abhikāmo bhavati*; hier hat *anta-* ohne Zweifel die Bedeutung „Gebiet" („country" Mitra und Cowell), oder doch „Endpunkt, Ziel" mit der Nebenbedeutung „Gebiet". Vgl. ook 8, 1, 5. Ç. Br. 6, 1, 4, 7; 2, 1, 1; 1, 6; 7 *agner antam paryeti* „he reaches the end of Agni (= the fire-altar)" (Eggeling), auch hier heißt „end" etwa „region".

Beachte auch: Ath. Par. 9, 4, 2 *yamapure ghore... yatra... vālukāntāḥ sthalāś caiva pacyante yatra duṣkṛtaḥ*, „sandige Ebenen".

Das Wort *ekānta-* heißt bekanntlich auch etwa „Ausschliesslichkeit": *sarvatra yad avadhāreṇocyate sa ekāntaḥ* (Gegensatz *anekārthaḥ*), Suśr. 2, 558, 21, also „was mit Beschränkung auf etwas Bestimmtes mit Ausschliessung alles Andern von Etwas gesagt wird", vgl. die Beispiele PW. I, 1085. Das Wort wird erklärt[1]: *ekānta iti, ekadeśa avayava ity arthaḥ.*

Whitney z.B. lehrte[2], daß „a number of words formed with the so-called suffix *anta* are evident transfers from stems in *ant*." Dies ist richtig: *jayanta-, mahānta-* usw., in späteren Texten[3]. „A few of them are found even from the earliest periods"; Whitney führt außer einigen unsicheren Beispielen und *veśanta-* (s.o.) an *vasanta-* „Frühling" und *hemanta-* „Winter". Andere dagegen sind der Ansicht, *hemanta-* sei aus *hema-* = *hima-* + *anta-*[4]. Am wahrscheinlichsten ist mir, daß *hemanta-* analogisch nach *vasanta-*, worin *-anta-* nicht ursprünglich ist[5], gebildet worden ist. Diese zwei

1) Vgl. Wilson-Goldstücker, I, 112, 46.
2) Sanskrit Grammar⁵, § 209 d.
3) Vgl. z.B. Renou, Gr. sanscr., SS. 219; 337.
4) Pali Text Soc. Pali-Engl. Dict., s.v.
5) Vgl. z.B. Walde-Pokorny, Vergl. Wtb. der idg. Spr. I, 310 f.

Wörter haben möglicherweise beim Entstehen eines suffixartigen *-anta-* Einfluß ausgeübt. Es findet sich ja auch wohl *varṣānte* = *varṣāsu*, z.B. Bhaviṣyott. Pur. 139, 8, wo eher „innerhalb der Regenzeit" als „am Ende d. R.".

Wir wenden uns hier zu einigen Ausdrücken mit *°antara-* *krīḍāntarāṇi* (Daśak., N.S.[10], S. 211, 2) „verschiedene Spiele, Spiele"; *avasthāntarāṇi* (ibid., S. 200, 6) „(verschiedene) Zustände", vgl. auch 263, 1; „andere" aber z.B. 256, 13 *śāstraṃ śāstrāntarānubandhi*, vgl. dazu Kāl. Mālav. 3, S. 60 *pūrvasmād avasthāntaram upārūḍhā*, „ander". Speyer[1]) führt an aus dem Pañcatantra *upāyāntaraṃ vidhāya te nūnaṃ ghnanti* „for they will hurt you by some means or other". Vgl. Pañc. 205 *bhāṣyāntara-*. Ich erwähne noch *aṭṭa-*: *gṛhāntara-* „eine Art Haus" (vgl. P.W. I, 82); bei Lexikographen u.s.w. z.B. Hem. Anek., 2, 8 *ṭaṅko... mānāntare*, „eine Art Gewicht, ein best. Gew." Man findet sogar *anyat sthānāntaraṃ gatvā* (Pañc.), *anyamārgāntareṇāgatya*[2]). Der „Pleonasmus" zeigt, daß hier im zweiten Kompositionsglied die Bedeutung „ander" nicht ganz deutlich empfunden wurde. „The proper meaning of *°antaram* is not rarely transparent" sagt Speyer[3]); diese Bedeutung war aber nicht in allen Wörtern mit *°antara-* „ander". Jātakamālā S. 142, 23 lesen wir z.B. *anyatamasya rājño viṣayāntaram upajagāma*, von Speyer[4]) mit Recht übersetzt: „...reached the realm of some king"; S. 146, 2 aber *tadviṣayād pracakrāma*. P. *gāmantara-* „the (interior of the) village, only in t. t. *gāmantaraṁ gacchati* „to go into the v."... & in *°kappa*" (Rhys Davids-Stede, s.v. *gāma*). *vanāntaraṃ gam-* „in den Wald gehen". Bekanntlich existiert ja auch *antara-*: *madhya-* (s.o.). Diese und derartige Fälle aber haben im Sprachgefühl zu der Anschauung Grund geben können, *°antara-* sei nur eine Art Suffix, das „pleonastische Komposita" (s.u.) bildete: die Bedeutung „Strecke, Entfernung" des Wortes *antara-* an sich ist ja zu belegen (*mahad antaraṃ jagāma* Rām. 2, 49, 1; 4, 19, 17 u.a.)[5]).

Mitunter ist ein Kompositum mit *°antara-* Ausdruck eines neuen Begriffes:

kālāntara- heißt u.a. mit suffixartigem *°antara-* „die gelegene Zeit" (Pañc.), auch „eine bestimmte Zeit", vgl. Āp. Dh. s. 2, 1, 5

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[1]) Sanskrit Syntax, § 229, 9. — [2]) Vgl. dazu P.W. I, 242 u. — [3]) A.a.O. [4]) Bijdragen, 44, S. 231. — [5]) Rām. 4, 53, 19 *jīvitāntare*: *jīvitanāśāvadhau kāle prāpte*, also *°antare* = *°ante*!

aupavastam eva kālāntare bhojanam, k. = *ekasmin kāle* (Komm.) „einmal (d.h. des Morgens) essen"; bekanntlich öfters *kālāntara-* „Zeitraum": *gate ca kasmiṃścid k-e* „nach Verlauf eines Zeitraums"; auch „Zeitaufschub"; *kālāntareṇa* „nach einiger Zeit"; vgl. pāli *kālantara-* „Intervall, Zeitraum, Periode". *kālāntarita-* heißt „mit Aufschub verbunden", vgl. z.B. Bhāsa, Avim. 3, 89 (Prākrit).

kṣaṇāntare heißt öfters „nach einer kleinen Weile, hierauf"; engl. immediately, z.B. Kss. 2, 6; 16, 51 u. a.; *sthitvā kiṃcit kṣaṇāntaram* (Rām.).

kāryāntara- heißt dann und wann „Geschäfte", vgl. z.B. Jātakamālā 13, Str. 15 *sahasā svananti* | *kāryāntarakramanivedanadhṛṣṭaśabdā vidveṣam uttudati cetasi nālikā me.* Vgl. auch Bhāsa, Avim. 4, 18 *kāryāntareṣu punar apy aham asmi pārśve* ± „vorkommendenfalls".

kāraṇāntarād heißt bekanntlich „aus einer besonderen Ursache". Rām. 4, 9, 28; vgl. —*e,* Nala, 13, 59; 3, 54, 4 u.a.m.

gatyantara- heißt „Ausweg", z.B. Daśak. S. 232, 11.

lokāntaraṃ gatāsi (Uttararāmac. Stch. S. 138, 4, vgl. 14), *lokāntaraṃ gacchati* „geht ins Jenseits, stirbt".

janmāntara- „ein neues Leben, rebirth usw.", z.B. *janmantaragadaṃ jananim* (Uttararāmac. S. 141, 7). Neuind. auch „fortune, luck, destiny".

deśād deśāntaraṃ paribhramantī (Daśakc., N.S.[10], S. 217, 12); *deśāntaram ādāya māṃ gamiṣyati* (ibid., S. 227, 12); Siṃhāsanadvātr. Jain. Rez. (Ind. Stud. XV, 288) *deśāntaraṃ gatā,* 393 — *paryaṭan* „in der Fremde —"; oft im Divyāvadāna, z.B. 271, 23 *paṇyam ādāya deśāntaraṃ gataḥ,* vgl. 274, 16; 28, 6; 8; *deśāntaragatam* 29, 21; daneben z.B. 27, 1 *te paṇyam ādāya mahāsamudraṃ saṃprasthitaḥ. deśāntarastha-* (Manu 5, 78) übersetzte Bühler[1]) „in a distant country" = *deśāntarita-* (vgl. Monier-Williams), *deśāntarin-* heißt „Ausländer"; *deśāntaragamana-* „auf Reisen sein" Mṛcch. 2, 0 (im Prākrit), *deśāntarabhāṇḍānayana-* „importing wares from foreign countries" (Mo.-Wi.), wie auch *deśāntar* „a foreign country" in neuind. Sprachen weiterlebt. Karpūram. 4, 18, 27 *edaṃ taṃ sīse sappo desantare vejjo* „snake on your head and the doctor away". *deśāntaraṃ gacchati, yāti* heißt „nach dem Ausland reisen", vgl. z.B. Kss. 10, 16; 174. Das Wort *deśāntara-* bezeichnet also einen

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[1]) Laws of Manu, S. 181.

Begriff; vgl. auch Gaut. Sm. 14, 44 *deśāntarita-*. Merkwürdig ist im altjav. Ādip., S. 36, vom eben geborenen Garuḍa, der alle Himmelsgegenden in Glanz versetzte, neben *sarvā diśaḥ* im skt. Texte (1, 23, 6) *deśāntara* im altjav.[1]), also = *digantara-* im Kādambarī (s. u.). *digantara-* bedeutet gleichfalls „die Fremde"[2]): Rājatar. 4, 336 *d-e* $\times$ *svapure*; 6, 23 *tvayi yāte digantaram*; 16 *paribhrāntum d-e*, vgl. 20; 4, 326 *digantarasthe bhūpāle* (vgl. oben *deśa-*); auch im Alt-jav. „andere Länder, Ausland" (vgl. unten). Daneben *diganta-*: *daśad.* „die zehn Himmelsgegenden" Kāl. Ragh. 9, 5; 5, 67 „Horizont" *digantalambī* ... *candraḥ*, usw. (vgl. P.W.).

Da das Wort *diś-* an sich „die Fremde, die fremde Gegend" bedeuten kann, und zwar in Kompp., z.B. *diglābha-* „Gewinn in der Fremde" Yājñ. 2, 254; *digdeśa-*, z.B. Hitop. 9, 4 *nānādigdeśād āgatya* „aus dieser und jener Gegend"; Rājat. 4, 417 u.a.; vgl. auch *digjaya-* und *digvijaya-* „Ländereroberung nach allen Richtungen" und es m.E. mindestens zweifelhaft scheinen kann, ob *-anta-* in *diganta-* immer als „Ende" aufgefaßt wurde (vgl. z.B. Bṛh. Ār. Up. 1, 3, 10 *diśām antaḥ* „Ende der Welt"), so läßt sich das Wort mitunter auch anders übersetzen als durch „Ende des Horizonts"; etwa „weite Ferne" (P.W.). Die Bedeutungen der drei Wörter *diś-*, *diganta-*, *digantara-* waren gewiß nicht immer sehr verschieden. Vgl. z.B. Āryaśūra, Jātakamālā, 15, 13 (S. 97, 7 Kern) *digantān anurañjayantī* ... *vidyullatā nṛttam ivācacāra* „where the slender figure of Lightning ... performed her dances to the delight of the Universe" (Speyer, Bijdr. 42, S. 465); Bhavabh., Utt. S. 4, 15 St. *nānādigantāgatā* „venus des diverses régions de l'univers"; Bāṇa, Kād., N.S.[7] (1932), S. 297, 11 *pāṇḍutām āpādyamānam paścimetaram indudhāmnā digantaram adṛśyata*; Daṇḍin, Dśkc. S. 199, 11 *digantarāṇi bhramatā kaccid asti kiṃcid adbhutam bhavatopalabdham*, etwa „durch die Welt (Weltgegenden; das Weltall"). Die Bedeutung von *-anta-* und *-antara-* war verschwommen, etwa „Sphäre, Kreis, Gebiet"; wir finden sie auch in pā. *bhummantara-* (d.h. *bhūmya-* + *antara-*) „sphere of the earth, plane of existence" (Rhys Davids-Stede). Im Pāli findet sich *akāsanta-*, nach Rhys Davids-Stede „the end of

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[1]) Van der Tuuk, o.c. 459 = *paradeśa-*.

[2]) Merkwürdig ist die Bemerkung von Molesworth, Mar. Dict. (1831): *digantarīm*, adv. („to the uttermost borders of the Earth"): „*diś* + *antara* by mistake for *anta* end, limit".

the sky" > „the sky, the air", Jāt. 6, 89; vielleicht Analogiebildung; vgl. auch den Komm.

Das Adjektiv *caturanta-* wird von der Erde gesagt: z.B. Mbh. 1, 68, 3 (= 1, 2801) *pṛthivyāś caturantāyā goptā,* wo Nīlakaṇṭha c.: *catuḥsamudrāvacchinnāyāḥ*[1]). In diesem Epitheton haben wir gewiß eine Spur der alten Vorstellung der viereckigen Erde, vgl. RV. 10, 58, 3 *bhūmiṃ caturbhṛṣṭim,* 4 *catasraḥ pradiśo*; diese Erde wurde von einem, wie es scheint, in vier Meere (wohl nach den vier Himmelsrichtungen) eingeteilten Ozean, begrenzt[2]). Das Wort *caturanta-* wurde aber reinterpretiert, wenn auch nicht von Kālidāsa, so doch bei Mallinātha, der zu Ragh. 10, 85 *tam eva caturanteśam*: *caturṇām antānāṃ digantānām īśaṃ* erklärt; vgl. 18, 15 *caturdigīśaḥ*[3]).

Das Wort *aparānta-* bedeutet „an der westlichen Grenze wohnend", vgl. Rām. 4, 38, 56 im P.W. „*Aparānta*[4]) living at the western border" ....the word, though it no doubt designates a people living in the extreme west, yet seems to have a general meaning in most passages, and those passages which use it in a restricted sense do not agree". Die Lokalisierung beiseite lassend, können wir sagen: *aparānta-* bedeutet „das an der westlichen[5]) Grenze gelegene Gebiet und dessen Bewohner". Hariv. (vgl. P.W.) *aparantād aham... saṃpratīhāgataḥ*; Kālid. Ragh. 4, 53 *tasyānīkair... aparāntajayodyataiḥ,* wo Mallinātha: *aparāntānāṃ pāścāttyānāṃ jaya* usw. Die Pluralform dieses Namens begegnet nicht nur hier, mehrere epische und puranische Stellen weisen sie auf[6]); vgl. z.B. Brahmā Pur. 27, 45 *aparāntāś ca śūdrāś ca vāhlikāś ca* usw.[7]), Mārk. Pur. 57, 36; Mbh. 1, 7885 (= 218, 1) *so 'parānteṣu tīrthāni... jagāma.* Daneben auch *aparāntakāḥ* (vgl. P.W. s.v.) und *aparāntikāḥ* (Mārk. Pur. 58, 34[8])), im Rāmāyaṇa (4, 43, 23) aber *aparāḥ,* Vāyu Pur. 45, 115 (irrtümlich oder nicht) *aparītāḥ.* Gegenden und Länder werden bekanntlich durch den Plural des Volksnamens bezeichnet; hier finden wir also *aparāntāḥ* = *aparāḥ* als geographischen Eigennamen. Auch im Pāli findet sich *aparanta-* („with *anta* in same function as

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1) Vgl. auch andere Kommentarstellen, s. z.B. P.W. V, 1407.
2) Dazu Kirfel, Kosmographie der Inder, SS. 9 ff., 17.
3) Pā. *cātur(r)anta-* vgl. die Wtb.
4) Pargiter, The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa translated &c., S. 313.
5) P.W. I, 289 irrtümlich „östlichen".
6) Vgl. z.B. Kirfel, Bhāratavarṣa, SS. 23; 28.
7) Dazu Kirfel, Kosmographie der Inder, S. 72.
8) Dazu Pargiter, a.a.O., S. 371.

in cpds. *vananta*" Rhys Davids-Stede, s.v.), 1. „westlich" 2. „künftig", vgl. z.B. das Wörterbuch. Das Mbh. (und Padma Pur.) kennt 6, 9, 47 (= 6, 355) neben den A. die *parāntāḥ*, „die am äußersten Ende wohnenden". Neben p. *aparanta-* = *apara-* findet man *pubbanta-* 1. „Osten" 2. „die Vergangenheit", im Skt. heißt „Osten" *pūrvā, pūrvāśā, pūrvadiś-* usw., „die Vergangenheit" wird mit anderen Worten bezeichnet; obwohl Mahāvy. 253, 88 skt. *pūrvānta-* „Vorderende, Anfang" vorkommt, meine ich in p. *pubbanta-* läge ursprünglich eher „Gebiet" usw. vor als „Ende". Suttanip. 849 steht *pubbaṁ antaṁ* = *pubbantaṁ*.

Das Schlußglied mancher altindischen Zusammensetzung hat bekanntlich seine ursprüngliche Bedeutung abgelegt und mehr oder weniger die Rolle eines Suffixes übernommen. Vgl. z.B. der Fall von °*bhūta-*, °*pūrva-* usw. Im Pāli z.B. wurde das Wort für Weib, *itthi* zuweilen durch die *a*-Stämme *mātugāma-* („Muttervolk" > „Weibervolk" > „Weib"), *itthāgāra-* („Weiberhaus" > „Frauenzimmer", d.h. „Weib") u.a. ersetzt, Wörter die „uns auf das Gebiet der „pleonastischen Composition", wie ich sie nennen möchte, hinüber (leiten)", sagt Franke[1]), der mit Recht darauf hinweist, daß man im Pāli nicht selten Komposita findet, die nichts anderes bedeuten als ihr erstes Glied allein: *gorūpāni* = „Kühe".

Andrerseits entwickelten sich auch Adj. auf *-anta-*: *kiyanta-, jayanta-* usw.[2]); auch im Altjav.: *bhramanta-, himawanta-* (Smarad. 23, 1; 24, 10).

Das Wort *dvīpāntara-* findet sich nicht im Pet. Wtb.; Böhtlingk und Roth hielten es offenbar für leicht verständlich. Es begegnet bekanntlich mehrere Male in der interessanten Erzählung der Abenteuer Çaktideva's im Kathāsaritsāgara (25; 26): Çaktideva, der nach der in weitester Ferne liegenden Goldstadt, Kanakapurī, reisen will, erkundigt sich nach ihr; sein Gewährsmann sagt ihm, daß sie jedenfalls *dvīpāntare* liegt (Kath. 25, 32): *jānāmy ahaṃ ca niyataṃ davīyasi tayā kvacit* | *bhāvyaṃ dvīpāntare vatsa,* von Tawney[3]) übersetzt: „but I am sure it must be in some distant foreign island". Er geht auf Reisen und kommt an in Utsthala: *vārinidher madhye dvīpam Utsthalasaṃjñakam* (25, 33); über diese Insel herrscht ein Niṣādakönig Satyavrata (*Niṣādādhipatir,*

[1]) R. O. Franke, Die Sucht nach a-Stämmen im Pāli, Bezz. Beitr. 22, 202 ff.
[2]) Renou, Gramm. sanscr., SS. 219; 337; s. oben, S. 485.
[3]) Tawney-Penzer, The Ocean of Story, II, S. 191.

also ein nicht-Arier[1]), der weiterhin auch einige Male König der Fischer, *kaivartapati-*, genannt wird. Von ihm wird gesagt (25, 34): *tasya dvīpāntareṣv asti sarveṣv api gatāgatam,* „he goes to and fro among all the other islands", er weiß auch wo Kanakapurī liegt (25, 60): *nagarī tvadabhipretā dvīpānteṣu śrutā punaḥ,* „is situated in one of the distant islands" (Tawney). Es ist merkwürdig, daß in der Bṛhatkathāmañjarī dieselbe Stadt gleichfalls im *dvīpānta-* liegt (es wird über jemand gesagt *dvīpāntam āśritaḥ,* 5, 98). Es ist weiter die Rede von *dvīpāntarāgacchadvaṇik-* (25, 68); ein Vogel gelangte dorthin (26, 29): *kaścid dvīpāntaraṃ kaścid giriṃ kaścid dig-antaram*; einer erkennt seinen Vater: *pitaraṃ svayam apaśyam ahaṃ tadā | gatvā dvīpāntaraṃ pūrvaṃ cirāt tatkālam āgatam* (26, 124), „had gone to a distant island" (Tawney); vgl. auch 26, 127 *dvīpāntaraṃ gacchan.*

In einem wichtigen Vortrag[2]) hat Sylvain Lévi festgestellt, daß die Uebersetzung Tawney's nicht richtig ist: „Les Chinois désignent par le nom de Kouen-louen[3]) l'ensemble des pays situés dans les „Mers du Sud", l'Indochine méridionale, la Malaisie, l'Insulinde. Un dictionnaire sanscrit-chinois.... (VIIe—VIIIe siècle).... donne pour le mot K.-l. un équivalent sanscrit, ...(qu') il faut lire *Dīpāntara*.... (forme parlée)...., la forme régulière serait ici *Dvīpāntara.* Si on se reporte aux passages assez fréquents où ce mot est employé dans la littérature sanscrite, on s'aperçoit qu'en effet il ne signifie pas simplement „une autre île, un autre continent", comme l'analyse grammaticale l'indique, mais que ce terme désigne proprement l'Archipel Indien et les pays voisins"[4]).

Zwei der von Lévi angeführten Stellen[5]) sind besonders wichtig: eine Stelle aus dem Kommentar zum Jainasūtra Praśnavyākaraṇa, wo unter den Produkten der *dvīpāntarāḥ* Kampfer[6]) genannt wird,

[1]) Vgl. über das Aussehen eines Niṣāda Bhāg. Pur. 4, 14, 44: *kākakṛṣṇo 'tihrasvāṅgo hrasvabāhur mahāhanuḥ | hrasvapān nimnanāsāgro raktākṣas tāmramūrdhajaḥ.*

[2]) Le nom de l'archipel indien en sanscrit, Actes du XVIIIe Congrès Int. des Orient., 1931, S. 131; vollständig gedruckt in Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië 88 (1931), SS. 621—627.

[3]) Vgl. G. Ferrand, Le K'ouen-louen et les anciennes navigations inter-océaniques dans les mers du Sud, J. As. 1919; vgl. z.B. auch Krom, Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis², SS. 109 f.

[4]) Actes, a.a.O.

[5]) Bijdragen, a.a.O., S. 625.

[6]) Vgl. z.B. Gonda, Austrisch en Arisch, Rede Utrecht, 1932, S. 23.

„la mention du camphre... évoque l'Indonésie, qui a fait connaître le camphre à l'Inde". „C'est la même orientation qui est suggérée par un passage du Karmavibhaṅga... „Ils vont à des pays étrangers (*deçāntara*), ils visitent la Terre-de-l'or (Suvarṇabhūmi), l'île de Ceylan (Siṃhaladvīpa) et le reste des *dvīpāntara*'s (*prabhṛtīni ca dvīpāntarāṇi paśyanti*)" ". Ich mache auf eine dritte, von Lévi nicht erwähnte, wichtige Stelle aufmerksam: Kālidāsa, Ragh. 6, 57 *anena sārdhaṃ vihārāmburāśes tīreṣu tālīvanamarmareṣu | dvīpāntarānīta-lavaṅgapuṣpair apākṛtasvedalavā marudbhiḥ*, „vergnüge dich mit ihm an den Ufern des Meeres..., wo dir die Winde, welche die Gewürznelkeblüten vom *dvīpāntara-* (vom Archipel her) zuführen, die Schweißtropfen entfernen"[1]); „mit ihm", d.h. mit dem Kaliṅga-herrscher Hemāṅgada (Vs. 53), dem Herrn also der Gegend (etwa Orissa; der Küstenstrich des Bengalischen Meerbusens[2])), die schon früh mit den fernen östlichen Ländern in Geschäftsverbindung[3]) stand — vgl. z.B. die Stelle Ptolemaeus 7, 1, 16. Die Gewürznelke, von welcher hier die Rede ist, ist bekanntlich auf den Molukken einheimisch und schon früh — mit ihrem Namen — von indonesischen und anderen Kaufleuten nach anderen Gegenden gebracht. Auch Kālidāsa kannte also ohne Zweifel *dvīpāntara-* „der indonesische Archipel usw."

Im Tamil bedeutet nun *tīpāntara*—(< *dv.*)—*ciṭcai* „transportation beyond the seas"[5]), vgl. *divāntaram* < skt. *dvipāntara-* „une île, un pays éloigné; les extrémités de la terre, la campagne", *divāntara avarei* heißt „des pois venus des îles (orientales surtout")[6]); *tīpāntaram* = „distant island"[7]). Auch im Altjavanischen

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[1]) Renou, Le Raghuvaṃça, 1928, S. 63: „parfumées des girofles des autres îles"; Otto Walter, Raghuvamscha, 1914, S. 75 „von den Inseln"; Kāle, Bombay 1922, II, S. 49 „from other islands".

[2]) Vgl. Cambridge History of India I, 601 „The boundaries of Kaliṅga, the territory under the Eastern Ghāts lying along the coast of the Bay of Bengal on the north of Telingāna, seem to have been uncertain", usw.; Pargiter, ad Mārk. Pur., S. 334; Krom Hindoe-Jav. Gesch.², S. 104.

[3]) Ueber andere „relations" vgl. z.B. Bernet Kempers, The bronzes of Nālandā, Diss. Leiden 1933, S. 5 f. Bekanntlich heißen noch heute die Hindus des Archipels, und besonders die Bewohner der Koromandelküste *oraṅ keliṅ*, „Klinganezen".

[4]) Vgl. Gonda, A.O. 10, 326 ff.

[5]) Tamil Lexicon published under the authority of the University of Madras, IV, 1942.

[6]) Dict. de la Mission de Pondichéry, s.v., nach Lévi, Bijdr. S. 626.

[7]) Tamil Lexicon Madras, a.a.O.

begegnet der Ausdruck: Brahm. Pur. S. 48, 20[1]), wo in der in Indien spielenden Einleitung *ratu niṅ dwīpāntara*, „Könige der (des) *dvīpāntara*", wohl „javanisiert" für *deśāntara-* „vom Ausland"[2]). Wirāṭaparwa[3]), S. 45 finden wir einen merkwürdigen Passus, mit dem ich mich hier nicht weiter zu befassen brauche; der Text hat hier einen vollständig zitierten Vers, der nachher von Wort zu Wort erklärt wird: *svāmy amātyo janapado durgā*[4]) *draviṇasaṃcayaḥ* | *daṇḍanītiś ca mitraṃ ca sapta prakṛtayo matāḥ*; vgl. dazu Yājñ. 1, 352 *svāmy amātyo jano durgaṃ koṣo daṇḍas tathaiva ca* | *mitrāṇy etāḥ prakṛtayo*.... Nun heißt bekanntlich in der Wissenschaft der Politik *mitra-* der unmittelbar an den benachbarten Fürsten grenzende Fürst[5]), der *mitra-* ist sein Bundesgenosse, der mit dem *ari-* „Feind", u.a. den Kreis (*maṇḍala-*) der Nachbarn bildet, mit denen der Fürst politische Beziehungen unterhalten muß. Der jav. Text paraphrasiert das Wort: *mitra ṅaranya ratu riṅ dwīpāntara, rowaṅan iṅ manuṅgal kārya* „mitra heißt Fürst des (auf) *dvīpāntara*[6]), Bundesgenosse im gemeinsamen Streben". Wir dürfen annehmen, daß das Wort *dwīpāntara* in diesem Kontext vom javanischen Uebersetzer herrührt; ein Inder hätte z.B. *paradeśa-*, oder *deśāntara-* gesagt. Wir sehen aber, daß ± 1000 auf Java *dvīpāntara* „fremdes Land, fremde Länder, Ausland" bedeuten kann. Das Wort wurde im Javanischen, wie dies oft geschah halb übersetzt: *nusāntara*; dies kann „een vreemd land, in 't algemeen, of wel eene andere plaats" bedeuten[7]), vgl. *woṅ sunantara* „Fremder"[8]).

Merkwürdigerweise begegnet nun der Ausdruck *mitra* zusammen mit *dvīpāntara* und *deśāntara* im 15. Gesang des bekannten altjavanischen Gedichtes Nāgarakṛtāgama (1365). Der Passus ist schon von Lévi[9]) erörtert worden, der dabei aber die 1. Strophe m.E. nicht richtig interpretiert hat. Nachdem der Dichter im 14. und 15. Gesang[10]) die dem Fürsten vom ostjavanischen Großreich

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1) Vgl. meine Anmerkung, S. 229.
2) Vgl. auch Ferrand, J. As. 1923 (202), S. 2, Fn. 1.
3) Ausgabe H. H. Juynboll, Haag 1912.
4) So die Ausgabe.
5) Vgl. z.B. Kām. Nīt. 8, 16; Manu 7, 158 flgg.; 9, 294.
6) Wulff, Wirāṭaparwa, S. 151 „i andre lande".
7) Van der Tuuk, K.B.W. III, 21. Vgl. aber schon Brandes, Pararaton-Uebers.², S. 141 *n.* de archipel?
8) Vgl. dazu Van der Tuuk, K.B.W. I, 535b „in de tjarita Jusup heeft het (d.h. *nusāntara,* s.u.) de beteekenis van een ander land dan Egypte".
9) Bijdr., a.a.O., S. 626.
10) Vergleiche im allgemeinen Krom, o.c., SS. 416 flgg.

Majapahit untergebenen Gebiete aufgeführt hat, geht er nun dazu über, die Länder mit welchen der König in freundschaftlichem Verhältnis stand mitzuteilen. Der Versteil 15, 1, 1 *nahan lwir niṅ deśāntara kacaya de Çrī-narapati* bildet den Abschluß des Vorhergehenden, *nahan* ist eine anaphorische Partikel, die eine ganze Erörterung zusammenfassen kann; Kern[1]) hat die Stelle beinahe richtig übersetzt: „Dat zijn de andere landen (dan Java)[2]), die door Z. M. den Opperkoning beschermd worden". Dann folgen die Bundesgenossen (15, 1, 2—4): *tuhun taṅ Syaṅkāyodhyapura... ri Cāmpā... mitreka satata,* „Siam aber[3]) und... sind die ständigen Bundesgenossen": es sind Siam, Campā, Kamboja, Annam u.s.w.[4]). Die 2. Strophe ist der Insel Madura gewidmet, die kein fremder Staat ist: *kunaṅ tekaṅ bhūmī Madhura tanani lwir parapurī.* Str. 3, 1: *huwus rabdha ṅ dwīpāntara sumiwi ri Çrī-narapati,* „nachdem die *d.* angefangen hatten dem Fürst zu dienen (, brachten sie ihm Steuern auf)". Lévi, der Str. 1 mißverstand („Siam... Campā... sont classés... sous la rubrique *deçāntara*") und *sumiwi* („dienen") übersetzt mit „avait propitié", ist der Meinung, daß „la stance 3 se présente... comme une conclusion d'ensemble". „Le poète conclut [3, 1]: „Après que le *dvīpāntara* avait propitié Sa Majesté...", le *dvīpāntara,* c'est à dire les îles et le continent des Mers du Sud". Meiner Ansicht nach darf man aus unserem Texte diesen Schluß nicht ziehen: Campā usw. (etwa Hinterindien) sind die *mitra,* die[5]) *deśāntara* sind die untergebenen Gebiete im Archipel, und die[5]) *dwīpāntara* brachten Steuern auf; ich meine *dwīpāntara* = *deśāntara.* Die Zeile 15, 3, 1 steht zweifelsohne in Beziehung zu 12, 6, 4 *mwaṅ nūṣāntara sarwa maṇḍalika rāṣṭrāṅāśrayākweh marěk,* wo der Dichter uns nach der Beschreibung von Majapahit nach dessen untergebenen Gebieten hinüberführt: „Majapahit selbst ist Sonne und Mond, den Planeten gleich sind die übrigen Städte und die Nebeninseln". 15, 3 ist keine Zusammenfassung, sondern eine hinüberführende Strophe; „nachdem die *dwīpāntara* S. Maj. gehuldigt hatten, zahlen sie Steuer, die von bhujaṅgas usw. eingenommen wird". Diese reisten nach den *digantara* (16, 1, 1), die unterschieden werden (16, 2; 3) in

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1) Kern, Verspreide Geschriften, VII, 279. — 2) Oder: „dit is van het buitenland...". — 3) Zur Bedeutung von *tuhun* vgl. z.B. 38, 2, 1. — 4) Kern, SS. 280 flgg.; Krom, S. 418. — 5) Oder: das. — 6) Eine „Spezifizierung" finden wir vielleicht auch im Pararaton, S. 28, 21 ff., wenn Gajah Mada zweimal dasselbe, nur mit anderen Worten, sagt.

Länder *sakulwan ikanań tanah Jawa* (westlich von J.) und *digantara sawetan iń Yawadharā* (östlich von J.). 16, 5, 1 ist die Rede von *anyabhūmi* und *Yawapurī*; 17, 1, 1 von *digantara* und *Yawadharaṇi*.

Die Nāgarakṛtāgamastelle scheint mir also nicht zu beweisen, daß die Javaner im Mittelalter *dvīpāntara* ganz als Synonym des chinesischen Kouen-louen verwendeten[1]; der Begriff Kouen-louen[2]) scheint mir mehr zu umfassen[3]); die Bedeutung derartiger geographischen Ausdrücke ist wohl nicht immer die gleiche gewesen, und Aequivalente und Uebersetzungen wie *Kouen Louen*: *Dvīpāntara* im oben erwähnten Wörterbuch sind selbstverständlich mehrmals nur annähernd richtig.

Wie wir schon sahen, existieren „Teilsynonyme": 1, 3, 4 lesen wir, daß das ganze Java (*bhūmi J.*) und auch das *digantara* dem Fürsten treu ergeben sind; 17, 1, 1 daß er oder sein Reich *digantara* erobert hatte; 42, 2 begegnet der Ausdruck abermals. Aus der letztgenannten Stelle geht hervor, daß wir unter *digantara* verschiedene große Gebiete im Archipel (mit Inbegriff der malaiischen Halbinsel) zu verstehen haben[4]). Es scheint mir also, daß *digantara* = *dvīpāntara* usw. im Nāgarakṛtāgama im Gegensatz zu *tanah Jawa* usw. die Inseln des Archipels (außer Java), besonders die von Java beherrschten bezeichnet, dazu auch wohl Malaka.

Wie ist nun der Ausdruck *dvīpāntara* sprachlich zu beurteilen? Am wahrscheinlichsten ist wohl Analogiebildung: skt. *deśāntara-* und *digantara-* „Ausland, die Fremde", (*vanāntara-* „Wald(gebiet)" usw.) > *dvīpāntara-* „Inselgebiet, Archipel", oder auch „das aus Inseln bestehende Ausland". (Beachte auch *dvīpantaraṃ gacchati*). In dem javanischen Carita Yusup (Y. = Josef) ist *nusantara* (s. u.) das Ausland von Aegypten aus gesehen[5]). Ich glaube, daß der Ausdruck *dvīpānta-* (s. o.), worüber Lévi[6]) sagt: „il serait donc plus naturel de traduire *dvīpānta* par „le bout du monde", et de ne pas le confondre avec *dvīpāntara*", gerade für identisch mit *dvīpāntara-* zu halten ist, wie *vanānta-* = *vanāntara-*, obgleich man es selbstverständlich mitunter reinterpretiert haben mag („Ende des *dvīpa*,

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[1]) Wie Lévi Bijdr. S. 627 (Actes S. 131) sagt.

[2]) Vgl. Ferrand, Journal asiatique 1919 (11—13), S. 322 ff.

[3]) Vgl. Ferrand, a.a.O., SS. 332 f.: Campa, Kambodja, Malaka, Sumatra, Java, Ostafrika, ... plusieurs îles en Inde transgangétique... usw.

[4]) Näheres: Krom, o.c., S. 337 f.

[5]) Vgl. Van der Tuuk, K.B.W. I, 535, s. oben, S. 493, Fn. 8.

[6]) A.a.O., S. 624.

— des Kontinentes"). Es ist dagegen m.E. nicht wahrscheinlich, daß man im °*antara-* des *dvīpāntara- antara-* „äussere" (PW. I, 240, f.) sah, das (Pāṇini und Lexx.) wohl sekundäre Bildung zu *anta-* ist. Im Pā. begegnet *dīpantaravāsin-* „living on the island", daneben *vanānte vasati*[1]). Daß das im heutigen Javanischen zur „Büchersprache" gehörige *nusantara* (von Pigeaud, Hdwdb. s.v. „archipel" übersetzt) mitunter[2]) durch *pulo madya* (*p.* = Insel(n), *m.* < skt. *madhya-*) übersetzt wird[3]), tut nichts zur Sache.

Im Javanischen begegnen z.B. *purantara* (Van der Tuuk, K.B.W. IV, 67; Gericke-Roorda II, 224) „vorstelijk verblijf, paleis", also = *kaḍaton*, = *pura*, „Residenz eines Fürsten", wohl < *a.* ‚das Innere".

Jav. *bomantara* heißt „Himmel, Luftraum", mal. *bomantara*, „Himmelsgewölbe"; „Raum zwischen Himmel und Erde" („inter-space between earth and sky") fügt Wilkinson[4]) hinzu (wohl etymologisierend); altjav. auch *byomantara* und *dyumantara*[5]); im litterarischen Javanischen auch *bomantarala*[6]) „Luftraum". Ausgangspunkt[7]): skt. *vyoman-* „Himmel(sraum") + *antara-*, vgl. *vyomamadhye* Kālidāsa, Vikr. 2, 1; Verschränkung mit skt. *antarāla* „Zwischenraum" und skt. *dyumant* „glänzend, licht, hell". Nicht zu verwechseln mit literarisch jav. *bhūmyantara*[8]) = *nusāntara* (s. o.). Daneben auch jav. *madyantara* „(im) Luftraum"[9]).

Çlokāntara ist der Name eines von Zieseniss[10]) behandelten altjavanischen Dharmaśāstra; es ist ein Lehrbuch der Pflichten der vier Kasten und der nīti, und besteht aus Sanskrit Çlokas mit altjavanischer Uebersetzung. Wiewohl Zieseniss den Namen für vorläufig nicht zu erklären hält, schlage ich vor etwa „Çlokenmenge, — sammlung, Çlokas"; vgl. auch z.B. *Çlokasaṃgraha-*.

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1) Es verdient Beachtung, daß das Adj. *dvīpāntara-* „mit den Inseln" auch zu belegen ist: Hemac., Abhidh. 1074: *dvīpāntarā asaṃkhyās te* (dh. die Meere).

2) Ohne Angabe der Stelle: Van der Tuuk, K.B.W. IV, 562; vgl. I, 535.

3) Vgl. dazu z.B. Ferrand, J.A. 1923 (T. 202), S. 190: *Luca* (l. *Luça*) *Antara* bei Heredia = jav. *N.a.* „l'île du milieu", litt. „l'île entre [d'autres îles]". Usw.

4) Mal.-Engl. Dict. I, s.v.

5) Vgl. Van der Tuuk, Kawi-Bal.-Ned. Wdb. IV, 1029.

6) Vgl. z.B. Gericke-Roorda, Jav.-Ned. Hdwdb. (1901), II, 749.

7) Vgl. schon T.B.G., 1879, S. 437.

8) Van der Tuuk, IV, 1043.

9) Vgl. auch Van der Tuuk, IV, 562.

10) Verslag van het Achtste Congres van het Oost. Gen. in Ned. (1936), SS. 48 ff.

Alt.-jav. *gamānta,* Ādip. 188, 11 *ndya ta gamanta nira manuwuhakĕna Kuruwaṅśa*; Bhīṣmap. 53, 13 *hana ka-gamānta nikeṅ Dhanañjaya, maṅguha ṅ jñānayoga?* „does there exist any possibility for me, Dh., to attain the j."[1]); Bhomak. 1, 19 *hana gamantanyâmaṅgih pawitra* „er is kans, dat... zegen komt"[2]), also: „Weg, Möglichkeit, Aussicht". Ich bin nun der Meinung[3]), *gamānta* sei *gama-* + *-anta-*. Zur Bedeutung vgl. skt. *sugama-* („selbstverständlich"), *durgama-* in übertragener Bedeutung, *gamana-* (Rām. 3, 68, 50, vgl. P.W.), das auch im Altjav. begegnet, vgl. z.B. Wirāṭap. 56, 10 *tatan hana gamana ni ṅhulun,* Uebersetzung von *na śakṣyāmi* (Mbh. 4, 1248)[4]). Das Altjav. besitzt außerdem *ganta-* in derselben Bedeutung, z.B. Bhārata-Yuddha, 38, 4 *wet niṅ tan hana ganta ni ṅwaṅ apasaha,* „weil es nicht möglich ist, daß wir uns wieder trennen werden"[5]); es ist wahrscheinlich eine Analogiebildung: *gamana*: *gamanta* = (*)*gama*: *ganta.*

In den malaiischen Wörterbüchern stehen unter *anta* seit vielen Jahren einige Erklärungen, die mir nicht richtig scheinen wollen. Das Wichtigste ist[6]): Favre, Dict. mal.-fr. (1875), I, 84: *„anta,* skr. *anta,* fin: *ber-anta* et *ber-anta-ber-anta* = tout-à-fait, jusqu' à la fin." Von Dewall-Van der Tuuk, Mal.-Ned. Wdb. (1877), I, 108 *„anta,* skr. *anta,* op zich zelve niet gebruikelijk; *anta kusuma* en *antakusuma*[7]), nette kleeding van verschillende levendige kleuren (in hikajats en poëzie; n.l. van 'n buis waarmee men vliegen kan, V. d. T.); soort van versnapering; *anta permana* (hikajats en poëzie), naam van 'n fabelachtigen berg; *beranta* einde, natuur, schoonheid enz. hebben; *goenoeng beranta kila,* naam v. 'n berg (misschien ontstaan uit Indrakila, V. d. T.); *beranta seri,* 'n zachte schoonheid of natuur hebbende zijn (sic!), zooals b.v. de maan, bloemen, menschen; *beranta indera,* 'n goddelijke, d.i. schitterende schoonheid of natuur hebbende zijn...; *beranta loka* (tegenover *b. indera*), 'n menschelijke, d.i. ondergeschikte schoonheid etc. heb-

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1) Meine Uebersetzung, Tijdschr. Batav. Gen. 75 (1935), S. 69.

2) Van der Tuuk, Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, IV, 793a.

3) Vergleiche meine Vermutungen in der Bhīṣmaparwa-edition (Bandoeng, 1936), S. 166.

4) Vgl. Wulff, Wirāṭaparwa, Diss. København 1916, S. 158.

5) Vgl. Van der Tuuk, o.c. S. 644.

6) Mit veränderter Orthographie.

7) Daneben begegnet auch *antari-kesoema,* vgl. Hik. Hasanoeddin, Ausgabe Edel, S. 104, Fn. 12.

bende." Pynappel, Mal.-Holl. Wdb. (1884), S. 23: „*anta,* alleen in zamenstellingen, zooals *antakoesoema* (misschien verbasterd uit een Sanskrit *nandanakoesoema,* bloem uit Indra's lusthof, of eenvoudig uit *nandakoesoema,* bloem uit *Nanda,* de stad van Indra)...; *beranta* (v. skt. *anta* in de beteekenis van eigen aard), enz." Klinkert, Nieuw Mal.-Nederl. Wdb.³ (1916), S. 64 „*anta,* skt. aard, natuur", er erwähnt dieselben Ausdrücke und fügt hinzu: „*madu beranta,* een fraaie eigenschap der tanden..., maar welke?; *manis seperti madoe beranta* zoo zoet als natuurlijke honig?" Wilkinson, A Malay-English Dict. (1932), I, S. 38: „*anta* skr. existence; entity; *anta-bĕranta,* many-natured, of many aspects; *anta kesoma,* flowery; *anta pĕrmana,* a mountain of old romance... but some of these expressions are also poetic names with secondary meanings, e.g.: (I) *anta-beranta* (a) the empyrean or interspace between heaven and earth = *awang-awangan*; (b) part-songs sung by children; (c) a pattern of bracelet...; (II) *anta-kesoma* (wie oben)". Auch im Baoesastra Mlajoe-Djawa von R. Sasrasoeganda steht *anta*: „skr., *watek, kaanan* usw.".

Es kommt mir aber vor, daß der Ausgangspunkt von mal. *beranta indera, beranta loka* u.a. in skt. *vrata-* liegt. *vrata-* bedeutet u.a. „gewohnte Tätigkeit, Treiben, Gewohnheit, Weise, Verhalten, Lebensweise usw." Vgl. *ādityavrata-, arkavrata-* „die Weise, d.h. die Weise des Bewegens der Sonne", *arṇavasya v.* „das Treiben d. M.", *śaśivrata-* „die Bewegung d. M.", *pārthivaṃ vratam,* Ind. Spr.² 5147 „die Weise, das Verhalten, die gewohnte Tätigkeit der Erde": *yathā sarvāṇi bhūtāni dharā dhārayate samam | tathā sarvāṇi bhūtāni bibhrataḥ pārthivaṃ vratam.* Auch: *cakoravrata-, yodhavrata-, satpuruṣavrata-*; *lokavrata-* „die Weise, das Verhalten der Welt, die allgemeine, gewöhnliche Weise usw.": Bhāg. Pur. 8, 3, 7: *munayaḥ susādhavaḥ caranty alokavratam* (*a.*: *brahmacaryādi* Komm.). Ebenso *Indravrata-,* wo Indra als Gott des Regens erscheint: Manu 9, 304 der König soll, wie Indra den Regen sendet, alle begehrten Sachen über das Land regnen lassen: *Indravrataṃ caran,* = *Indracaritam anutiṣṭhan* „Indra's Aufgabe erfüllend, sich wie Indra betragend". Im Altjav. finden wir das Wort als *brata*[2]), dazu Gericke-Roorda[3]): *brata, barata*: *ulah, laku.* Diese Form

[1]) Ausgabe Volkslectuur, No. 160.
[2]) Vgl. Van der Tuuk, K.B.W. IV, 886.
[3]) Wdb., II, 673.

scheint mir mit der bekannten „inneren Nasalierung" (mal. *menta, meta* < skt. *matta-*; *angkasa* < skt. *ākāśa-*; *angsoka* < skt. *aśoka-*) und Svarabhakti (und Einfluß des Präf. *ber-*) im Mal. zu *beranta* entwickelt zu sein. Im Altindischen ist (vgl. z.B. Ind. Spr.² 3897; 6178) *madhuvrata-* „der sich mit Hönig, Blumensaft beschäftigt" ein Wort für „die Biene"; gleichfalls im Altjav., z.B. Arj. Wiw. 14, 4; Bh. Y. 37, 2: *madhubrata*; wie auch in der javanischen „Dichtersprache"[1]). Also ist auch im Mal. *madu beranta* ein dichterischer Ausdrück für *manis seperti madu*[2]).

Der Ausdruck *anta kusuma* ist schon deswegen von den genannten Wörtern zu trennen, daß auch das Jav. ihn in dieser Form aufweist[3]), auch anderswo begegnet dieser „Name einer Jacke, worin man fliegen kann": Bug. *antakasoma,* Ach. *antakeusoema*[4]). Die Erklärung: < *ananta-* „endlos" + *kusuma-* „Blume"[5]) wird die richtige sein, vgl. *Antabhoga* < *Anantabhoga-*.

WORTREGISTER.

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1) Vgl. Gericke-Roorda, II, 493.
2) Kurios ist jav. (Dichtersprache) *megantara* = *megawrata* (G.-R., II, 520).
3) Vgl. Van der Tuuk, K.B.W. I, 61; Gericke-Roorda I, 25.
4) Hoesein Djajadiningrat, Wdb. I, 64.
5) Vgl. Gericke-Roorda, a.a.O.

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ADDITIONS TO A STUDY ON SKT. °ANTA-, °ANTARA- ETC.

In the 'Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde', vol. 97, p. 453 ff. I published a study on Skt. *anta-* and *antara-* occurring in a suffixlike function at the end of a considerable number of words, some of which have found their way also to the Indonesian archipelago. As interest in Sanskrit semantics and lexicography is now on the increase it might be useful to publish here some additions which seemed to be worth noticing.

p. 455: for *anti* beside *ante* see also BhāgPur. 9, 8, 19 *bhasmānti* = *bhasmasamīpe*; *bhasmānte* in the same sense: ŚāṅkhBr. 18, 6; cf. Petr. Dict. V, 229.

p. 460: after 1. 13 : see also the comm. Padadīpikā on Daśakumāracarita, ed. G.P.[10], p. 21, 1 *antevāsī* : *ante vasatīti tathā.*

p. 462 f.: *vanānta-* : cf. also Mahābh. 1, 71, 1 *sa vanasyāntam āsādya mahac chūnyaṃ samāsadat // tac cāpy atītya . . . jagāmānyan mahad vanam* : here *anta-* probably is "end" (cf. also MārkPur. 70, 9), but 11, 5, 22 *vanadurgānte* seems to mean "in the midst of the place made inaccessible by reason of a forest", or "in the inaccessible midst of the forest". Ibid. 16, 4, 8 it reads *rāmo vanānte pratipālayan mām āste* : here the translation "on the skirts of the forest R. is waiting for me" (Manmatha Nath Dutt) is doubtful, cf. 10 *vanam abhyupetya* and 12 *vane sthitam.* Aśv. Buddhac. 8, 55 *vanāntabhūmiṃ kaṭhināṃ kathaṃ nu tau . . . . caraṇau gamiṣyataḥ*; here Johnston is right in observing : "*vanānta-* 'the jungle' in a general sense, not 'the edge of the forest' ", translating : "shall they (his feet) tread on the hard ground of the jungle ?" In dealing with the adventures of Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā in the forest Kālidāsa (Ragh. 14, 51) uses the form *vanānte* ("im Walde" Walter; "au fond du bois" Renou) : "here *anta-* may mean *uddeśa-* (*vanoddeśe*); the 'forest-region' (*anto 'granidhanoddeśāvasāneṣu / iti padārthamālā*); or it may be used *svarūpe* (*svārthe*), 'the forest itself', as remarked by Mallinātha on Kirāt. 6, 17; *anto 'dhyavasite mṛtyau svarūpe niścaye 'ntike / iti vaijayantī* (M. R.

Kale, The R. of K., Bombay 1924, p. 114); BrahmāPur. 187, 48; in the forests the sounds of various animals are heard : Mbh. 3, 182, 7 *kānanānteṣu.*

p. 464: *vanāntara-*: Aśv. Bc. 8, 23 *vanāntare gāva ivarṣabhojjhitāḥ* "like cows deserted by the herd-bull in the midst of the jungle" (Johnston); Saund. 10, 38 and 39 "forest glades" and "forests" (Johnston). Cf. also Daśak. p. 28, 3 *vanāntaram avāpa* "gelangte ins Waldinnere" (J. J. Meyer, p. 164); p. 39, 7 *vanāntare*, v.l. *vanānte*, the comm. Padadīpikā incorrectly: *anyasmin vane*; Harṣa, Nāgan. 5, 13 *pluṣṭopāntavanāntaraḥ* "scorching the (regions of the) adjoining forests" : "it need not be taken here to mean *anyad vanam*" (R. D. Karmarkar, N. of Śrīharṣa[2], Bombay 1923, p. 179). See also Kāl. Urv. 4, 26 *vanāntaram*: *vanapradeśaḥ* (Charu Deva Shastri, Lahore 1929, Notes, p. 39), and Budhasvāmin, Bṛhatkathāśl. 18, 210 *vanāntagrāma-*. For the Indonesian use of *antara-* see 'Sanskrit in Indonesia', Nagpur 1952, p. 232; 250 f.; 269; 303; 384.

p. 465: Budhasvāmin, Bṛhatkathāśl. 18, 210 uses the phrase *dhāvataḥ gahanāntam* "entering a thicket".

p. 465: a combination not noticed in the former article is *śākhāntara-*: Bāṇa, Kād. ed. P.P.[7], p. 67, 1 *śākhāntaraiḥ saṃcaramāṇaḥ* "wandering among the boughs" : *śālāntaraiḥ s.* Comm.

p. 466: *arṇavānte* occurring Mbh. 3, 270, 19 could mean "on the (high) sea(s)": *viśīryantīṃ nāvam ivārṇavānte*. For *samudrānte* "in the midst of the sea, in the sea" see also Pañc. 4, 1, 12 + : *asti s. ramye pulinapradeśe 'smadgṛham.*

p. 466: *jalāntara-*: the form *jalānte* occurs Mbh. 15, 32, 6 in an interesting passage : Vyāsa, bathing in the sacred waters of the Ganges, summoned all the deceased warriors; at this a deafening uproar was heard *jalānte* ("from within the water" or: "in the water"); then these kings arose from the water (*salilāt*)"; see also Pañc. 4, 1, 12 + (see the preceding note): G. Bühler, Panchatantra IV and V, Bombay 1868, Notes, p. 2: "in the water". In regional Modern Javanese an aqueduct or artificial conduit for water (made of bamboo) for the purpose of irrigation is called *jalantara* : here *antara-*: may be taken to express, in one of its specializations, the sense of "interior". Kāl. Pur. 41, 39 *sāgare salilāntare* "in the midst of the water".

p. 466: attention may be drawn to Ṛtusaṃhāra 6, 25 *śaileyajālaparinaddhaśilātalāntān* "(mountains) the surfaces of the rocks of which are swarmed about by multitudes of bees" ("les plateaux caillouteux sont couverts ..." Assier de Pompignan, Paris 1938, p. 79).

p. 466: beside *tīrānta-* we also encounter *taṭānteṣu* "on the shores": Śambhu, in the Rājendrakarṇapūra 67 (Subhāṣitāvali 2627).

p. 467: for the Pāli *ekamantaṁ* see e.g. Saṃyuttanikāya 23, 11 *ekamantam nisinno* "zur Seite sitzend". The Pāli adverbial *ekamante* which also occurs in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (see F. Edgerton, B.H.S. Dict., Yale 1953, p. 153) means "at one side". For *ekānte* see e.g. also BrahmāPur. 188, 28.

p. 468: for *janānte* "in foreign parts" see also Daśak. p. 246, 7 where the commentary Bhūṣaṇā explains: *janapadamadhye*; the text, *rājan, atra te janānte ciraṃ sthitam* was translated by Meyer (p. 326): "König, ich bin hier in deinem Lande lange geblieben".

p. 469: the Petrograd Dict. V, 748 gives *grāmāntarāṭavī* "Wald im Bereich eines Dorfes". Manu 4, 116 let him not study *śmaśānānte grāmānte* : °*samīpe* Kullūka, "in the neighbourhood of a burial ground or of a village".

p. 470: for *ratānta-* in the sense of "the end of the sport" see Aśv. Buddhac. 5, 56; *ratyantare* "in the course of the ... " Ṛtus. 6, 7.

p. 471: one might add here : Manu 7, 224 *gatvā kakṣāntaram* : *tasmāt pradeśāt kakṣāntaraṃ viviktaprakoṣṭhāvakāśam anyad gatvā* (cf. 223 *antarveśmani*), but compare also Kāl. Kum. 7, 70 *kakṣ(y)āntarāṇy adripater viveśa* "und schritt zum Hofraum im Palast des Bergherrn" (Walter) : *k. gehaprakoṣṭhāntarāṇi* (Mallinātha). The combination has apparently assumed a single specialized meaning, an "inner *kakṣa-* (i.e. secluded portion of a building, a private room in general)", cf. especially Budhasv. Bṛhatkathāśl. 18, 230 *tasmān mām āgataṃ śrutvā dauvārikaparaṃparā / antaḥkakṣāntarasthāya mātulāya nyavedayat* "je me fis annoncer et la nouvelle, transmise de portier en portier, en fut donnée à mon oncle qui se tenait dans ses appartements privés" (Lacôte). Bāṇa, Harṣac. ed. Führer 1909, 5, p. 216, 4 makes mention of a *tṛtīyaṃ kakṣyāntaram* : in the Rāmāyaṇa 2, 20, 11 f. it is the third *kakṣyā* which was reserved for the queen and her confidential attendants. See also the Amarakoṣa 3, 4, 14, 68 (quoted in the Petr. Dict. 2, 11) *kakṣāntare 'pi śuddhānto nṛpasyāsarvagocare*.

p. 471: for *śuddhānta-* = *antaḥpura-* see also Mallinātha on Kāl. Ragh. 6, 45.

p. 471: here the form *śayyānte* may be quoted : Pañc. 3, 143 +. The longer form *śayyāntare* for "in bed" is quoted by Monier-Williams from the Kāmāndakīya-nītisāra. Cf. also Ṛtus. 4, 14 *śayyāntareṣu lulitākulakeśapāśā nidrāṃ prayānti* (v.l. *srastāṃsadeśa*°).

p. 471: for *tvaṃ pādānte luṭhasi* see Amaru 38, where Arjuna-

varmadeva remarks: *tvam uraḥsthalaikadhāraṇīyaḥ pādasamīpe luṭhasi, na tu pādayoḥ.*

p. 471: in this connection cf. also the phrase *anyat sthānāntaram* Pañc. NS. pr. p. 19, 7, cf. however l. 17 and Hitop. 1, 101 +.

p. 472: for *keśānta-* see also Jaim. GS. 1, 7 which in describing the sīmantonnayana rite says that after having parted the hair of the young woman one should adorn her *dakṣiṇaṃ keśāntam* with garlands and after that also the left one : here *keśānta-* must refer to the two tufts of hair at each side of the head. Cf. also Kāl. Śāk. 6, 14 + *śithilabandhanodvāntakusumena keśāntena* "with a braid of hair from which the flowers have dropped down on account of the slackening of the knot", or rather simply : "with hair ... "; Bāṇa, Harṣac. 5, p. 218 Führer *nibiḍadukūlapaṭṭanipīḍitakeśāntakathyamānakaṣṭavedanānubandhaṃ mūrdhānaṃ dhārayantam* : "his hair was bound tight with silk cloth ... "; Kāl. Megh. 8 *udgṛhītālakāntāḥ ... pathikavanitāḥ* "the wives of men travelling abroad .... holding up their tufts of hair, or locks" rather than "the points of their tresses" : "relevant leurs boucles, pour mieux voir" (Assier de Pompignan). This word may be considered a poetical imitation of *keśānta-*. Āśval. GS. 1, 7, 5 has: *romānte hastaṃ sāṅguṣṭham ubhayakāmaḥ* : if one desires to have a son one should grasp the thumb (which as is well known often represents the male organ), if one desires a daughter, the fingers (which when bent and closed represent the female organ), if one desires sons and daughters, the hand with the thumb *romānte,* which must mean : "on the hairy side (of the hand)" ("in hair vicinity", Ch. R. Lanman, A Sanskrit reader, p. 232).

p. 472, n. 2: Cf. also Mān. GS. 1, 21, 4 *keśānte* ("in the right side of his hair" (M.) Dresden, Mānavagṛhyasūtra, Thesis Utrecht 1941, p. 89) : Āśv. GS. 1, 17, 8 *keśapakṣe.*

p. 472: *śikhānta-* Agni Pur. 303, 14.

p. 472: we might add *stanānta-* Ṛtus. 5, 15 *nakhapadaracitāgrān ... stanāntān* (v.l. *stanāgrān*)" ... leurs seins, par places couverts d'égratignures". Bāṇa, Harṣac. 5, p. 211, 2 has *ākarṇāntākṛṣṭakārmukanirgata-* "arrows discharged from a bow which was bent up to the ear" : as the usual expression is *ākarṇam* "up to the ear" or "from the ear", in connection with arrows reaching to or being discharged from the ear in drawing a bow, there seems to be no need to translate: "up to the end of the ear"; cf. also *ākarṇamūlam* "up to the ear" Rām. 4, 9, 106 (= 11, 91) with a v.l. *ākarṇapūrṇam.* The compound *śīrṣānta-,* however, means "head (of a bed)" : Kathās. 3, 22 *-e* "under (his)

pillow"; 93, 99; 42, 65 the abl. "from the head of the bed"; here "neighbourhood of the head" (Petr. Dict.; Mon. Will.) or, rather, "region . . . " is probable, but cf. Dutch *hoofdeinde*, Engl. *foot-end*.

p. 473: for *sīmānta-* now see also T. Burrow, The Sanskrit Language, London 1955, p. 153, who subjoins the remark : "it is not unlikely that some other apparent compounds of this type, e.g. *karmānta-* "work, business (Pāli *kammanta-*), which only occur in the latter form (i.e. with *ā*), are corruptions of this type". In my opinion the matter is somewhat more complicated, see the discussion of *karmānta-* Bijdr. T.L.V. p. 473 ff. See also Jātakamāla ed. Kern, 5, 17 + (p. 25, 6) *samyakpravṛttavividhavipulakarmāntasya*; Kauṭilya 12, 31, 18 *dhātusamutthitaṃ tajjātakarmānteṣu prayojayet* "das aus den Erzen (Gewonnene) bringe er in den Bearbeitungswerkstätten für das betr. Erzeugnis zur Verwendung" (J. J. Meyer, Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben, p. 119); 25 *lohādhyakṣas tāmra . . . . kaṃsatālalodhrakarmāntān kārayet* "der Aufseher für die unedeln Metalle soll Verarbeitungswerkstätten für Kupfer . . . , Messing, Zymbelmetall und Eisen betreiben"; similarly, 35 *maṇi . . . karmāntān*.

p. 475: Mbh. 18, 5, 31 Vaiśampāyana having finished telling, at the great snake sacrifice, the epic story to Janamejaya, the reciter says: *etac chrutvā . . . sa rājā janamejayaḥ / . . . yajñakarmāntareṣv atha* "hearing this . . . in the intervals of the sacrificial rites . . . "; cf. however Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary: *evaṃ pāṇḍavānāṃ kathāṃ samāpya janamejayasya yajñe vaiśampāyana etām kathām uktavān iti*, the intervals belonging to the great sacrificial session.

p. 475: *kathāntare* : cf. also BrahmāPur. 170, 50 *maivaṃ brūyāḥ kathāntare*. — Mbh. 5, 176, 39 *kathānte* probably means "in the course of the conversation", although "at the end of (that talking which can be passed over in silence)" would also be possible; in fact, the difference is insignificant, the words, like the English equivalents being a more or less fixed and traditional phrase; Rām. 1, 39, 1 *viśvāmitravacaḥ śrutvā kathānte raghunandanaḥ / uvāca*; *yajñopakramakathānta ity arthaḥ* Comm. Mbh. 5, 125, 18 *tasmin vākyāntare* is a variant of *kathāntare*, not "at the end of that speech" (Manmatha Nath Dutt).

p. 476 ff.: for *svapnānta-* cf. also Śaṅkara, commenting upon Ch.Up. 6, 8, 1 (see p. 478) interprets *svapnānta-* as the central portion of the dream vision: *svapnāntaṃ svapnamadhyaṃ suṣuptam*. Radhakrishnan, The principal Upaniṣads (London 1953), p. 456 translating : "the true nature of sleep" is, in my opinion, incorrect in adding : "literally the end of the dream". In connection with the simile contained in Bṛh.

ār. Up. 4, 3, 18 (p. 477 f.) attention might also be drawn to AthV. 13, 2, 13 *ubhāv antau samarṣasi vatsaḥ saṃmātarāv iva* "thou (the sun is addressed) meetest with both borders, as a calf to two joint mothers". For *svapnāntare* (p. 480) see also Vi.Pur. 2, 13, 10 *nānyaj jagāda ... kiṃcit svapnāntare 'pi ca.*

p. 481: here *niśānta-* might be added: Daśak. p. 9, 9 *niśāntavātalabdhasaṃjña-* "the end of the night" (Comm.); 27, 6 less certain: *atīte niśānte gaurīpatiḥ svapnasaṃnihito ... mām avocat.*

p. 482: for the meaning of *dṛṣṭānta-* the definition given by the commentary on Mammaṭa is of interest, Kāvyapr. 10, 14, 1 *eteṣāṃ sādhāraṇadharmādīnām dṛṣṭo 'nto niścayo yatra sa dṛṣṭāntaḥ* "(in poetics) an 'exemplification' is so called because therein is perceived (*dṛṣṭa-*) the *anta-*, i.e. *niścaya-* "ascertainment, definite recognition" of all these, i.e. ... ".

p. 482: an interesting combination is *viṣayāntaram* which expresses the idea of "objective reality, all that is objective (collectively)": see Rāmānuja, Gitābh. 3, 43.

p. 482: *kṛtānta-* see also Mbh. 16, 1, 25 "destiny" (of the world).

p. 484: add *diṣṭānta-* Mbh. 1, 49, 17 *diṣṭāntam āpannaḥ* for "he died" (cf. "he met his fate"): *diṣṭaṃ dharmādharmau tayor antam avasānaṃ videhakaivalyam ity arthaḥ* Nīl.; 1, 58, 28 *jagāma kāle ... diṣṭāntam* : *d. mokṣam* Nīl.

p. 485: for *-anta-* in the sense of "region, country, ground" cf. also Harṣa, Nāgān. 3, 7 sandal juice cools the *kuṭṭimāntān* "the paved ground", *kuṭṭima-* meaning "an inlaid or paved floor, pavement, ground paved with mosaic"; or is *kuṭṭamānta-* a by-form of *kuṭṭima-*?

p. 485: for *jayanta-* etc. now see also J. Wackernagel-A. Debrunner, Altindische Grammatik II, 2, Göttingen 1954, p. 210 f.

p. 486: °*antara-* : for a tautological use of final *antara-* see Kāl. Pur. 40, 80 *anyad varāntaram* "another wish".

p. 486: here *divasānta-* may be added which Mṛcchak. 2, 12 occurs in a stanza describing the capability of enduring various hardships (a gambler ought to be able, if need be, to remain suspended head downwards for the whole day) : *yaḥ divasāntam ānataśirā nāste samullambitaḥ* "who cannot remain suspended with the head hanging down, the whole day, or: till the close of the day" : both translations may be possible.

p. 486: Kāl. Pur. 42, 13 *saptaviṃśativarṣāntair* "after 27 years" : here *varṣānta-* obviously stands for *varṣa-*. In Pāli *majjhantika*, i.e. *majjha* "middle" + *anta-* + *-ika-* means "midday, noon"; the word

occurs also in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit : "as if semi- M. Indic for Skt. *madhyānta-* + *-ika-*" (Edgerton, o.c., p. 417).

p. 486: in Pāli *mūlantare* occurs in the sense of "at the root of a tree" : Jāt. I, p. 419, 12.

p. 487, top: Gobh. GS. 4, 6, 16 *tāmisrāntareṣu* "an den Tagen, die auf die dunkeln Monatshälften fallen" (Knauer).

p. 487: Māghu, Śiśup. 2, 100 = Ind. Spr. 4485 *kāryānta-* „Ziel" (Boehtlingk) : *kāryasyāntaṃ pāram* Mallinātha.

p. 487: *kasmiṃścid kāraṇāntare*, BrahmāPur. 176, 54; Rām. 3, 48, 4 *kāraṇāntare* : *nimittaviśeṣe* Comm.

p. 487: add *purā janmāntare* Kathās. 3, 32 "in a former birth (existence)"; *jananāntara-* Kāl. śak. 5, 2 "(a) past live(s)" ("he remembers the associations of past lives") : *anyajanma* Rāghavabhaṭṭa. We might add here : *bhavāntare* BrahmāPur. 165, 24 "another (a later) existence" : *yat purā vihitaṃ karma ... phalaṃ ... prāpyate 'pi bh.*; see also Ind. Spr. 3207; the word can of course also refer to a former existence, see the comm. on Kāty. śS. 38, 24.

p. 487: Ratnāvalī 4, 0 + it reads *īdisaṃ avatthantaraṃ pāvidā* "it is reduced to such a plight" ("... dans une telle disgrâce" Lehot) : although the original sense of °*antara-* is still clear, the longer word is practically speaking identical with a simple *avasthā* "state, condition, situation", which occurs 4, 19 +.

p. 487: for *deśāntara-* cf. also BrahmāPur. 170, 18 *deśād deśāntaraṃ yātau*; Daśak. p. 4, 8 : *anyo deśaḥ* Comm. For the compound see also Pāṇini 2, 1, 72 and commentaries. — In the Old-Javanese Ādip., p. 207 the phrase *daśa deśāntara* is used instead of the usual Sanskrit expression *diśo daśa* "to all ten regions, in all directions", one manuscript having *daśa deśa*, which is read in the text on p. 26. See also Ādip. 217, 4 Su.

p. 488: *diganta-* also occurs Kāl. Ragh. 6, 9 "sounds spreading all round in the quarters of heaven" (*parito digantān*). BrahmāPur. 179, 41 it reads *digantaraṃ nabho bhūmir vāyur vāpi vibhāvasuḥ*; 185, 13 *jvālāvyāptadigantarāḥ*. One might subjoin here the Pāli *ākāsanta*, according to Rhys Davids-Stede, Pali-Engl. Dict. I, p. 94 "the end of the sky", "the sky, the air" : Jāt. VI, p. 89.

p. 488: add : Pāli *pabbatantare* "in the hill-region", Jāt. II, 397, 7; 405, 12 translated by "in a mountain side".

p. 490: Rhys Davids-Stede, Pali-Engl. Dict. I, p. 52: *aparanta* = *aparaṁ*, with *anta-* in same function as in cpds *vananta-*: "further away, westward, future". On p. 46, *subanta-* to which they refer, an

explication is given which does not appear to be the right one : "(*anta-*) often pleonastically, to be explained as a 'pars pro toto' figure, like *kammanta* "the end of the work, i.e. the whole work (cf. Engl. *sea-side, country-side*); *vananta* "the border of the wood = the woods" (explained by *vana . . .*)".

p. 492: for *dvīpāntara-* see also the Prākṛt form *dībantara* "island" Setubandha 2, 32. The commentary Padadīpikā on Daṇḍin's Daśak. 4, 10 explains *pārāvārataraṇam akarot* by *bhāṇḍasya dvīpāntare nayanaṃ dvīpāntarād nayanam ityādi ca.*

p. 493: for Old-Jav. *nusāntara* see also Calon Arang, 10 (Bijdr. T.L.V. 82, p. 136) which after having enumerated the overseas possessions of the Javanese empire states that these are the tributary *nusāntara*; as these territories include also Palembang, Malaka, Singapore etc. etc. the term is used in an extended meaning. In the same chapter the word is used, once again, as opposed to Java : p. 136. — Cf. also Tantu Pangg. p. 58 P. where *Yawaḍipāntara,* followed by *Yawaḍipa,* is either a 'contamination' ('blending') or a 'learned by-form' of *Yawaḍipa* (see Pigeaud, p. 130, n. 4); a third possibility — a dvandva combination : "Yava and the insular empire" — does not, in this text which deals with Java alone, seem to be deserving of consideration.

p. 496: the Old-Jav. *samantara-* "shortly after, meanwhile", however, derives from Skt. *samanantara-* "immediately following" : see also 'Sanskrit in Indonesia', p. 73; 237. — In Javanese and Sundanese poetical works the curious word *megantara* is used for a "grey horse".

THE SANSKRIT PARTICLE API

As is well known the term 'particle' has been applied in very different ways by various grammarians, and a satisfactory definition has, as far as the ancient Indo-European languages are concerned, not yet been given.[1] One of the difficulties with which scholars are confronted is, as Whitney[2] at the time put it, the fact that for instance in Sanskrit 'the indeclinable words (in general) are less distinctly divided into separate parts of speech' than other classes of words: there often are no hard and fast lines drawn between adverbs, particles, prepositions or rather, one and the same element may fulfil more than one function. Another difficulty lies in the fact that these words not rarely are from the semantic point of view vague and indefinable. This state of affairs has in particular cases led to much ineffectual controversial discussion. One of the causes why various attempts at reaching a complete understanding of, for instance, the Indo-European particle *$*k^{u}e$* (Skt. *ca*, Gr. τε, Lat. *-que*) remained unsuccessful has in my opinion been the tacit assumption that this word is an exact equivalent of our modern 'and', and that it should be regarded as a conjunction in the traditional sense of the term.[3]

With regard to the Sanskrit element *api* it may generally speaking be said that many authors of grammars and dictionaries limited themselves to a mere arrangement of the main facts, i.e., of what they call the 'meanings' or 'uses' of the word, without entering into

1) I also refer to my review of Hartman, C. G., 1966. *Emphasizing and connecting particles in the thirteen principal upanishads*, Helsinki, to be published in this periodical.

2) Cf. Whitney, W. D., [5]1924. *A Sanskrit grammar*, Leipzig, p. 403, § 1096.

3) For this particle see my relative papers in Vāk, 5, Poona 1957, p. 1–73 and in Mnemosyne (Leyden) 1954, p. 177–214; 267–296.

a discussion of the interrelations between these 'meanings' and in all probability overlooking the fact that a variety of so-called different senses of a word in an ancient language is nothing else but a translational difficulty in disguise or the tacit admission of the fact that English, Dutch or German vocabularies do not contain a word which may under all circumstances be used to 'translate' a Greek or Sanskrit term. Thus Speyer,[4]) distinguishing between *api* 1 'and, too, moreover, also', 2 'even', 3 'though', observes that the particle 'has many more meanings' which however are discussed in other sections of his syntax:[5]) 'it may be an interrogative particle, strengthen an exhortation, precede an optative etc.' A similar procedure was adopted for instance by Renou.[6]) It is clear that in this way the reader is kept in the dark as to the interrelation of these uses as well as to the central or nuclear meaning of the word, i.e., to that which is common to all its contextual uses; contextual uses, it must be added, which, though being mere variants of the central meaning, too often have been regarded as different 'meanings' of the word.

Other scholars, emphasizing the fact that *api* does not only occur as a particle in the traditional sense of the term, but, especially in the Veda, also as a preposition and, not frequently it is true and likewise in the older language, as a verbal prefix, made an attempt at explaining the significance of the indeclinable word historically. Recently, the Finnish scholar C. G. Hartman,[7]) while distinguishing a prothetic, an epithetic and a concessive *api*, and in addition to these positions and uses, some special cases, arrives at the conclusion[8]) that 'some of the meanings of *api* may be difficult to explain, e.g., the semantic development from the primary signification 'upon' in the oldest language to the indefinite use and the interrogative particle in later Sanskrit'.

Now, the last part of this statement is in my opinion due to a misunderstanding which has tricked other scholars also into contending that it is the 'addition' of *cid, cana, api* and similar elements

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4) Speyer, J. S., 1886. *Sanskrit syntax*, Leyden, p. 331 f.
5) Speyer, o.c., p. 332.
6) Renou, L., 1930. *Grammaire sanscrite*, Paris, p. 153; 378; 412; 511; 516.
7) See above.
8) Hartman, o.c., p. 25.

to an interrogative pronoun which transmutes the latter into an indefinite pronoun.[9]) As argued at great length in another publication[10]) the pronominal stems IE. *k^u e/o-* and *k^u i-* (Skt. *ka-*, *ci-* etc.) originally were interrogative as well as indefinite, and the latter function has in Sanskrit been preserved in combinations such as *kaścana* 'any one', *kiṃcid* 'somewhat, a little', *katham api* 'somehow or other etc.' From the synchronic point of view of Sanskrit it may appear as if *ka-* etc. 'are made[11]) indefinite when connected with these particles' – although *ka-* etc. continue to be occasionally used alone as indefinites –, historically speaking this formulation is wrong. Hartman speaks also of an 'interrogative particle (*api*) in later Sanskrit', no doubt with reference to its occurrence at the beginning of a sentence introducing a question. However, the occurrence in this position does not mean that *api* in cases such as Rām. 2, 66, 5 cr. ed. *api nādhvaśramaḥ śīghraṃ rathenāpatatas tava* 'are you not tired with the long way, having driven quickly?' is in itself 'interrogative'[12]) or transforms an affirmative statement into a question.

Nor can we be sure that all later uses of the particle have derived from those more limited functions which it seems to fulfil in the oldest documents, because some later uses may have developed in those circles which left no traces of their existence in Vedic literature. We should not take for granted that the only source of all function of the particle in post-Vedic texts is that borne by the Vedic preposition which expresses ideas of 'near, over, annexing to, reaching to, proximity etc.' and is often translatable by 'upon'.

Before entering into an examination of the uses of *api*, the particle, it is worth while to consider its other functions. Accompanying a locative *api* makes, in the Veda, the idea of immediate nearness explicit: ṚV. 5, 31, 9 *ā vām atyā api karṇe vahantu* 'your steeds must lead (the chariot) close by the ear'.[13]) One might compare the related Gr. ἐπί in cases such as η 160 ἧσαι ἐπ' ἐσχάρῃ 'to sit by the

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[9]) Thus e.g., Thumb, A., and R. Hauschild, 1959. *Handbuch des Sanskrit*, Heidelberg, II, p. 150; Monier-Williams, M., *A Sanskrit-English dictionary*, p. 240; 247, s.v. *ka-*, *katham* etc.; Stenzler, A. F., and S. Biswas, [14]1960. *Elementarbuch der Sanskrit-Sprache*, Berlin, p. 28.

[10]) *Lingua*, 4 (1955), p. 241 ff.

[11]) A term such as 'made' is to be avoided in synchronic definitions.

[12]) Monier-Williams, o.c., p. 55, s.v. *api*.

[13]) Cf. also Delbrück, B., 1888. *Altindische Syntax*, Halle A. S., p. 447 f.

hearth'; λ 448 πάις οἱ ἦν ἐπὶ μαζῷ 'a boy was at her breast'. However, the combination of *api* and *kṛ-* 'to do' may in Dutch be rendered by 'bijdoen' ('to add') in ṚV. 10, 167, 4 *bhakṣam akaram carāv api* '... habe ich einen Trunk bei der Grütze getan' (Geldner). ṚV. 2, 5, 6 (similarly, 6, 59, 9) *tve api*, though translated 'in deiner Hut' (Geldner) or 'in deinem Besitz' (Grassmann) is in itself no more than 'by (i.e., near, with) thee', but 7, 31, 5 *tve api kratur mama* may mean 'my resourcefulness is by thee' (i.e., 'through thy help': the English *by* in solemn invocations). Some shade of meaning as 'within reach, in accordance with ' seems to occur 5, 46, 7, distinguishing terrestrial goddesses from those who are *apām api vrate* 'within reach of the divine order of, or behaving in accordance with the function of, the Waters'.[14] Although the English phrase is 'under the protection of the gods', ṚV. 10, 77, 7 *devānām api gopīthe* is intelligible as 'within reach of'. Whitney's translation of AV. 2, 2, 3 *apsarāsv api gandharva āsīt* 'in among the apsarases was the gandharva' is odd, the sense obviously being 'close by the apsarases'.

The force 'of close by, closely connected with' is not rarely perceivable also when *api* is intimately associated with verbs, e.g., ṚV. 8, 47, 8 *yuṣme devā api ṣmasi* 'we are, O gods, near to you'; 1, 162, 2 *ajo ... apy eti pāthaḥ*, not 'geht voran zu ... der Zuflucht' (Geldner), but 'approaches the domain of ...'; 9, 71, 6; 10, 115, 1 (cf. Gr. ἔπειμι); similarly, *api-gam-*, e.g. AV. 12, 4, 31, and also 'to join', 'to go to so as to join': 12, 2, 45; *api-i-* may even mean 'to approach so closely that one unites with or is lost in something else'; ṚV. 1, 140, 7; 3, 33, 2 (of a river which combines with another river): the idea of 'addition' (cf. also *api-iṣ-* 9, 69, 1); TS. 2, 2, 10, 4 'ransoming him from S. he gives (lit. 'places near': *api dadhāti*) him to A.'; 5, 1, 10, 1 *ūrjam evāsmā api dadhāti* 'he confers strength upon him'; in *api-nah-* 'to fasten up, close' (e.g. the mouth: AV. 7, 70, 4) *api* emphasizes the idea of 'closely together'; hence also *api-vṛ-* 'to conceal, close'. AV. 10, 4, 26 *viṣe viṣam aprāg api* 'he has mixed poison with (added poison to) poison': cf. Gr. ἐπαγείρω 'to assemble upon', i.e. 'to collect' and η 120 ὄγχνη ἐπ' ὄγχνῃ 'one pear after another, pear on pear'.

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[14]) For the untranslatable *vrata-* see Renou, 1958. *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, IV, Paris, p. 74 and the present author's *The Savayajñas*, Amsterdam Acad. 1965, p. 290.

The idea of 'addition' may also clearly refer to the process (the event) itself: ṚV. 1, 158, 5 (when T. tried to strike D.'s head with his sword, he smashed to pieces not only his own head (cf. Bṛhadd. 4, 22, left unexpressed in ṚV.) but 'also (*api*) his breast and shoulders'. Or the central idea of *api* may in connection with some verbs impress us as giving force and intensity to the latter: AV. 1, 7, 7 *api śīrṣāṇi vṛścatu* 'let Indra strike off their heads': [15]) cf. in Greek ἐπικείρω 'to cut down, cut short': a process which takes place close to its object may be regarded as affecting it intensely.[16])

The occurrences of the Ṛgvedic adverb *api*, translated by 'dazu, ausserdem, auch' in Grassmann's Wörterbuch, are, as is often the case in this otherwise meritorious work, variously rendered in Geldner's complete German Ṛgveda.[17]) In my opinion it always conveys a more or less distinct 'add to this'. ṚV. 3, 38, 6 the poet, a visionary, having gone to the seats of the gods, saw (not only other superhuman beings but) also the gandharvas (*gandharvāṃ api*);[18]) in 8, 91, 1 'a girl who went down to the water found on the road (not only other things but also) soma (*somam api*)' Geldner left the particle untranslated but it no doubt here again implies what is printed in the parenthesis. The author slightly emphasizes that the girl among other, and in this connection indifferent, things which may or may not have been found, found also soma. 8, 43, 7 (the god of) fire devours the plants but he does not go to ruin because he enters again ('wieder', Geldner,' de nouveau', Renou[19]) the young (sprouts)': not only those which he has entered before and has now devoured but also the young ones (*taruṇīr api*). Similarly, 10, 19, 4 and 5 '(not only the cows must come home but) also the herdsman' (*api gopāḥ*). As appears from the above passages that element

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[15]) Not 'to cut open': Whitney, W. D. and C. R. Lanman, 1905. *Atharvaveda saṃhitā*, Cambridge Mass., p. 8.

[16]) Not all combinations mentioned in the concordances – part of which may rather be explained as exhibiting the 'independent' *api* and the simple verb – can be discussed here.

[17]) Geldner, K. F., 1951. *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, 3 vol., Cambridge Mass.

[18]) The famous commentator Sāyaṇa incorrectly characterizes the particle as suggesting the idea of assumption, imagination (*saṃbhāvanāyām*); see further on. Schmidt, H. P., 1958. *Vedisch vrata*, Hamburg, p. 73: 'auch'.

[19]) Renou, L., 1964. *E. V. P.* XIII, Paris, p. 71. According to the ancient Indian belief plants, which may be destroyed by fire, also contain that 'element'.

of the thought expressed by the complete utterance to which *api* announces an addition may be explicit as well as implicit. Cf. e.g., also ṚV. 10, 140, 10 (*utāpi*). In ṚV. 10, 12, 5 *api* seems to form part of a simile: 'the god Mitra is there like (also) the call of those who go (*śloko na yātām api*)'.[20]) A translation 'also' or 'and' must be adopted in cases such as BhāgP. 10, 43, 18 *hataṃ Kuvalayāpīḍaṃ dṛṣṭvā tāv api durjayau* ... 'when he had seen that K. was killed and (also) that (these) two were invicible ...'

It would appear to me that starting from a vague and general idea of 'by, near, add to this' most uses of the Sanskrit particle may be satisfactorily explained. Some examples of various contextual occurrences are to follow.

AV. 9, 5, 14 *vāso dadyād dhiraṇyam api* 'he should give a garment (and) also gold'; 11, 7, 12; 12, 1, 4; Nīlak. on Gaṇeśag. 2, 29 *svayaṃ karmāṇi kuryāt tān api kārayet* 'one must oneself perform actions and (also) make them perform actions'. Notice also cases such as AV. 10, 10, 33 *ṛtam ... api brahmātho tapaḥ* 'truth ... also brahma and moreover asceticism'; Somadeva, KSS. 75, 85 'this king has a favourite, this one, further (*api*), called S., has a daughter'. Sometimes, however, the translation is simply 'and' (MudgU. 1, 5 *prakṛteḥ puruṣasyāpi samutpattiḥ*).

Although not rarely left untranslated and obviously regarded as an expletive the particle very often expresses a weak 'on the other hand' in passages such as AV. 11, 1, 33 'I place thee, O rice-dish, among the descendants of the seers; for those who do not belong to the seers, on the other hand, there is no (portion) here" (*nānārṣeyāṇām apy asty atra*). This use may be considered a contextual variant of the general idea 'it must be added'. Thus *api* may draw the hearer's attention to a change of the subject. AV. 12, 2, 4 'if the flesh-eating fire has entered this stall ... I send him far away; let him go to the fires which (existing in addition to the former, i.e., on the other hand) have their seats in the waters (*apsuṣado 'py*)'; Kāl. Māl. 1, 2 'every old poem is not good because it is old; nor (*na cāpi*) is every new poem to be condemned because it is new'. Hence also the possibility of 'inserting' some phrases such as 'on his (her, etc.) part': ṚV. 6, 54, 4 'who worships him, him Pūṣan does not forget (*na tam puṣāpi mṛṣyate*). Cf. e.g., also Mbh. 3, 59, 7 (*Nalaḥ*)

20) Geldner, o.c., III, p. 139 unconvincingly proposes to alter the text.

suṣvāpa dharaṇītale, Damayanty api ... nidrayāpahṛtā '(N.) went to rest (but not to sleep), D. on her part was carried off by sleep'.

According to some authorities[21] *api* 'means' 'but' ('Gegensätze aneinanderreihend') in cases such as Manu 8, 320 'on him who steals more than ten .... corporal punishment (shall be inflicted), *śeṣe 'py ekādaśaguṇaṃ dāpyaḥ* 'in other cases he shall be fined eleven times as much'. However, the adversative idea is implied in the context and *api* here also indicates that the statement contained in the latter part of the sentence forms an addition to that expressed in the former part. Elsewhere however the translation 'next' is decidedly to be preferred: Manu 1, 76 f. 'from space spiings the wind...; next from wind (*vāyor api*) proceeds light'.

The idea 'add to this' also impresses us as equivalent to the meaning of English 'too' in contexts such as AV. 12, 4, 39 where the brahman's cow – which is an uncommonly mighty animal – is said to radiate heat, when she goes about *goṣu gaur api,* which must mean 'as a cow, too (i.e., as merely a cow, no more than an ordinary cow) among cows'.[22] The particle is clearly additive in nature in Mbh. 3, 53, 13 and similar passages: 'neither among the celestials, nor among the yakṣas (a class of divine beings), not any more than among men ... (*mānuṣeṣv api cānyeṣu*). Hence also phrases such as *api siñca api stuhi* 'sprinkle as well as praise' (the cumulative *api*: 'et en outre'[23]) mentioned by Pāṇini 1, 4, 96, and the occurrence of the particle in enumerations of the type AV. 13, 4, 16 'not the second, not the third, also not the fourth is he called (*caturtho nāpy ucyate*)'. Sometimes a translation 'likewise' is admissible: AV. 14, 2, 29 'the ... young women who are here, and likewise (*api*) the old ones...'. In passages such as Somadeva, KSS. 75, 71 'the youth took such complete possession of her eyes that she did not regard her modesty which was her (only) ornament, too' (*lajjām svām apy alaṃkṛtim*) *api* may suggest the idea of '(her sense of shame) and add to this (the fact that this, under the given circumstances, was her 'ornament')'; in Dutch 'nog wel'.

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21) See e.g., the *Petrograd Dictionary*, I, 306.

22) *The Savayajñas*, p. 105; 371.

23) Renou, L., 1948. *La grammaire de Pāṇini*, Paris, p. 52.

24) The girl is bathing. An incorrect translation is '... did not regard her own modesty, or even ornaments" (Tawney, C. H., and N. M. Penzer, 1926. *The Ocean of story*, VI, London, p. 169).

In Bhaṭṭ. 6, 134 *pañca pañcanakhā bhakṣyā ye ... teṣāṃ naiko 'py ahaṃ kapiḥ* 'I, a monkey, am not one of these five edible animals...' the commentary explains *eko 'py* as *anyatamaḥ* 'one of more (than two)'. In fact the particle may, in combination with the negation, indicate that the monkey must not be regarded as an (another) addition to the number of edible animals to which he would, in the other case, belong. In Dutch: 'van die ben ik niet ook een'.

Just like the German *auch*, the Dutch *ook* etc. which 'auch sehr häufig (in Beziehung auf ein Einzelfall) angewendet wird, ohne daß das Allgemeine (or other cases of the same nature) besonders angegeben ist',[25]) *api* occurs also in word groups such as ṚV. 8, 45, 19 *yac cid dhi te api vyathir jaganvāṃso amanmahi* 'obschon wir ja des Glaubens sind, einen Fehltritt gegen dich begangen zu haben...' (Geldner). In a text such as Manu 3, 101 *tṛṇāni bhūmir udakam .../ etāny api satāṃ gehe nocchidyante* the Petr. Dict. gives as a German equivalent 'wenigstens' which in any case is better than 'grass, a place, water ... even these never fail in the house of those who live in accordance with the dharma'.[26]) Here again the fundamental idea is 'in addition to other things (which remain unmentioned)'. In Hitop. 19, 7 *yadi vā dhanaṃ nāsti tadā prītivacasāpy atithiḥ pūjyaḥ* the complement is explicit: 'if one cannot spend money a guest must at least (in any case) be honoured with friendly words'. This sense of 'at least' (in Dutch 'dan tenminste') is, as far as I am able to see, only a contextual variant of 'in addition to (something else)'. This 'something else' is not considered in a passage such as Rudrakavi, Rāṣṭr. 12, 47 *Rāma cen mama dadāsi na saṃgaṃ taṃ viyogam api yena ... dehi ...* 'O Rāma, if thou doest not give me association (with thyself), grant me then at least that (form of) separation by which ...'.

From Pāṇ. 1, 4, 96 *api padārthe* '*api* in the sense of a meaning of a substantive which is to be supplied' one should not conclude that the particle may be equivalent to *mātrā-* 'measure, quantity', *bindu-* or *stoka-* 'drop' or that *api* here is 'a separable preposition with the genitive'.[27]) The words *sarpiṣo 'pi syāt* 'il doit y avoir un peu de

[25]) Paul, H., 1908. *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Halle a. S., p. 36.

[26]) 'Even': Jha, G., 1921. *Manu-smṛti*, II, 1, Calcutta, p. 124. Bühler, G., 1886. *The laws of Manu*, Oxford, left the particle untranslated.

[27]) Apte, V. S., 1957. *The practical Sanskrit-English dictionary*, I, Poona. p. 155, 16.

beurre fondu',[28] 'there may perhaps (at least) be a drop of ghee'[29] contain, in an elliptic construction,[30] the partitive genitive; there are parallels without *api*, which here – as far as the facts allow us to see – may at least originally have marked an addition to a non-expressed nominal concept to which the statement (the process) contained in the sentence not or not necessarily applies.

After a numeral *api* is translated by 'all (the)': '(es) deutet an, daß mit der angegebenen Zahl die ganze vorhandene Anzahl erschöpft sei',[31] *trayo 'pi* 'all three of them'. Also after *sarva-* 'all' 'it emphasizes the idea of completeness'. It even occurs in cumulation with *sarva-*, a numeral and another particle: Manu 3, 135 *sarveṣv eva caturṣv api*. With regard to Mbh. 3, 70, 16 the Petr. Dict.[32] hesitates between 'auf der ganzen Erde' and 'sogar ...', whereas others translate 'there is no other charioteer like you in this world' (*pṛthivyām api*). May we suppose these phrases to have originated in the contextual use of *api* in some sense like 'in addition to (each other, the preceding ones), associated one with the other', i.e. '(al-) together'?, or – what seems more probable – was, here also, *api* an indication of an addition: Bhoj. 91 *kapibhir jambūphalāni sarvāṇy api cālitāni* 'the monkeys shook the jambū fruits (and add to that, i.e., nota bene) all of them'? Cf. e.g. Rām. 3, 11, 34, 216* ... if you should fight, there will be peace (not only that, but even) in all three worlds'.

I fail to see why that use of the particle which is somewhat inadequately called concessive[33] should be regarded as an independent 'meaning'. As the optative can by itself give utterance to a supposition etc.[34] sentences such as BĀU. 6, 3, 7 *api ya enaṃ śuṣke sthāṇau niṣiñcet, jāyerañ chākhāḥ* 'even if one should pour this on a dry stump (or: 'if ... even on a dry stump'), branches would be produced' do not, as far as the verb is concerned, present any difficulty. Although this contextual variant of *api* gives rise to the usual

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[28] Renou, *La grammaire de Pāṇini*, p. 52.
[29] Apte, l.c.
[30] Speyer, 1896. *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax*, Strassburg, p. 19, § 65 n.
[31] Petr. Dict. I, 306, 9; cf. also Speyer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 225; § 298.
[32] Petr. Dict. I, 307, 9.
[33] See Hartman, o.c., p. 23.
[34] I refer to my book *The character of the Indo-European moods*, Wiesbaden 1956, p. 58 f.; for the construction, p. 62.

translation 'even', it is clear that the particle conveys essentially its normal force: (in the above example) '(not only elsewhere, but) what is more, on a dry stump'. There is moreover no reason to distinguish, with Hartman, the combination *yady api* as a special case. The translation of this group (either 'even if' or 'if') is determined by the context – or by the interpretation preferred by the reader – not by (*yady*) *api*.[35]) ChU. 5, 24, 4 *yady api caṇḍālāyocchiṣṭam prayacchet* ... may, for instance, admit of both translations: 'if one should offer the leavings (even) to an outcast ...' This more or less emphatical use ('even') is indeed very frequent: Hitop. 1, 19 *vidhur api grasyate* 'even the moon is swallowed': among various objects which while remaining unmentioned may be swallowed is also the moon of which this fate is perhaps hardly expected. Expressions such as *muhūrtam api* 'even for a moment, only a moment, for a moment at least' are explicable from 'in addition to another brief space of time which may, or may not, have actually passed'.

Sentences such as Mbh. 1, 38, 2 *nāhaṃ mṛṣā bravīmi svaireṣv api kutaḥ śapan* are translated 'I have never told a lie even in indifferent matters, how much less when uttering a curse'; here *api* helps to characterize *svaireṣu* as an addition which is to intensify the force of the negative utterance. Cf. also Bhaṭṭ. 6, 110 ... *bāṇair bhavān atyantagaḥ śriyaḥ/ api saṅkrandanasya syāt* 'you would overcome even the majesty of Indra with arrows ...'; 6, 132 *karma vyādhasyāpi vigarhitam/ māṃ ghnatā bhavatākāri* 'by killing me you have done a deed which is scorned even by a hunter'. In connection with an absolute locative the translation may be 'even although' in BhāgP. 10, 42, 28 *adarśanaṃ svaśirasaḥ pratirūpe ca saty api* '(an evil omen is) not seeing one's own head if there is an image (in a mirror, viz. of the other part of one's body)'.

The sense '(even) though' may be explained in the same way. Manu 2, 150 *bālo 'pi vipro vṛddhasya pitā bhavati* 'a brahman, even though he himself be a child, becomes the father of an aged man': a brahman is in any case his father, also in the extreme case in which he is a child. Here belongs also the construction exemplified by Manu 3, 53 *alpo 'py evam mahān vāpi* 'be it small or great' <

[35]) Here the Finnish author relies too much on the translations of the ancient upaniṣads given by S. Radhakrishnan (*The principal upaniṣads*, London 1953).

'also if it is ...'. In other contexts the translation must be 'even': Manu 2, 79 *mahato 'py enaso ... mucyate* 'he is freed even from great sin' (not only from lesser guilt, but also ...'). Pañc. Intr. *tad etān paśyato mahad api rājyaṃ na saukhyam āvahati* 'therefore, when I see them (my stupid sons), my realm, large though it may be, does not bring me pleasure'. One may subscribe to Apte's[36])statement that *api* (often translatable by 'even' or 'even if') is most frequently used to show real or imaginary opposition (*virodhe*): Kāl. Śāk. 1, 18.

The use of *tathāpi* 'even thus, even so, nevertheless, yet, still' is clear, especially in contexts such as Rām. 2, 110, 3 'even if (*yady apy*) a husband be poor, yet (*tathāpi*) ...', *yady api* being 'sometimes understood'.[37])

It is certainly not correct to hold, with Speyer,[38]) that *api* 'when of time may be 'only, but'', because the particle does not 'express time': Mbh. 1, 139, 16 (in part of the manuscripts) *muhūrtam api* (cr. ed. *iva*) *tṛptiś ca bhavet* '(if I kill him my) gratification will only be momentary', this sentence being spoken after other considerations. The force of the expression may actually have been something like 'an hour, notice this additional particular'. Similarly, Kāl. Śāk. 61, 5 Ch. *ekenāpi saṃdhinā* 'nur unter einer Bedingung' (Petr. Dict.), more literally: 'only with this one (notice this addition) understanding that'.

The combination *ko 'pi* 'somebody etc.' which does not appear in pre-classical texts, is no doubt composed of the indefinite *ka-*[39]) and *api* in its above function. The essentially correct explication furnished by Wackernagel- Debrunner[40]) – 'weil *api* oft an *kaś cit* und *kaś cana* steigernd angeschlossen wurde, schien es an der Erzeugung der indefiniten Bedeutung mitbeteiligt, und so kam man darauf, es unter Weglassung von *cit* und *cana* in deren Sinn mit dem Interrogativum (read the pronoun *ka-* etc.) zu verbinden', should in my opinion be amplified, because it is a reasonable assumption that the mere pronoun (used without *cid* etc. as an indefinite) could also be followed by *api*. Sometimes some shade of meaning such as 'add to this' or 'on his (its etc.) part' is, perhaps, still perceptable: thus

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36) Apte, o.c., I, p. 155, 4.
37) Apte, ibidem, 3.
38) Speyer, *Sanskrit syntax*, p. 332, § 423 R.
39) See above, note 10.
40) Wackernagel, J., and A. Debrunner, Göttingen 1930, p. 571.

Mbh. 3, 65, 5, 305 *yayur ... naiva kvāpi prapaśyanti* 'they went away, they did not (it must be added) see anywhere ...'; *kvāpi* 'somewhere', *kim api* and *ko 'py* occur in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th sentence of Bhav. Utt. 6, 11 which consists of four sentences with different subjects. In contradistinction to the ancient indefinite pronoun the group may – at least in the period in which it appears in our texts – introduce a sentence: Kāl. R. 1, 46 *kāpy abhikhyā tayor āsīd* 'some (an indescribable) beauty was (visible) in them'.

The explication of the frequent occurrence of *api* at the beginning of an interrogative sentence (*api praśne*) does not seem to present special difficulties: Kāl. Śāk. 2, 16 + *apy asti śakuntalādarśane kutūhalam*? 'are you interested in seeing Śakuntalā?' and ibid. 1, 22 + *api tapo vardhate* 'does (your) austerity prosper?' The question which in itself was in all probability recognizable by a special intonation[41]) could be qualified by particles and nothing prevents us from assuming that a particle of the force attributed in this article to *api* could be among these. 'Passing on to (another subject)' or some other modification of the general idea of 'add to this' is conceivable as an introduction to a question, especially when some questions followed each other in strings: e.g. Rām. 1, 51, 4 ff. 'O sage, was (*api*...) my mother shown to you ...?; did (*api*...) she ...?; did (*api* ...) you ...?; did (*api* ...) my mother ... etc.'; Bhav. Utt. 2, 5+. The doubt which is implicit in these questions can also be expressed in the outward form of a wish containing an optative: Manu 3, 274 *api naḥ sa kule jāyād yo no dadyāt* ... 'may such a man be born in our family who will give us ...'. The particle is not however obligatory and its function is, as argued elsewhere,[42]) quite different from that fulfilled by the optative mood. That it is not the initial *api* but the character of the entire utterance which causes us to adopt the above translations appears for instance from Mbh. 3, 62, 35 'my servants will try to find him; or (also) he will come of his own accord': *api vā svayam āgacchet*;[43]) Rām. 5, 33, 25 *api jīvitahetor hi Rāmaḥ satyaparākramaḥ* 'even were his life to be

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[41]) For tone as a characteristic of interrogative sentences see e.g., Gardiner, A. H., 1932. *The theory of speech and language*, Oxford, p. 303; De Groot, A. W., 1962. *Inleiding tot de algemene taalwetenschap*, Groningen, p. 270 f.

[42]) *The character of the Indo-European moods*, p. 135.

[43]) Roy, P. C., *The Mahābhārata translated*, Calcutta no date, II, p. 143 inserts 'perhaps'.

made forfeit, Rāma is essentially brave'. One might at first sight ascribe the sense 'perhaps' to *api* which occurs (in some mss.) Mbh. 3, 57, 16 *kadācid vinaśed api;* the origin of this turn of speech may however lie in 'in addition to other possibilities he might at some time or other perish'. I am not inclined to explain the expression *api kuryāt* 'he will no doubt do' (Pāṇ. 3, 3, 152) otherwise.[44])

The combination of *api* and an optative meant by Pāṇini, 3, 3, 154 and exemplified by *api śirasā giriṃ bhindyāt* 'it seems that he (even) will (be able to) cleave the mountain with his head' ('action qui ne se réalise pas effectivement' [45]) admits of a similar explication. In *api cauro bhavet* 'there is perhaps a thief' the author expresses doubt (*api śaṅkhāyām*): one might perhaps compare the use of Engl. *then* in contexts such as: *then what about French, can you speak that language?*, *then* being equivalent to 'further'. It is not necessary to assume, with Apte and others, a special function of the particle. The same explication may apply to sentences expressing a supposition or possibility (*saṃbhāvanā:* Pāṇ. 1, 4, 96): *api stuyād viṣṇum* and to utterances expressing contempt etc. Frequently combining with *nāma, api* thus occurs in sentences expressing a wish, hope, probability, supposition etc.: Bhav. Utt. 2, 8 + *tad api nāma R. ... idaṃ vanam alaṃkuryāt* 'it is then to be hoped (I would wish) that R. will adorn this forest (by his presence)'; Māl. 1, 10+; Kāl. Śāk. 1, 19+ *api nāma ... syāt* 'can she be ...?' Although this construction may have originated in contexts in which *api* could stand for a more or less clear 'also' or 'then', it is largely stereotyped.

Occurring in sentences containing an imperative the particle marks, according to Apte,[46]) 'indifference on the part of the speaker, where he permits another to do as he likes' (*anvavasarga-* or *kāmacārānujñā*), the imperative being often softened: Bhaṭṭ. 8, 92 *api stuhy api sedhāsmān;* as these words continue a series of menaces etc. the particle may here also have had a similar function, and as it obviously was not rare in utterances of this type, it may have assumed, in the course of time, the character of an essential element. One might in translating into Dutch, resort to 'dan' or 'dan maar': 'you may, then, praise me (or you may, then) drive me away!'.

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[44]) Cf. also Speyer, *Sanskrit syntax*, p. 264, § 343 c 5.

[45]) Renou, L., *La grammaire de Pāṇini*, p. 162.

[46]) Apte, o.c., I, p. 155, 13.

The general force of the particle assumed in this article explains the frequence, in certain texts, of groups such as *anyatrāpi* (e.g. MaitrU. 2, 6 *anyatrāpy uktam* 'it is said (also) elsewhere' and of combinations such as Mbh. 3, 60, 10 *na cānyad api kiṃcana* 'nor for anything else', as well as phrases of the type Mbh. 3, 60, 15 *tasya bhūtasya no duḥkhād duḥkham apy adhikaṃ bhavet* 'may that being bear grief that is still greater than ours': *apy adhikam* 'still more'.

No useful purpose would be served by enumerating here all combinations of particles such as *u api* which ṚV. 8, 56, 4 clearly means 'in addition, besides' ('sheep, slaves and, besides, a woman'); Mbh. 3, 67, 19 *yadi vā ..., yadi vāpi ... yadi vāpi* 'whether he is wealthy, or also (on the other hand) poor, or also unable ...'.

Although it does not appear possible to trace the historical development of the use of this particle in detail the conclusion seems warranted that the fundamental unity of its so-called senses is in, and through, a large variety of contextual uses, clearly perceptible.

ĀBHARAṆA

In the dictionaries the word *ābharaṇa-* is rendered by "ornament, decoration ; Schmuck, Schmucksache". From a quotation found in a commentary on the Śakuntalā 4, st. 5, which runs as follows : *syād bhūṣaṇaṃ tv ābharaṇaṃ caturdhā parikīrtitam āvedhyaṃ bandhanīyaṃ ca kṣepyam āropyam eva tat,* we learn that among these "ornaments" various kinds of objects are reckoned: *āvedhyaṃ bhūṣaṇam,* that means *kuṇḍalādi,* "ear-rings etc.", *bandhanīyam,* "ornaments that are to be tied (bound)" viz. *kusumādikam,* "flowers and the like", *kṣepyam,* by which *nūpurādikam* is meant, "ankle-ornaments etc.", and, lastly, *āropyaṃ bhūṣaṇam* which is explained by *hārādi* "strings or garlands of pearls etc."

As for the etymology of the word, it is beyond doubt that it is to be connected with *bharati* "to bear, carry, wear, keep etc.". Now *bharati* being used in connection with *valaya*—"a bracelet" (Śakuntalā st. 6, 6), with *mālā-* "a wreath, garland" (Rām. 3, 46, 16), with *vāsas-* "a garment, dress" (RV. 7, 77, 2) ; with *kārpāsikavastrayugam* "a set of cotton garments" (Varāham, BS. 48, 72) etc., we might feel inclined to explain the strength of the preposition in the same way as e.g. in *ā-dadhāti* or *ā-dhatte* (cp. Manu 11, 104 *svayaṃ vā śiśnavṛṣaṇāv utkṛtyā-dhāya cāñjalau,* "himself having cut off his...and having taken them in *his* joined hands" ; Rām. 5, 33, 2 *śirasy añjalim ādhāya* "having laid *his* joined hands on his head"), or in *ā-nī* (cp. Mbh. 3, 75, 25 *pariṣvajyāṅkam ānayat,* "clasped him in *his* arms") and the like : it is a well known fact that the preposition *ā* sometimes "confers on the verbal form the value of the middle voice". And, in fact, some scholars have explained the meaning of the word in this way : "that which is taken up or put on, viz. ornament,...trinkets".[1]

On second thoughts, however, this explanation does not seem to be the correct one.

In the oldest texts the verb *ā-bharati* is found many a time, and here it does not mean "to wear, to put on", but "to bring". In the Atharvaveda-saṃhitā the verb is used to point out the idea of bringing. "Whence brought he the hair, whence the sinew? etc.", *kutaḥ keśān...ābharat* ; "who brought the colour in the body?", *ko asmin varṇam ābharat,* is asked in a mystic hymn on the constitution of man (11, 8, 12 ; 16 ; see also 11 ; 17 ; 10, 2) ; 11, 1, 15 we read "bring these waters", *apa ā bharaitāḥ* ; often we see that heaven is brought ; 11, 5, 19 Indra by brahmacarya brought heaven for the gods ; cp. 14 ; 4, 23, 6 ; 8, 9, 14 ; 10, 8, 21 ; 13, 2, 39. Compare also 9, 4, 10 ; 13, 1, 55 ;

1. Rhys Davids-Stede, *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary,* s.v.

6, 11, 1. Besides, we hear that a cloud is "brought by rays", that means "composed, produced by rays" : 13, 4 ; 9 (cp. *sam-bhṛ-*). Often the object of the verb is refreshment, a "good thing" etc. : 18, 4, 88 (RV. 5. 6, 4) "Agni...bring thou food for thy praisers" (*iṣaṁ stotṛbhya ā bhara*); cp. 18, 1, 21 (ṚV. 10, 11, 4) ; 1, 6, 4 (cp. 19, 2, 2) "weal for us be the waters which are brought in a vessel (*kumbha ābhṛtāḥ*)" ; 3, 10, 7 "O spoon, bring you to us *iṣ-* and *ūrj-*" ; 6, 63, 4 "Agni, bring thou to us good things" (RV. 10, 191, 1), *sa no vasūny ā bhara,* see also 4, 32, 3 ; 5, 7, 6 ; 4, 13, 5 ; 18, 3, 67.

Then the verb is used in connection with words which denote things possessing a magical power, such as lifegiving plants, medicinal herbs, shells. In a hymn to the plants (8, 7), for the restoration of health of a person, which is used (Kauś. 26, 33 ; 40 Comm.) "with a gilt and lacquered amulet (*maṇi-*) made of splinters of ten kinds of trees" (Keśava, ad Kauś. 26, 33-40), these plants are addressed in the following way : (8) *agner ghāso apāṃ garbho yā rohanti punarṇavāḥ...bheṣajīḥ santv ābhṛtāḥ* "...be they remedial when brought". Now, these plants give life to men (*puruṣajīvanīḥ,* 4), they are powerful, they have strength and *vīrya-* and therewith they free the sick person from the *yakṣma* (5), they take away the effect of poison and witchcraft, and therefore "they must come hither" (10) ; diseases and demons tremble at these plants, when they are brought (*ābhṛtābhyaḥ* ; 14 f.) ; "so many all-remedial (herbs) I bring unto thee (*ā bharāmi tvām abhi*; 26). 6, 137 is used in a remedial rite to fasten and increase the hair (see Kauś. 31, 28 and Keśava) ; a *kācīmācīphalamaṇi-* is to be bound on ; the first stanza says that the herb is brought (*ābharat*) from Asita's house. 6, 52, 3 (to free a person from unseen demons etc.) "the life-giving plant of Kaṇva... have I brought". The hymn 4, 10, in connection with a pearl-shell amulet, protects from evils and distress : (4) "this... shell, born in the sky, in the ocean, brought hither out of the river (*sindhutas pary ābhṛtaḥ*) is for us a life-prolonging *maṇiḥ* (amulet)". The commentary of Dārila ad Kauś. 42, 23 says that AV. 2. 4 is used with a *Jaṅgida*-amulet (*maṇi-*), which is to be bound on with a string of hemp (see also the commentary ad AV. 2, 4, 5), now this also is brought from the forest (5). See also 7, 45, 1. AV. 3, 24 is used (Kauś, 21, 1 ff.) to promote the prosperity of grain ; the herbs and the words of the person speaking are "rich in milk" (1), "accordingly I bring[1] by thousands those that are rich in milk, and who make the grain much" (2). Also of magic, of power, magical power itself the verb is used. According to Kauśika, AV. 8, 5 is used in a rite for general prosperity (Kauś. 19, 22) and in a rite against witchcraft (Kauś. 39, 7) ; the hymn accompanies the binding on of an amulet ; in stanza 9 the witchcrafts that are made by ourselves and those that are *anyebhir ābhṛtaḥ,* "brought by others" are exorcized. In 5, 31, which is a hymn to counteract magic, we read that "he" has brought it (the witchcraft) by what was not the road (10, *apathenā jabhārainām*), and we send it forth (*pra hiṇmasi*) by the road. See also 6, 125, 2 ; 10, 1, 19. AV.

1. Here the Paipp. text has *ā harāmi.*

11, 5, 22 in a hymn which extols the brahmacārin, runs as follows : *tān sarvān brahma rakṣati brahmacāriṇy ābhṛtam,* "all these brahman brought in the brahmacārin protects". In a hymn to prolong the life of a person, 8, 2, the words *asuṃ ta āyuḥ punar ā bharāmi* (1) seem to be used to accompany the pouring of a stream of water on a person's hand or another act that has the same blessing and protecting effect.[1]

So it is clear enough that in the Atharvaveda the word is used by preference in connection with words denoting magical power or a thing that possesses such power etc. which is "brought to" a person. Likewise it is used of the composing parts of the body, which are "brought" to man, that means which will form part of him. "To wear" an amulet, however, is expressed by *bharati* : AV. 2, 4, 1 ; 8, 5, 12 *yo bibhartīmaṃ maṇim ;* 19, 26, 1.

Also in the Ṛgveda *ābharati* is met with many a time. I confine the quotations to these : in the literal sense "to bring (near)" the word is used e.g. RV. 10, 102, 10 *nāsmai tṛṇaṃ nodakam ā bharanti,* see also 3, 29, 1. Very numerous are the cases, where a god, generally Indra or Agni, is requested to bring near a treasure, wealth, (e.g. 1, 12, 11 *sa* (= Agni) *na stavāna ā bhara...rayim vīravatīm iṣam*), "refreshment" (5, 6, 18), "splendour" (*dyumna-* 5, 10, 1), "drink" (*pitu-*, 8, 32, 8), "food" (cp. 10, 20, 10), "swiftness" (*vāja-* 1, 63, 9) ; the property of the enemies (2, 30, 10), cattle (3, 54, 15) ; superiority, power, strength (*savas-*, 6, 19, 6-8) ; *bhāga-* 2, 17, 7 ; *brahma prajāvad* "an offspring granting brahma" 6, 16, 36, "a collection of riches, properties" (*sambharaṇaṃ vasūnām* 7, 25, 2). Now and then the verb is found without an object ; 3, 36, 9 (to Indra) *ā tu bhara* ; 8, 33, 12 ; sometimes a god is the donee : 1, 4, 7 soma to Indra ; 2, 36, 5 ; 6, 16, 47.

Consequently, we may conclude that in the Ṛgveda *ā-bhar-* does not mean "to wear", but to "bring near", especially of things that are desired or that have a strengthening or invigorating power. The adjective *ābharadvasu-* means "bringing near property" (5, 79, 3, Uṣas). In later times the meaning of *ābharati* remains the same. It is connected with *sūdam* (Taitt. Br. 1, 2, 1, 3), *ūrjam* (1, 2, 1, 2) ; *śatrūyatām bhojanāni* (2, 4, 1, 1), *vasu* (2), *rāyaḥ* (4, 7), *bhagam* (2, 5, 4, 1). As for other shades of meaning in the Purāṇas I refer to the dictionaries.

As for the substantive *ābharaṇa-*, in Sanskrit literature it is clearly a synonym of the words *alaṃkāra-* and *bhūṣaṇa-*, whose semantical development I discussed elsewhere.[2] See for instance the description of the adorning of Śakuntalā : Kāl. Śak. 4th aṅga : *āharaṇoidaṃ rūvaṃ,* "your beauty worthy of ābharaṇāni", *idam alaṃkaraṇam,* "here is a.", st. 5 *ābhāraṇāni, aṇuvajuttabhūṣaṇo aaṃ jaṇo,* "we have never used *bhūṣaṇāni,*" *āhraṇaviṇioaṃ* = "the employment of *ābharaṇāni*". Just as many others which are usually rendered by "ornaments" and which in fact often have that meaning, *ābharaṇa-* is

1. See WHITNEY-LANMAN, *Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā*, p. 476.

2. See my papers : The meaning of the word *alaṃkāra,* NEW INDIAN ANTIQUARY, *Thomas-Festschrift* (1939) pp. 97-114 and the meaning of ved. *bhūṣati,* printed by Messrs. Veenman & Sons, Wageningen, Netherl., 1939.

often to be translated by "talisman, amulet"; frequently the articles meant are at once "ornaments" and "amulets". An instructive text is AV. 14, 2, 12. During the marriage ceremonies when the wedding-cortège comes in sight of the house (Kauś. 77, 14) the mantra AV. 14, 2, 12 has to be recited :... *paryāṇaddhaṃ viśvarūpaṃ yad asti syonaṃ patibhyaḥ savitā tat kṛṇotu,* "what of many forms is fastened round about it, let Savitar make that agreeable to the husbands"; see also Āpast. G. S. 6, 6[1], where *asyām* for *asti,* which seems to be the better reading. Now Haradatta's commentary to Āpast. says : *yac cāsyām paryāṇaddhaṃ sarvato bandhubhir naddhaṃ viśvarūpam ābharaṇādi,* so it understands the words of the "ornaments" worn by the bride. If so, it is clear that Savitar is not invoked to make ornaments pleasant to the wearer, but objects that have a magical value. The first half of the stanza gives suport to this view : "I cause the bridal-car to be viewed by the houses...with a friendly, with a not evil eye", *aghoreṇa cakṣuṣā.* Both the Mantra and the *ābharaṇādi* are to protect against the working of the evil eye.[2] Elsewhere, ointment is put on the eye of a person, whose evil eye may be dangerous.[3]

That the *ābharaṇāni* of marriage ceremonies etc. are at the same time *māṅgalyāni,* appears from many a description, see e.g. Kāl. Kum. 7, 1 ff. Up to this day gold and other metals have their protective influence particularly in the form of ornaments.[4] RV. 1, 33, 8 we read that the Dasyus were "adorned with maṇis" : *hiraṇyena maṇinā śumbhamānāḥ* and in spite of that "ornament", that is to say in spite of its magical assistance, they were vanquished by Indra. The dakṣiṇā to be given when the apaciti-ekāha is offered, is a chariot drawn by four horses[5]; the charioteer wears a niṣka and a garland, the chariot itself is "adorned" with golden ornaments, mirrors[6], a tiger's skin etc., it is *sarvābharaṇī,* fitted out with all kinds of containers of magical power.

Animals too often wear amulets, see from many texts e.g. Varāh. B. S. 44, 5, where the word *pratisara-* is used : for their well-being "horses should have attached to their necks (*puṣṭyartham*), by means of a *pratisara-* marking nuts, rice, costus... "In the *Śabdakalpadruma,* s.v. Mārgapālī we read[7] *mārgapālīṃ prabadhnīyād... pādape kuśakāśamayair divyāṃ saṃskārair*

1. M. WINTERNITZ, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell,* Wiener Denkschriften, 1892. p. 70.

2. "Ein Hauptübel, vor dem man sich durch das Amulett zu schützen trachtet, ist der neiderfüllte "böse blicke," SCHRADER-NEHRING, *Reallexikon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde,* I, p. 48. See also CALAND, *Altindisches Zauberritual,* p. 79, n. 27.

3. Śāṅkh. G. S. 1, 16, 5 ; RV. 10, 85, 44.

4. Cp. CROOKE, *An introduction to the popular religion and folklore of Northern-India*; Allahabad, 1894, p. 194.

5. See Jaim. Br. 2, 103 ; Āp. Śr. S 22, 12, 4—9, etc.

6. See CALAND, *Jaim. Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl,* p. 157.

7. Quoted by J. J. MEYER, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation,* II, p. 163.

bahubhir mudā. bhūṣayitvā gajān aśvān aṅkuśagrāhisaṃyutān govṛṣān mahiṣāṃś caiva ghaṇṭābharaṇabhūṣitān etc. Here the elephants, horses, etc. are adorned with bells and *ābharaṇāni.* Bells are, as is well-known, effectual instruments to avert all kinds of evil, they are " die mit Segens- und Abwehrkraft angefülten Gefäsze der Vegetations- und Zeugungsgenie ".[1] And, doubtless, the *ābharaṇāni* have the same function. Varāh. B. S. 44, 15 the elephant and the horse are to be *honoured* (*abhyarcitaṃ kṛtvā*) with new clothes, perfumes, garlands and incense, which are able to avert evil too. See e.g. the gajaśānti Viṣṇudh. Pur. 2,50 ; Garuḍa Pur. 210, 34 ff.

During the feast of Bali (see e.g. Bhaviṣyott. Pur. 140) the city is adorned and fitted out with amulets against wordly and unseen dangers ; the whole description is worth reading. Newly-ripened corn is an evil-averting substance[2] : its ears are used in adorning and at the same time protecting a city : Skanda Pur. 9, 19. Also nāgavallī, " piper betle " is used in embellishing a city during feasts ; furthermore we know that it brings *saubhāgyam* (Varāh. B. S. 77, 35). During the Kaumudī-festival, which is to be kept *lokavibhūtaye* " for the welfare of the world ", and other feasts many adornments are made.[3] When prince Aja arrived at the house of his relative, it was adorned with auspicious decorations (Kumāras. 7, 16), such as garlands, flags, etc. Mats. Pur. a. 274 we read that " ornaments " are to be offered together with a sword, a shield and an armour. It is well-known that jewels, pearls, etc. dispel danger, sickness, sorrow, procure wealth, renown, good luck etc. : see e.g. Varāh. B. S. 80, 1 ; 18 ; 81, 27 ; 82, 6 ; on the other hand they are called *bhūṣaṇāni* : 81, 31 ; 36.

Threads and the like, coloured ones by preference, were used as ornaments and amulets.[4] I mention also the *rudrākṣa.*[5] A conch-shell is a very auspicious thing[6] : it is called an *ābharaṇa-* e.g. Kādambarī p. 157, 3 (N. S.[7]).

I need not dwell on the custom of binding a thread with ornaments (*rakṣā-, rakhi*) on the wrist of a person to preserve him from evil,[7] nor on the little tubes of gold or silver which are tied above the elbows as charms to ward off ill-luck.[8]

Also anointing may be called a kind of *ābharaṇa-*, see e.g. the commentary to Kādambarī p. 171, 7 N. S.[7] *dhavalaṃ yac candanaṃ tasya sthāsakā ābha-*

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1. MEYER, *o.c.*, p. 164.
2. Not only in the Sanskrit literature. See e.g. CROOKE, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India* 21, p. 153 ; MEYER, *o.c.* II, p. 115.
3. I refer to MEYER, *o.c.* II, 193 ; II, 145, etc.
4. See also CROOKE, in *Hastings' Encycl. of Religion and Ethics,* III, 444.
5. See also ROGERIUS, *Open-deure,* ed. CALAND (Den Haag 1915) ; pp. 58 f. ; *Ziegenbalg, Malabarisches Heidenthum,* ed. CALAND, pp. 113 ff. ; CALAND and FOKKER, *Drie oude Portugeesche Verhandelingen over het Hindoeisme* Akad. v. Wet., Amsterdam, Lett. N. R. 16, 2(1915), p. 198.
6. Cp. MEYER, *o.c.* I, p. 233.
7. See e.g. M. M. UNDERHILL, *The Hindu religious year* (1921), p. 134.
8. See e.g. DUBOIS-BEAUCHAMPS, *Hindu Manners,* etc., p. 336.

raṇaviśeṣāḥ. And, as is well-known, anointing brings prosperity, see e.g. Kāl. Kum. 8, 20 ; 23 ; Ath. Veda 10, 3, 17 let the varaṇa- amulet anoint me with *yaśas ;* cp. 3, 22, 2 ; 4, 9 ; 19, 31, 12 ; 19, 44. 10, 1, 25 the kṛtyā is *abhyaktā, aktā-* and *varaṃkṛtā- ;* see also Gobh. G. S. 1, 8, 8 ; 13 ; 3, 1, 19, etc.

In this way, a great number of examples might be given to demonstrate that decorations represent bringing of luck and prosperity.

We know that with many people the belief exists that magical power can be transferred to other persons or other things which, in that case, are filled with power themselves. Talismans or amulets are power-filled objects which are portable and attachable ; they have their effect on the spot where they are fastened. Power can be attracted by means of talismans, the wearer, his body, the whole of his person are filled with strength, are strengthened by such a power-bearer : it gives "luck", protection in general ; it confers upon him courage, cleverness and all kinds of desired qualities.[1]

Now it is very clear from many a Vedic text that also in ancient India amulets were intended to give power, energy, strength, etc. AV. 19, 28, 1 *imaṃ badhnāmi te maṇiṃ dīrghāyutvāya tejase,* "I bind for thee this amulet, for long life, for energy"; as appears from the second half of the stanza it is an amulet of darbha (TBr. 1, 4, 4, 1). AV. 10, 6, 6 Bṛhaspati put on an amulet in order to force (*maṇim...ojase*). AV. 10, 3 is used in connection with the binding on of amulets of varaṇa for welfare : 10, 3, 12 *sa me rāṣṭraṃ ca paśūn ojaś ca me dadhat.* cp. also 19, 31, 9 ; 12 : *tejo 'si tejo mayi dhārayādhi rayir asi rayiṃ me dhehi.* 10, 6, 4 "let this golden-garlanded (*hiraṇyasrag-*) amulet which bestows...greatness..." ; 19, 24, 6 "thou hast dressed thyself in this garment", *parīdaṃ vāso adhithāḥ svastaye* ; 4, 10. 7 "that pearl (*kṛśana-*) I bind on thee in order to prolong thy life strength" etc. By an amulet (*maṇi-*) the abundance of food and savours are seized (*gṛhṇe* ; AV. 19, 31, 4). The use of magical cords, strings, garlands is found all over the world ; these objects may possess strengthening and protective power.[2] I only refer to the story found in the Kathāsaritsāgara, ch. 37, where a person succeeded in recovering his strength by the virtue of the string on his neck (37 ; 128).[3]

Therefore the original meaning of *ābharaṇa-*, to my mind, appears to be "the bringing near, the attracting (of magical power, of a desired kind of power) ; bringing near ; the object that brings near, with which they bring near, they attract power". To the same root belongs also the word *avabhṛtha-*,

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1. As for literature on the subject : CROOKE, *o.c.*, III, 442 ; B. FREIRE MARRECO, *ibidem*, III, 392 ; PFISTER, in *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* I, 375 ; my paper in *Acta Orientalia,* 15, 311ff. In Dutch : Lieveheersbeestjes, bepaalde armbanden ; hœfijizers *brengen geluk aan ;* see also LÉVY-BRÜHL, *La mentalité primitive,* p. 390.

2. See the essay in TAWNEY-PENSER's translation of the Kathāsaritasāgara, 6, pp. 59 ff.

3. Cp. also Kādambarī, p. 447, 1 ; p. 547, 5 ; p. 380, 3. N. S.[7] Compare A. SCHARPÉ, *Bāṇa's Kādambarī,* Diss. Utrecht 1937, p. 97.

which, as is well-known[1], is the putting (carrying) in, or letting float away on water of the things which are to be disposed of after the offering, because they have come into contact with the mysterious magical substance. Also the sacrificer and his wife have a bath and put on new clothes after having removed mysterious power which has clung to them. As appears from the mantras the sacrificer takes consecration (dīkṣā) with him into the water[2]. Now the water itself becomes a container of magic power[3]. As I take it the word *avabhṛtha-* means "the carrying into or pushing in of the magical substance,—power (into the water)".[4] As for the verb *apabharati* we may compare Taitt. Br. 3, 1, 2, 11 *apa pāpmānaṃ bharaṇīr bharantu* etc.; see also RV. 10, 59, 8. The compound *ud-bhar-* is used AV. 2, 3, 4; 5 in connection with a remedy, brought up "from out of the ocean, from out of the earth" [Śat. Br. 7, 5, 1, 22 *sarvasmāt pāpmana* "has lifted me from out of all evil"]. Compare also *pari-bhar-* AV. 7, 45, 1.

That *ābandhana-* is met with (cp. e.g. Viṣṇudh. Pur. II, 109, 37 *ṛcānayā samastena sūktenābandhanaṃ bhavet*; cp. *rākhibandhana*; *ā-bandh-* AV. 3, 9, 3; 5, 28, 11; *ābandha-* "ornament" Lex) does not, of course, present difficulties, no more than the word *gaošāvāra* which is found in the Avesta (Yt. 5, 127; 17, 10), and rendered by "earrings; Ohrschmuck, Ohrgehänge"; "*gaoša-* ["ear"] *ā-vara-* was im Ohr getragen wird... vgl... ai. *ābharaṇa-*n. "Schmuck".[5] In the first place here the form of the word is *ābhara-* and in ancient Indian too there is a difference of meaning between derivatives in *-a-* and *-ana-*: *ānayana-*, subst. "bringing towards"; *ānaya-* "the girdling on with the sacred cord"; *āharaṇa-* : *āhara-* etc., and, moreover, it is possible that *āvara-* originally had the same shade of meaning as *ābhar-* in Vedic and Sanskrit.[6] The compound *karṇābharaṇa-* is found also in Sanskrit: e.g. Comm. to Kādambarī N. S.[7], p. 220, 23; 337, 16.

1. See OLDENBERG, Religion des Veda, pp. 407 ff; KEITH, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, pp. 303 f. As for *sam-bhṛ* compare OLDENBERG, Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft, p. 94, n. 1.

2. Maitra. S. 3, 6, 2; Āpast. S. S. 13, 21, 3.

3. See OLDENBERG, *o.c.*, p. 409, n. 2.

4. CALAND already remarked: "*avabhṛtha* bedeutet eigentlich wohl: "Das (im Wasser) Hinabbringen", Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba, Verh. Kon. Ak. v. Wet. Amsterdam, Lett. N. R. 24, 2 (1924), p. 352.

5. See Chr. BARTHOLOMAE, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (1904), 486.—In Persian however, *goshwār* or *gosh-wāra* (<**gauša-bāra*) "an earring etc."

6. See BARTHOLOMAE, *o.c.*, 938.

ĀYATANA

I

AFTER Roth's [1] and Grassmann's [2] enumerations of a large number of so-called different meanings of the root *yat-* and Geldner's [3] unsuccessful attempt at determining the sense of the verb *yatati*, *yatate* in the Veda much has already been written to clarify this semantic problem. Oldenberg's [4] proposal to replace translations such as '(sich) anschliessen, sich vereinigen, gleichkommen, streben nach, in Streit geraten, wetteifern, zustreben, eifern, sich beeifern, eilen, etc.' [5] by 'sich aufstellen' for *yatate*, 'jemandem die (rechte) Stelle anweisen' for *yatati*, *yātayati* was no doubt an improvement.[6] In recent times the same sense was, independently and convincingly, determined by

[1] O. Böhtlingk—R. Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, VI, St. Petersburg 1871, 24 ff.

[2] H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda*, Leipzig 1873, 1079 f.

[3] K. F. Geldner, in R. Pischel—K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, III, Stuttgart 1901, p. 11 ff.

[4] H. Oldenberg, in *Indog. Forsch.* 31 (1912/13), p. 127 ff.

[5] Compare also Geldner, *Der Rigveda in Auswahl*, I Glossar, Stuttgart 1907, p. 140.

[6] Cf. also P. Thieme, *Der Fremdling im Rigveda*, Leipzig 1938, p. 41; the same, *Mitra and Aryaman*, Connecticut Acad. of Arts and Sciences 41 (1957), p. 39 f.

Benveniste [1] for the Iranian group of cognates, namely Avestan *yat-*, etc. which he found to mean ' arriver à son terme naturel, atteindre sa place naturelle, parvenir à la place due, arriver à destination '. Too much impressed by the element of competition in Vedic society, Renou [2] however preferred to consider ' se mettre en ligne ' (pour le combat)—' image militaire passée vite au champ des compétitions pacifiques ' —to have been the ' idée initiale ', hence also ' se mettre à son rang '.[3] In this he agreed with Geldner [4] who regarded *yat-* as a military term for ' aufmarchieren, sich in Schlachtordnung aufstellen '.

What remains to be made is an attempt to determine as exactly as possible the meaning of the noun *āyatana-* which, being variously explained and translated,[5] ranks among those ancient Indian terms which are of special ritual, religious and psychological interest and to provide those interested with a survey of its main contextual uses. Roth's [6] translation

[1] E. Benveniste, ' La racine *yat-* en indo-iranien ', in *Indo-Iranica, Mélanges G. Morgenstierne*, Wiesbaden 1964, p. 21 ff. Compare also B. Schlerath, ' Das Königtum im Rig- und Atharvaveda ', *Abh. Kunde d. Morgenl.* 33. 3, Wiesbaden 1960, p. 37 ff.

[2] L. Renou, *Études sur le Vocabulaire du Ṛgveda*, Pondichéry 1958, p. 44 ff.; cf. also the same, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, XIII, Paris 1964, p. 107.

[3] See also M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasztes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, III, Heidelberg 1964- , p. 5.

[4] Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, III, p. 20 f.

[5] Many translations will be mentioned in the survey of texts which is to follow.

[6] Roth, op. cit., I, 674.

'Stützpunkt, Ruhepunkt, Sitz, Stelle, Heimath' is, it is true, not completely wrong but is, to say the least, in need of qualification and interpretation. Yet the question may indeed arise whether the word is rightly considered to have 'originally' or 'literally' meant 'field or place' [1] in general, or 'base',[2] 'seat',[3] 'field of operation' [4] or also 'dwelling-place, resting-place, abiding-place, meeting-place',[5] or even 'Ort der Heeresaufstellung, die Aufstellung selbst',[6] or whether 'siège, fondement' [7] is a better general translation, or 'place or sphere for meeting or of origin; ground of happening',[8] etc. Benveniste [9] does not illustrate his definition of *āyatana-* 'emplacement naturel, approprié à la nature ou aux fins de l'objet considéré' by textual evidence. About Renou's [10] suggestion to trace a

[1] S. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, I, Cambridge 1951, p. 88, n. 1.

[2] W. Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, Calcutta 1931, p. 229 (10. 1. 7).

[3] L. Silburn, *Instant et Cause*, Paris 1955, p. 87 (*PB*. 10. 1. 7).

[4] Dasgupta, op. cit., p. 85, n. 5.

[5] *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, II, Copenhagen (1965), p. 128.

[6] Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, III, p. 21.

[7] Silburn, op. cit., p. 418.

[8] H. Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, London 1932, p. 122; 241.

[9] Benveniste, op.cit., p. 25.

[10] Renou, E. V. P., VII, p. 48. In *L'Inde classique*, I (by L. Renou and J. Filliozat, Paris 1947, p. 576) the same savant observes: 'The term for "temple" is *āyatana-*, i. e. *devāyatana-* "point d'attache du dieu", the same term indicating the domestic hearth (*agnyāyatana-*) in the Vedic ritual.'

semantic development—' *āyatana-* après le Ṛ̣V., " point d'appui " évoluant en " forteresse ", puis " temple, résidence " '—I am rather sceptical, because we should not disregard the possibility that meanings which in our texts appear one after the other may, as contextual variants, have co-existed in the same period.[1] Oldenberg [2] explained the term as ' der Ort, wo etwas hingehört oder von dem aus es besondere Erfolge erringen kann ', drawing also attention to its semantic relationship to *bandhu-*, *nidāna-*, *pratiṣṭhā-*.[3] It would therefore be worth while to trace the common semantic kernel of all the contextual senses exhibited by our documents, and moreover to explain, in connection with the older uses of the term, its applications in later texts, the more so as for instance most authors on Buddhist psychology, in which it plays a considerable part, have—sometimes to the detriment of their argument [4]—omitted examining its history in the ancient Indian texts. In this connection some attention may be drawn also to the explanations of the term by the ancient Indians themselves.

[1] I refer to my article on the study of ancient Indian religious terminology, *Hist. of Religions*, I (Chicago 1961), p. 243 ff.

[2] Oldenberg, op. cit., p. 129.

[3] Cf. Oldenberg, *Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft*, Göttingen 1919, p. 117, n. 1.

[4] E. Conze even went so far as to contend that the etymology of the term is extremely doubtful (*Buddhist Thought in India*, London 1962, p. 108), an opinion which needs no combating.

II

That *āyatana-* could denote the place to which one returned after having been on a journey ('die Heimstätte'[1]) appears from *KS.* 23. 9: II. 85. 19 (*KKS.* 36. 6) *pravāsī svam āyatanam āgacchati.* Hence the statement 'a (brahman) who has no *āyatana-* is dependent on others' (34. 9: III. 43. 2).—Its sense of 'place of arrival' no doubt underlies the explication furnished by Rāma's commentary on *Rām.*, I. 43. 13 cr. ed. 'by achieving this (the descent of the Ganges) *bhavān prāpto dharmasyāyatanaṃ mahat: dharmaprāpyasthānaṃ brahmalokarūpam.*[2] A similar more or less 'metaphorical' use occurs Kāl., *Kum.*, 7. 5, *saṃbandhibhinno 'pi gireḥ kulasya snehas tadekāyatanaṃ jagāma* 'although the love of the family of the Mountain (Himālaya) was divided over many relatives, it came to her (Umā) as the only *āyatana-* (i.e. it focused on her)'.

In connection with the *vyaṣṭi-* ('individuality, separated aggregate') Sadānanda, *Vedāntasāra*, 139 uses the compound *bhogāyatana-* 'die Stätte des Genusses, —der Empfindung' (Petr. Dict.): *sthūlabhogāyatanatvāj jāgrad iti cocyate.* Cf. also statements such as *ātmano bhogāyatanaṃ śarīram.*[3] Compare also Bāṇa, *Kād.*, 103

[1] W. Rau, *Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien*, Wiesbaden 1957, p. 127.

[2] 'Thou art possessed of the highest dharma' (Hari Prasad Shastri, *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki*, I, London 1952, p. 89) is no more than a paraphrase.

[3] This use is explained by *avacchedakam* 'what limits, bounds, characterizes' (Jhalakikar, *Nyāyakośa*, p. 128).

avinayānām ekaikam apy eṣām āyatanam (*āsthānam* ' place, site, base ', comm.).—The ' right place to arrive somewhere ' could no doubt also be denoted by this term; *GB*. 2. 2. 17 *prācīnaṃ hi dhiṣṇyebhyo devānāṃ lokāḥ, pratīcīnaṃ manuṣyāṇām. tasmāt somaṃ pibatā prāñco dhiṣṇyā nopasarpyāḥ. janaṃ hy etad, devalokaṃ hy adhyārohanti. teṣām etad āyatanaṃ* (' place of arrival ') *codayanaṃ* (' way out ') *ca yad āgnīdhraṃ ca sadaś ca.*

In connection with the sacrificial horse and its escort it reads *ŚB*. 13. 4. 2. 17 (cf. *KŚS*. 20. 2. 16) ' your sojourn (*vasati*- " lodging-place ") shall be in the house of a chariot-maker, for there is " l'abri qui convient (*āyatana*-) au cheval " [1]).' This injunction may be based on the function of the chariot-maker which has to do with horses rather than on his wealth.[2]

That does not however imply that an *āyatana*- necessarily consisted of a building. Yama offers to Naciketas not only wealth and offspring, but also a long life and *bhūmer mahad āyatanam* (*KaU*. I. 23), that is, the commentary suggests ' sovereignty over vast domains of earth ' (*pṛthivyā vistīrṇam āśrayaṃ maṇḍalaṃ rājyam*). Probably, ' possession of a home, of a place to live in '. Cf. *ChU*. 7. 24. 2 ' people call cows and horses, elephants and gold, slaves and wives, fields and *āyatana-s* " greatness ".' The text may refer to ' homesteads ',[3] which according to the *Mitākṣara* is meant

[1] P. E. Dumont, *L'Aśvamedha*, Paris—Louvain 1927, p. 38.
[2] As seems to be Rau's supposition, op. cit., p. 112.
[3] In any case no ' sanctuaries ' (Petr. Dict., I, 674).

by *Yājñ.* 2. 154 *ārāmāyatanagrāmanipānodyānaveśmasu*: 'a dwelling-place (of any kind: *niveśanam*), a tract of land, assigned (as a share) for (building) a straw-dwelling, etc.'

Thus the term is used for a regular place, position, etc. occupied by a person: *AiB.* 5. 4. 15 'with this (hymn) with its feet firmly founded (i.e. the number of the syllables of the feet of which are fixed for every case), he [1] practises the (recitation of the hymn of praise for the midday) pressing; verily, thereby he is not removed from (deprived of) his own position' (*etena sūktena svayam āyatanāt svakīyagṛhāt kadācid api na pracyavati*, comm.). Similarly, 5. 5. 3; 5. 6. 12; 5. 12. 11; 5. 13. 4, etc. Although the order of the words in the verse is no argument, an *āyatana-* may as a 'homestead' have been something between a 'garden' and a 'village'.

The ritualists invented a ritual technique to 'remove' another man's cattle and to keep it in one's own *āyatana-*. The motivation given *MS.* 4. 2. 4: IV. 26. 11 is based on the fact that the sacrifice is the 'destination' of cattle: *yajño vai paśūnām āyatanaṃ. sve vā etad āyatane yajamāno bhrātṛvyasya paśūn vṛṅkte, 'napakrāmukā asmāt paśavo bhavanti.*

From the frequent use in passages such as *KS.* 10. 3: I. 127. 21 'he who of two who have taken position (lined up) themselves (in a conflict) is without an *āyatana-* loses the day'; 24. 10: II. 101. 10; 29. 1: II.

[1] A. B. Keith, *Rigveda Brāhmaṇas*, Cambridge Mass. 1920, p. 228: 'it', but compare the commentary.

166. 7; *MS.* 2. 1. 2: II. 3. 2; 8. 1: III. 92. 2; 3. 10. 5: III. 136. 14; *KKS.* 38. 3, etc. Rau [1] concluded that 'dem Worte zugleich auch die Vorstellung der Festigkeit anhaftete'. In my opinion only so far as the possession of any foothold or basis of operation is a *sine qua non* for success.—The words *AiB.* 2. 36. 1 *te vai devāḥ sada evāyatanam akurvata* were translated: 'the gods (who engaged in contest with the *asura-s* for the possession of these worlds) made the *sadas* their refuge' (Keith; *nivāsasthānam*, comm.); 'they conquered their rivals', the text continues, 'from the *sadas*'.—A similar idea with ritual application: *MS.* 2. 1. 2: II. 3, 2 *yqtaro vai saṃgṛbhāṇayor āyatanavattaro bhavati sa jayati. iyaṃ vā agnir vaiśvānaro. imām evāyatanam akṛta. asyāṃ parākraṃsta. jayati saṃgrāmam.*

The man who knows the *āyatana-* which is identified with the 'mind' (*manas*) becomes the *āyatana-* of his own people as well as of other people (*BĀU.* 6. 1. 5. 14): this must mean something like 'refuge'. According to the Viṣṇuite *Atri-saṃhitā* (31. 32) God is the great *āyatana-* of all.

The author of *TS.* 5. 2. 10. 2 dealing with the 'symbolism' of the first layer of bricks (construction of the great fire-place) and prescribing that these are to be put down in various directions (East, South, etc.) observes that by placing five 'metre bricks', which are cattle, in the North, one thus brings cattle, being born, to one's own *āyatana-* ('homestead'). Why? The

[1] Rau, op.cit., p. 127.

North, the region of men (*ŚB*. 14. 1. 2. 2) and of the living (*KB*. 18. 14) is also the region of the sacrificer's offspring or people (*ŚB*. 14. 2. 2. 8); cf. also *ŚB*. 4. 5. 8. 11; *KS*. 20. 9; *KKS*. 31, 11 insert in explanation *uttarādāyatanāḥ paśavaḥ;* cf. also *KKS*. 39. 2.—The question as to whether *JB*. 1. 133 also alludes to the sacrificer's own *āyatana-* must, I think, be answered in the affirmative (compare the other statements contained in this section): *iḍā-* means cattle, the *rathaṃtara-* (which is identified with the earth: *ŚB*. 9. 1. 2. 36) an *āyatana-* (' fester Boden ', Caland, ?), by *iḍā* and *rathaṃtara* one establishes these cattle in an *āyatana-*, i.e. in their proper place, in a home (one gives them a destination).

A ' brick ' of *dūrvā* grass is, in erecting the great fire-place, to be put down to support (*dhṛtyai*) animals —for these do not find pleasure in want of grass— with two verses for standing firmly (*pratiṣṭhityai*): *TS*. 5. 2. 8. 3; *KS*. 20. 6: II. 24. 19; *KKS*. 31. 8 say instead: *paśubhya evaitad āyatanaṃ* (which here must be a pasture where they are established).—The place which a bird, tied by a string, cannot reach to alight on, in contradistinction to the place where it is bound (the *bandhanam*) is called an *āyatana-* (*ChU*. 6. 8. 2), i.e. the bird's ' destination ' rather than a ' resting-place ' (Radhakrishnan).—In explanation of *VS*. 8. 23 ' be thou nor adder nor viper ' the author of *ŚB*. 4. 4. 5. 3 observes that ' snakes ' haunts are like wells (pits) ' (Eggeling: *kūpā iva hi sarpāṇām āyatanāni*). Here the term *āyatana-* must mean ' a natural station or habitat, feeding-place,

place frequented (by these creatures) for rest and safety, resort, etc.'—This use may have been present in Aśvaghoṣa's mind when he wrote *BC.* 11. 27 *hiṃsreṣu teṣv āyatanopameṣu kāmeṣu* '. . . in those passions, which are like dangerous haunts' (Johnston); cf., in Pāli, *araññāyatana-* 'a forest haunt'. However, the term being, in Buddhism, very well known in a technical sense,[1] Johnston[2] was reminded of *SN.* IV. 175 where the six external *āyatana-s* are compared to thieves.

The term is also used metaphorically in connection with entities which from the modern point of view are inanimate. The sun which collects the vital breaths (living beings) in its rays is said to be their *āyatana-*, their 'destination' where they gain safety, life eternal and the final goal (*PU.* 1. 10; cf. 6): Hume[3] and Radhakrishnan[4] translate by 'support'; Bousquet[5] by 'séjour'.

The lotus, being the first-born of the primeval waters,[6] was floating on their surface. 'Prajāpati saw in the midst of the waters the broad earth (which he had laid on the lotus: *TB.* 1. 1. 3. 6) as the foundation (*pratiṣṭhā-*) of the world (of moving creatures: *jagataḥ*);

[1] See further on, VII.

[2] E. H. Johnston, *The Buddhacarita*, II, Calcutta 1936, p. 154.

[3] R. E. Hume, *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, Oxford 1934, p. 379.

[4] S. Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upaniṣads*, London 1953, p. 654.

[5] J. Bousquet, *Praśna Upaniṣad*, Paris 1948, p. 12.

[6] Cf. my book *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 68; 192.

that (what he saw) had arisen from the *āyatana-* ("Standort", Caland, *ĀpŚS.* 5. 2. 4 g) of the lotus' (*TB.* 1. 2. 1. 4).

Dealing with the pot bricks (*kumbheṣṭakā-s*, i.e. pots filled with water which is said to be food and *amṛta*) *TS.* 5. 6. 2. 5 states that he who knows their *āyatana-*, ('home' Keith) and arrangement (*kḷpti-*) becomes possessed of an *āyatana-* and things go in order for him (*kalpate 'smai*). One has to put them down along the furrows (cf. also *ĀpŚS.* 16. 32. 5) which have been made in the sacrificial ground, because that is their *āyatana-* and arrangement. One should know that these furrows (cf. *ŚB.* 7. 2. 2. 10 ff.) are thought to be saturated with ghee, sap, milk, i.e. life-sap and food.

Indian physicians distinguish ten principal 'seats' of vitality or physical life, the so-called *prāṇāyatana-s*, namely head, heart, navel, bladder, etc.,[1] see e.g. also *Yājñ.* 3. 93. The body is the *āyatana-* of pleasure and sorrow (*Ind. Spr.* 2966). The body being a 'place' to which diseases may come together, where they so to say arrive or settle down, Manu 6. 77 calls it a *rogāyatanam*. Compare also Suśruta, e.g. *Nid.* 16. 3; 302, 7 *mukharogāḥ pañcaṣaṣṭiḥ saptasv āyataneṣu* (*sthāneṣu*, comm., 'localities'[2]).

The compound *śūlāyatana-*, Viś. *Mudr.* 7. 3—meaning 'executioner'—literally characterizes this functionary as the one 'who resorts to (or whose field or

[1] See J. Jolly, *Medicin*, Strassburg 1901, p. 43.

[2] K. Kunjalal Bhishagratna, An English transl. of the *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, II, Benares 1963, p. 101.

department is) the stake for impaling criminals' (Bahuvrīhi). Another explication for similar compounds—exhibiting senses which 'seem hardly, if at all, to occur in Sanskrit, but most of them apparently in Pāli'—is tentatively proposed by Edgerton[1]: *śilpāyatana-* not only means 'department or field of art' (*Mahāv*. II. 434. 16 *sarvaśilpāyatane hi . . . kuśo kumāro viśiṣyati*), but is also 'personally' applied to practitioners of the arts: 'perhaps as "vessels", *pātra-* of the arts', e.g. *Mahāv*. III. 113. 12 *sarve ca kapilavāstavyā śilpāyatanā* 'all the artisans of Kapilavastu'. Compare also *Avad*. I. 231. 3 *tīrthyāyatana-* 'a heretical teacher' ('vessel of heresy?', Edgerton), Pāli has *titthāyatana-* (nt.) only as 'heretical school or doctrine',[2] but never clearly of persons. The sense 'worthy object' (*anāyatana-* 'unworthy object') quoted by Edgerton from *Divy*. 419. 22 f. *mā tvam anāyatane* (sc. 'heretics') *prasādam utpādaya, api tu buddhadharmasaṃghe prasādam utpādaya. eṣa āyatanagataḥ prasāda iti* may be a special use of 'place of arrival, destination, place where something ought to arrive'.[3]

Once Prajāpati saw the twelve-day rite with the metres transposed (*AiB*. 4. 27. 1 *vyūḷhachandasam*[4]: *svasvasthānaviparītatvenoḍhāni sthānāntare prakṣiptāni chandāṃsi yasmin dvādaśāhe so 'yaṃ vyūḍhacchandāḥ*, comm.).

[1] F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, New Haven 1953, p. 101.

[2] 'harbour of error': L. Sadaw, in J. P. T. S., 1913, p. 117.

[3] See above.

[4] I refer to *PB*. 10. 5. 13; *ŚB*. 4. 5. 9. 1, etc.

This was the result of the fact that the metres had desired one another's *āyatanam*, that is the place where they normally are and fulfil their task.

Thus I would not, on the strength of the parallelism between *ŚĀ*. 3. 3=*KauṣU*. 1. 3 *aparājitam āyatanam* [1] and *ChU*. 8. 5. 3. *aparājitā pūḥ*, both in connection with Brahman's residence, infer that an *āyatana-* always and necessarily was a 'stronghold' (in the military sense of the term).[2] Sometimes however this term may metaphorically be applied. In using introductory verses containing the name of the Marut-s one posts or stations oneself (*yatate*) on the gods' invincible *āyatana-*, because the Marut-s (their allies to which they resort [3]) are their *aparājitam āyatanam* (*TB*. 1, 4. 6. 2)[4]: *devānāṃ madhye maruto balavatvena parājayarahitaṃ sthānam. tato devasambandhiny aparājite sthāne prayatnaṃ karoti* (comm.).—The man who ritually slaughters five victims, the heads of which are to be used in building up the fire-place, is *ŚB*. 6. 2. 1. 14 said to prepare an *āyatana-* ('home', Eggeling) for Agni; 'for', the text continues, 'nowhere but in one's *āyatana-* does one enjoy oneself (*ramate*); but the *āyatana-* means food . . .' (the slaughtered animals are food; seeing that Agni

[1] A. B. Keith, *The Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, London 1908, p. 18: 'palace'.

[2] Rau, l.c.

[3] 'In fact Indra accomplishes all his celestial exploits in their company', A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg 1897, p. 80 f.

[4] See Oldenberg, op. cit., p. 128; not, with Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, III, p. 20 'Schlachtordnung'.

turns unto the sacrificer: 15). It is clear that Agni is dependent on the *āyatana-* which is at the same time a place for him to exist in and food. Cf. ibid. 16.—A high state gained by ritual merit is *AiB.* 1. 30. 31 described as follows: *tad daivaṃ kṣatraṃ, sā śrīs, tad ādhipatyaṃ, tad bradhnasya viṣṭapaṃ, tat prajāpater āyatanam, tat svārājyam:* here we are given the option between ' domain, homestead, residence, etc.'.

Sacrificial worship is in a similar way the unconquered (i.e. victorious) *āyatana-* of the gods: *TB.* 3. 3. 7. 7 *etat khalu vai devānām aparājitam āyatanaṃ yad yajñaḥ:* they normally resort to it. That is why one should, when standing there, pronounce the formula ' Hence Indra wrought mighty deeds ' (*TS.* 1. 1. 12 i); ' for it was while standing here that Indra drove . . . away the evil spirits ' (*ŚB.* 1. 4. 5. 3). The same thought is expressed through *sthānam* ' (the right) place (of staying) ': *TS.* 1. 1. 12. 1 *viṣṇoḥ sthānam asīta indro akṛṇod vīryāṇi* (*viṣṇor=yajñasya,* Mahīdhara on *VS.* 2. 8).[1]—I am however convinced that both words are not synonymous. May the difference between them be illustrated by the line quoted from Cāṇakya 32 in the Petr. Dict. I. 674 *nāsamīkṣya paraṃ sthānaṃ pūrvam āyatanaṃ tyajet?* Cf. Kāl. *Ragh.* 3. 36 Śrī (the goddess of royal fortune) ... went over from her original ' seat '

[1] For the identification of Viṣṇu and the sacrifice, see my book *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism,* Utrecht 1954, p. 71 ff. For parallel passages A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School,* Cambridge 1914, I, p. 14.

(*mūlāyatanāt*), the old king, to the new (resting) place (*āspadam*), called ' the young king ' . . .'.

Returning to the gods we may compare also *TS.* 2. 2. 6. 1 *saṃvatsaraḥ khalu vai devānām āyatanam; etasmād vā āyatanād devā asurān ajayan. yad vaiśvānaraṃ dvādaśa-kapālaṃ nirvapati devānām evāyatane yatate* ' the year is the *āyatana-* of the gods; from that *āyatana-* the gods drove the *asura-s* in defeat. In that he offers to (Agni) Vaiśvānara (who is identified with the year) on twelve potsherds, he stations himself on the *āyatana-* of the gods.' As is well known, the year, the most vigorous of all things (*ŚB.* 8. 4. 1. 16), the strength of all beings (8. 4. 1. 20) and their foundation (8. 4. 1. 22), which is ' imperishable ' (*akṣayyam* 11. 1. 2. 12), was gained by the gods, so that they become immortal (ibid.). It is not their ' Schlachtfeld ',[1] but a ' place ' [2] which belonged to them and to which they regularly resorted in order to achieve a definite purpose.

In ritual terminology *āyatana-* was used for ' emplacement de tel ou tel officiant, de tel ou tel foyer ' ; [3] the term ' stronghold ' is not applicable here. Cf. e.g. *ĀpŚS.* 1. 6. 11 where the *āyatanāni* (' die Feuerstätten ' Caland [4]) are distinguished from the *agnyagāra-* (' das

[1] Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, III, p. 21, quoting the commentary: *yasminn āyatane yuddhaṃ bhaviṣyati tasmin pradeśe.*

[2] ' Standort ': Oldenberg, op. cit., p. 128, drawing also attention to the combination *yat-*: *āyatana-*.

[3] Renou, *Études sur le voc. du ṚV.*, p. 29.

[4] W. Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, I, Göttingen—Leipzig 1921, p. 18.

Feuerhäuschen', e.g. 1. 2. 10), i.e. the place for keeping the three sacred fires. See also *ĀpŚS*. 5. 10. 1 and 3 *gārhapatyāyatane; KŚS*. 4. 8. 24; *ĀśvŚS*. 2. 5. 2; *GB*. 1. 3. 13 *āhavanīyaṃ . . . gārhapatyasyāyatane pratiṣṭhāpya; BhŚS*. 1. 6. 14; 6. 7. 7. Of the (receptacle of the) fire in which a dead body is to be cremated, as distinguished from the place or spot (*bhūmibhāga-*) where this is to take place: *ĀśvŚS*. 6. 10. 13 *triḥ prasavyam āyatanaṃ parītya: śmaśānāyatanam*, comm.; *ĀśvGS*. 4. 2. 10. The term may also apply to the fire-place when it is removable or transportable: *ĀśvGS*. 4. 6. 2 *agniṃ sahabhasmānaṃ sahāyatanaṃ dakṣiṇā hareyuḥ*.—Agni was quite naturally believed to be or exist in the loose earth, rubbish, ordure (*purīṣa-*), i.e. 'la terre prélevée dans l'aire sacrale, et avec laquelle on forme un crassier ou tertre à rebuts'[1]: cf. *TS*. 5. 5. 7. 5 *ye 'gnayaḥ purīṣyāḥ praviṣṭāḥ pṛthivīm anu*. This explains *MS*. 3. 1. 3: III. 4. 10 *purīṣaṃ vā agner āyatanam*.—Or the regular or usual place of the sacrificial ladles is meant: *ĀpŚS*. 2. 14. 13. cf. 2. 9. 15 ff. (the *prastara-*, the grass on the *vedi-*, where they are laid in a definite order and manner, so that they do not touch each other, etc.); *BhŚS*. 2. 16. 11; 2. 19. 8, etc.—*BhŚS*. 13. 11. 9; 13. 13. 8; 13. 14. 10 a cup is to be put down at its 'proper place' with the formula *TS*. 1. 4. 2. 1 *eṣa te yoniḥ* 'this is thy womb'.[2]—*BhŚS*. 1. 11. 5. 'towards the South of the Āhavanīya fire (the *adhvaryu*)

[1] L. Renou, 'Védique *púrīṣa*', in *I. I. J.* 4 (1960), p. 104 ff.
[2] For *yoni-* see further on, V.

should arrange the *āyatana-s* (' seats ') for the Brahman and the sacrificer '; *ŚB.* 13. 5. 2. 16 ' they sit down in their several places ' (*yathāyatanaṃ paryupaviśanti*).

The soma-draughts-in-waters (cf. *ŚŚS.* 8. 9. 2) are placed within the sacrificial bank (*antarvedi*)—i.e. in the sacred place on which to present the oblations, etc.—, for that is *āyatana-* of the Soma (*KB.* 18. 8: *GB* 2. 4. 6).

The distance from here to another contextual application, namely ' regular seat of a divinity ' is not great; ' etymologically and originally ' this is certainly not a ' piled up seat or altar ' or ' a resting-place or support ', but rather a ' sanctuary in the open or within an enclosed space '.[1] See e.g. *AVPar.* 70 c 30: 4 *devatāyatana-*; Manu 4. 46 (: *devatāgāra-*, Kull.); *Rām.* 2. 3. 18; 2. 25. 4 (*deveṣv* (v. l. *caityeṣu*) *āyataneṣu ca devālayeṣu*, comm.); 2. 71. 42 vulg.[2] Thus we are informed that private religious practices (*vrata-s*) are performed in *āyatana-s*, i.e. ' to any place sacred to Śiva (etc.) where the devotee may choose to reside '.[3] One should not establish oneself in or near *liṅgāyatanacaityeṣu* where images of the gods behave ominously (*AVPar.* 70 c 30. 2): ' sanctuary ' though vague, is a safe translation. For ' images of gods standing on

[1] See also S. Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, Calcutta 1946, p. 148, n. 50.

[2] These places are not accepted by P. L. Vaidya, *Rāmāyaṇa* crit. ed., II, Baroda 1962.

[3] K. K. Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, Sholapur 1949, p. 202.

their shrines' see also *Mbh.* 6. 108. 11 cr. ed. *devatāyatanasthā devatāḥ.* They are the object of *pūjā.* Twilight-worship must (*AVPar.* 41. 1. 2) be performed outside the village in a hidden *tīrtha-* (sacred bathing-place, etc.) or *āyatana-*. Ibid. 71. 1. 4. speaking of wailing and crying of *liṅga-s*, *āyatana-s* and pictures, should not induce us to translate the term by 'image'; cf. 71. 12. 4. Although the parallel Vallālasena, *Adbhutas.*, p. 430 (Benares 1905) *liṅgasthāpanakeṣu* 'stands or places for *liṅga-s*' not necessarily furnishes us with a complete synonym, ibid. 71. 17. 10 *liṅgasyāyataneṣu* [1] may refer to 'places or structures (suitable) for a liṅga'; cf. *liṅgapīṭha-* 'pedestal of a liṅga'. Another place from which we derive useful information on the connotations of the term is Viśvakarman, *Vāstuśāstra*,[2] 72. 1. where the expression *taitalāyatana-* is explained as follows: *taitalāḥ*: *hariharabrahmādayo devāḥ, teṣām āyatanaṃ bimbāropitaśaktīnāṃ teṣāṃ satatavāsārhaṃ mukhyaṃ geham* 'a dwelling of best class, fit for a permanent residence of gods such as Viṣṇu, etc., whose energies have been caused to enter images'. Hence a statement such as *Mbh.* 3. 76. 7 from which it appears that such a sanctuary could be the object of worship: *arcitāni ca sarvāṇi*

[1] J. T. Hatfield, '*The Auçanasādbhutāni*', in *J. A. O. S.* 15, p. 218 translated: 'on the altars of an image'. (For this text see also O. Böhtlingk, *Verh. kg. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, ph.-h. cl. 44, (1892), p. 188 ff.); 'Phallos-ständer' D. J. Kohlbrugge, *Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa über Omina*, Thesis Utrecht 1938, p. 157.

[2] Viśvakarma, *Vāstuśāstram*, a treatise on town-planning, ed. by K. Vāsudeva Śāstrī and N. B. Gadre, Tanjore 1958, p. 693.

devatāyatanāni ca. Compare also *Rām.* 1. 43. 13 cr. ed. Yet, one is sometimes, intelligibly enough, in the dark about the form, size, etc. of such a 'sanctuary'[1]: cf. e.g. *Rām.* 2. 25. 7 vulg. *vedyaś cāyatanāni ca sthaṇḍilāni* ('pieces of open ground prepared for sacrifices') *ca viprāṇām.* On the eve of Rāma's consecration he slept in the sanctuary of Viṣṇu (*Rām.* 2. 6. 1 cr. ed.) *śrīmaty āyatane viṣṇoḥ*), which is held to have 'quite probably (been) an apartment in Rāma's palace dedicated to Viṣṇu'.[2] '(It) must be a temple large enough for a royal couch; but this is in the city'.[3] In general, Hopkins[4] may be right in arguing that the usual translation 'temple'[5] or 'chapel'—'probably without special consideration of the architectural value of a "temple"',—is at least for the *Mahābhārata* inaccurate. In that epic no ornate description of a god's earthly home is to be found.[6] 'On the contrary, in many descriptions of sylvan hermitages and impromptu settlements, the *āyatanāni* appear as hastily erected

[1] Cf. also Coomaraswamy, *Geschichte der indischen und indonesischen Kunst*, Leipzig 1927, p. 53.

[2] C. V. Vaidya, *The Riddle of the Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 12 quoted by A. Guruge, *The Society of the Rāmāyaṇa*, Maharagama 1960, p. 264 f.

[3] E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, Strassburg 1915, p. 71.

[4] Hopkins, op. cit., p. 70 f.

[5] e.g. J. v. Negelein, *Der Traumschlüssel des Jagaddeva*, Giessen 1912, p. 94 (1, 87); 359 (2, 140).

[6] This point has been overlooked by J. K. de Cock, *Eene oudindische stad volgens het epos*, Thesis Amsterdam 1899, p. 109, who failed to distinguish between both epics.

huts or mounds of earth sacred to a god. For example, *Mbh.* 13. 10. 20 vulg., a Śūdra leaves a hermitage in the mountains, and going farther into the wilds proceeds to make a little retreat for himself. There he builds himself a *vedi-*, a *bhūmi-* to sleep on, and *devatāyatanāni* which are clearly not of architectural value. When Rāma in the woods builds himself also a hut, a *vedi-*, *caitya-s* and *āyatanāni cāśramasyānurūpāṇi* 'suitable for an asylum' (*Rām.* 2. 56. 33 Bo., not adopted in the crit. ed., 2. 50. 1213), he builds the same modest shrines, but the modifying expression shows that the writer recognizes more ambitious *āyatanāni*, which would not be suitable for an abode of ascetics. 'When, however, a determining factor shows what they mean, it is evident that in the *Mbh.* they are not temples.' Compare, e.g. 3. 17. 3; 5. 149. 69 where warnings are given against disturbing various sacred places—hermitages, *tīrtha-s*, *caitya-* trees, ant-hills, places for burning dead bodies and (*devatā*) *āyatanāni*—in pitching a camp.—Aśv. *BC.* 5. 19 *nivasan* . . . *vijane vāyatane girau vane vā* '. . . or in a deserted temple . . .' ('as Indian tales so often mention wandering mendicants as living in deserted temples' [1]).—According to the *Mānasāra* (7th cent.?) [2] 19. 54 ff. *āyatana-* may be used promiscuously with a considerable number of other terms for a 'building'.

[1] Johnston, *The Buddhacarita*, II, p. 65.

[2] P. K. Acharya, *Mānasāra on Architecture and Sculpture*, III, Oxford 1933; Translation, IV, p. 229 (19, 108 ff.).

One should not however suggest with Hopkins,[1] who, translating the term by ‘ resting-place ’ or ‘ support ’, emphasizes its ‘ original ’ character as ‘ a mere place for the sacred fire ’, that in ancient times that was the only meaning from which ‘ sanctuary ’ necessarily developed.

We also hear of the *āyatana-* of the reverend Kaśyapa (*Mbh.* 1. 70. 49), and this, though ‘ holy ’ in any case (cf., e.g. *Mbh.* 1. 207. 4 and 9 *puṇyāny āyatanāni*), is certainly as little a temple, as the *tāpasāyatanāni* mentioned in 1. 143. 25. These settlements are associated with *tīrtha-s* and objects of interest to pilgrims, travellers and criminals for whom they were places of refuge (cf. *Mbh.* 1. 140. 64 Bo. *udyāneṣu vihāreṣu devatāyataneṣu ca*, among the places to which spies should be sent). Other compounds are *maṭhāyatana-* translated by ‘ monastery, college ’ (Pañc.) and *yajñāyatana-* ‘ a (sacred) place where a sacrifice is (to be) performed ’ (‘ Opferstätte ’, Petr. Dict., *Rām.* 1. 12. 32; 4. 36. 32 cr. ed.).[2]

The term *āyatanadevatā* applies to those gods (namely Śiva, Viṣṇu, Gaurī-Durgā, Sūrya-Āditya, Gaṇeśa, i.e. the five gods of traditional or Smārta Hinduism) in whom Brahman is supposed to be present or to reside and who are, represented by their images,

[1] Hopkins, op. cit., p. 70.

[2] *yajñasthāna-* is, beside *viśrāmasthāna-* ‘ resting-place ’, *āśraya-* and *ādhāradevādivandanasthāna-*, given as senses of the term in Taranatha Tarkavachaspati's *Vachaspatyam*, I, Benares 1962, p. 770.

the object of worship in sanctuaries. Cf., e.g. Nīlakaṇṭha on *Gaṇeśagītā* 1. 20 and on 1. 14: *pañcamaṃ (brahma) phalopamaṃ hari . . . ādyanyatamavigraharūpaṃ tad dvividham, mānasaṃ bāhyaṃ ca pratimādirūpam.* Hence even the identification ' among followers of the Veda ': *āyatana-=pratimā-* ' idol, statue of a deity ',[1] *yathā devatāyatanāni hasanti rudantītyādy ātharvaṇaśrutau.*

III

This use of the noun is in perfect harmony with that of the verb *ā-yat-*.[2] *ṚV.* 5. 74. 2 *kásminn á yatatho jáne* (the Aśvin-s are addressed) was translated ' Bei welchem Volke sucht ihr Anschluss ' (Geldner, *ṚV. üb.*); the verb (*: āgacchathaḥ*, Sāyaṇa, a sense developing from ' s'aligner sur ', Renou [3]) rather means ' to station oneself ' (cf. Geldner [4]): ' bei welchem Mann machet ihr Halt ').—In *ṚV* 3. 16. 4 *á devéṣu yátata á suvīrya á śáṃsa utá nṛṇám* the verb was explained, by *prayatnaṃ karoti* (Mādhava), *ābhimukhyena gacchati* (Sāyaṇa), ' er steht (bei den Göttern) fest ' (Geldner, who considers it a synonym of *prati-ṣṭhā-* [5]), ' il prend rang (chez les dieux pour l'abondance en hommes-d'élite [6] . . .) ' (Renou,[7] who regards the construction

[1] Bhīmācārya Jhalakīkar, *Nyāyakośa*, Poona 1928, p. 128.

[2] See also Oldenberg, op. cit., p. 131.

[3] Renou, *Études sur le voc. du ṚV.*, p. 46.

[4] Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, III, p. 25.

[5] Geldner, *Der Rig-veda übersetzt*, Cambridge Mass. 1951, p. 352. Better in *Ved. Studien*, III, p. 26 ' ist zugegen bei '.

[6] For *suvīrya-* see Renou, E. V. P. III, p. 25 f.

[7] Renou, E. V. P. XII, p. 61, cf. p. 121.

as a zeugma, ascribing the sense of 's'efforcer (d'accéder) à . . . (acheminement vers l'emploi classique) ' to the verb in connection with the two other locatives). According to Oldenberg[1] 'handelt es sich um ein Stellungnehmen im Hinblick auf erstrebte Erfolge '. Rather ' he occupies a position among the gods, among the host of eminent men, in the praise of the lords '.—*ṚV.* 5. 66. 6 ' May we and our patrons, O Mitra and Varuṇa, have a position,[2] i.e. a " point of support ", a foothold, a footing (" point d'appui stable ", Renou[3]); " Zuflucht " (Geldner) in your most spacious kingdom which protects many ' (*ā́ yád vām . . . yátemahi svarā́jye*: *gacchema*, Sāyaṇa).—Similarly, *ṚV.* 6. 1. 10 (*TB.* 6. 1. 10, etc.) *ā́ te bhadrā́yām sumataú yatema;* why ' " s'organiser pour " en partant de " prendre rang " '[4] ? (*āgacchema*, Mādhava; *āgacchema bhavema* Sāyaṇa).—*ṚV.* 10. 29. 8 *ā́smai yatante sakhyā́ya pūrvīḥ*, means ' many place themselves in the (right) position in order to gain his fellowship ' rather than[5] ' viele (Stämme) bemühen sich um ihn zur Freundschaft ' (Geldner) or ' enter into an alliance with him ' (Sāyaṇa).—When Agni burns, his hosts (i.e. his flames) ' nehmen getrennt (*pṛ́thak*) Aufstellung ' (Geldner, *ṚV.*

[1] Oldenberg, op. cit., p. 131.

[2] For a ' position ' see my book *Loka, World and Heaven in the Veda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1966, p. 42 f., etc.

[3] Renou, E. V. P. VII, p. 48.

[4] Renou, E. V. P. XIII, p. 120.

[5] Double dative: see B. Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, Halle a. S. 1888, p. 149 f.

10. 91. 7 *ā . . . yatante*; *ā gacchanti*, Sāyaṇa, *tatphalam abhilakṣya prayatante*, comm. on *PB*. 13. 2. 4, 'abide', Caland; 'stellen sich', the same, *ĀpŚS*. 3. 15. 5). By means of the *nivid-s* (short prose *mantra-s*) [1] the officiant causes the sacrificer to arrive at that 'place', to reach those goals, which the latter hopes to gain by the ritual technique: *AiB*. 2. 34 (twelve times): here I would avoid the translation 'establishes' (Keith).—*KS*. 14. 5: I. 204. 6 *devā vai nānaiva yajñān apaśyann imam aham imaṃ tvam ity athaitaṃ sarve 'paśyaṃs tasminn āyatanta tasminn ājim āyuḥ* . . . illustrates the 'transition' to the 'sense' 'to make for, endeavour, be anxious for, etc.' The causative *āyātayati* means 'to place, put, fix, install, construct on the right place, the place of destination, etc.': *ĀpŚS*. 11. 14. 5 (the other *dhiṣṇiya-s* to the North of that of the *hotṛ*).

The connection between the noun *āyātana-* (*sic*), explained as *sthāpanam*, and the verb is quite evident in *BaudhŚS*. 21. 19: III. 105. 3 ff. *camasānām āyātana iti. agreṇa srucaḥ prāca āyātayed iti baudhāyano, jaghanena sruca udīca āyātayed iti śālīkiḥ*; and compare 1. 3: I. 20. 3 *tam yajamānāya vā brahmaṇe vā prayacchaty athaitāni barhiḥsaṃnahanāny āyātayati dakṣiṇāyai śroṇer ottarād aṃśāt* to 20. 11: III. 25. 7 *śulbasyāyātana iti sūtraṃ baudhāyanasya;* 8. 15: I. 256. 14 to 21. 24: III. 112. 10. Cf. also 10. 54: II. 56. 8 and 22. 10: III. 132. 3. With reference to 10. 42: II. 41. 1 *sṛṣṭīr upadadhāti* it reads 22. 8: III. 128. 1 *sṛṣṭīnām āyātana iti.*

[1] S. Niyogi, *A Critical Study of the Nivids*, Calcutta 1961.

An interesting link between the use of the verb and the Vedic use of the noun occurs *AV.* 17. 1. 30 (at the end of a prayer for protection) *sahásraṃ prāṇā́ máyy ā́ yatantām* (*ceṣṭāṃ kurvantu* ' must exert themselves ', comm.) ' a thousand life-breaths (vital powers) must take up their station in me '.

PB. 13. 10. 16 the noun combines with the verb *yātayati: ye dve jagatyoḥ pade te gāyatryā upasampadyete. tat sarvā bṛhatyo bhavanty. āyatane pṛṣṭhāni yātayati. āyatanavān bhavati* ' two quarters of the two Jagatī-s are transferred to the Gāyatrī-s; thereby, all become Bṛhatī-s. He (thereby) marshals (' supports ', Caland) the *pṛṣṭha*(*stotra*)-*s* in (their) *āyatana-* (' place ', Caland) and he (himself) comes into the possession of an *āyatana-* (' support ', Caland): *svakīya eva prākṛte sthāne . . . vistārayati*, comm. In the normal Agniṣṭoma the *pṛṣṭhasāman-s* (with the exception of the second) are always chanted on Bṛhatī verses; hence they are *bṛhadāyatanāni* (13, 10. 15: *bṛhatīchanda āyatanaṃ sthānaṃ yeṣāṃ tāni*, comm.)

Following Geldner,[1] Minard[2] was inclined to regard *ā-yat-* —translated ' prendre son point d'appui dans (tel dispositif spatial) '—as a synonym of *pratiṣṭhā-*[6]) and *āyatana-* as a ' voisin sémantique' of *pratiṣṭhā-*, which may be translated by ' a firm foundation.' [3]

[1] Geldner, *Ṛig-veda übersetzt*, I, p. 352. Cf. e.g. also the comm. on *PB.* 5. 2. 5; *ŚB.* 3. 9. 6.

[2] A. Minard, *Trois Énigmes sur les Cent Chemins*, II, Paris 1956, p. 112.

[3] On *pratiṣṭhā-* see my relative article in *Studia Indol. Intern.*, Poona—Paris 1954.

The suffix *-ana-* forms, *inter alia*, words denoting 'a receptacle: *āsecana-* 'a vessel for fluids'; *ālambana-* 'point of support, foundation, base'. However, the verbs cannot replace each other in any given contexts (without the slightest alteration either in cognitive or in emotional import).[1] They may occur in the same context so as to supplement each other: *ŚB*. 11. 5. 2. 10 *yajamānam evaitat svarge loka āyātayati pratiṣṭhāpayati* 'he makes the sacrificer reach the heavenly world and establishes him therein' (Eggeling).—The difference between the *pratiṣṭhā-* and *āyatana-* ideas[2] is also evident in cases such as *TS*. 5. 1. 5. 8 (after the two worlds had burst asunder and separated) *pracyuto vā eṣa āyatanād agataḥ pratiṣṭhām* 'having fallen from (being deprived of) his regular place and not having reached a firm foundation'; or *BĀU*. 4. 1. 2-7 stating that the *āyatana-* (here Śaṃkara explains by *śarīra-* 'body') of Brahman being speech (*vāk*) is *vāk*, its *pratiṣṭhā-* space (*ākāśa-*, the well-known substratum of sound in Indian thought); of Brahman being vital breath, these are vital breath and space; of Brahman being the eye (visual faculty), eye and space, etc. Yājñavalkya, accepting these opinions as partially or provisionally correct, declares that each of these entities is in itself only the *āyatana-* of Brahman and says that they all have space as their 'basis'.—*JUB*. 4. 21. 8

[1] On the rarity of pure synonyms, see e.g. S. Ullmann, *The Principles of Semantics*, Glasgow 1951, p. 108 ff.

[2] F. Edgerton, *The Beginnings of Indian Philosophy*, London 1965, p. 152 translates 'seat' and 'basis' respectively.

(4. 10. 4. 8 = *KeU*. 4. 8) asceticism (austerity), restraint and socio-ritual activity (*karman-*) are said to be the foundation (*pratiṣṭhā-*) of the Upaniṣad of the Brahman which has been told, the Veda-s are all its limbs (subordinate sciences), truth (*satya-*) its *āyatana-*. That means that the doctrine is firmly founded on austerity, etc., and it aims at, or leads to, truth, which is identical with Brahman (*BĀU*. 5. 4. 1). Cf. also *JUB*. 4. 25. 3 (4. 11. 4. 3) *vedo brahma tasya satyam āyatanam, śamaḥ pratiṣṭhā damaś ca*. Cf. *GB*. 1. 1. 34 *brahma hedaṃ śriyaṃ pratiṣṭhām āyatanam aikṣata*.

All creatures, *ChU*. 6. 8. 4 teaches, are *sadāyatanāḥ, satpratiṣṭhāḥ* 'have Being as their abode' (Radhakrishnan), 'more significantly "*sad* is the place where the beings meet, their common ground"'.[1] Compare *Lakṣmī Tantra* 13. 21 'all successful Yogin-s abide (*āyatante*) in Lakṣmī.

That does not mean that one cannot establish (*pratiṣṭhāpayati*) an object in its *āyatana-*. *BhŚS*. 6. 7. 7 prescribes firmly to place (*pratiṣṭhāpayati*) the fire into the *āhavanīya āyatana-* ('fire-place'); GB. 1. 3. 13 (see above), etc. An embryo being unfit for sacrificial purposes, the question may arise what one is to do with the embryo of the victim (*ŚB*. 4. 5. 2. 13). The solution proposed is to expose it on a tree, 'for embryos have the

[1] J. A. B. van Buitenen, *Rāmānuja's Vedārthasaṃgraha*, Poona 1956, p. 11; but p. 194, n. 99 this scholar, explaining Rāmānuja, observes that '*sat-* as the material cause is, in this passage, *mūla-*, as operative cause *āyatana-* (apparently from *ā-yat-* "making efforts, exerting energy")'; this is an untenable alternative.

intermediate space for their *āyatana-* —because, the Kāṇva recension informs us, the embryo is superfluous and beyond heaven and earth nothing remains, so that (we may infer) the embryo and the intermediate space are similar or of the same nature—, and the tree is, as it were, the same as that space; thus one establishes, founds (*pratiṣṭhāpayati*), the embryo on its own *āyatana-*. To 'support' (Eggeling) I would prefer 'natural position' or 'place in which an object properly and regularly ought to be'.—Compare also *JB*. 1. 133.—The author of *JB*. 3. 116 is of the opinion that the water used while singing the *mahānāmnī-s* is to be thrown away on the *āstāva-*, i.e. place outside of the *sadas*, because this place is the *dhiṣṇya*—which properly is one of the subordinate fire-places for definite officiants—of the *udgātṛ-* (the chanter) and the sacrificer. (Hence) the *āstāva-* is in contradistinction to other definite places an *āyatana-*, *in casu* the proper 'place' of these two persons (Caland [1] translates both *dhiṣṇya-* and *āyatana-* by 'feste Stätte'); in doing so 'they give these wishes a firm foundation' (*pratiṣṭhāpayanti*) in an *āyatana-*.

An important piece of information is given *ŚB*. 9. 3. 4. 13. Discussing (10 ff.) the question as to on which side of the fire-place the sacrificer should be anointed, the author, rejecting the South because it belongs to the deceased, etc. argues that the North side is decidedly to be preferred, because that side belongs to me, and the sacrificer's 'real body' (which

[1] Caland, *Das Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl*, Amsterdam Acad. 1919, p. 250.

is to be anointed) is his human one: ' they thus anoint him while seated and established *āyattam pratiṣṭhitam*) in his own region (*svāyām . . . diśi*), for he who is established (*pratiṣṭhitaḥ*) in his own seat (*āyatane*) suffers no injury ' (Eggeling). Drawing special attention to the use of *āyatta-*, which I would rather translate by ' having reached the position due to him ', I would regard the author's direction as prompted by the well-known Vedic conviction that any deviation from the normal relations and situations is dangerous and is to be avoided and that man cannot be safe in a ' place ', sphere, position or situation which is not ' his own '.[1] Compare also *ŚB*. 13. 4. 2. 15.

AiU. 2. 1 the divinities said: ' Find out for us an *āyatana-* wherein established (*pratiṣṭhitāḥ*) we may eat food '. Then a bull, a horse, and a human being were led up to them to comply with their request.

Among the rites invented to save a sacrificer from death or renewed death is the Naciketas fire.[2] According to *TB*. 3. 11. 7. 2 f. gold—a well-known symbol of immortality [3]—is, in itself intelligibly enough, said to be the *āyatana-* (*ādhāraḥ*, comm.) and *pratiṣṭhā-* (*ciram avasthānam*, comm.) as well as the *śarīra-* ' body ' of that fire. The man who knows the meaning of

[1] Cf., e.g. *VS*. 8. 19; *ŚB*. 2. 1. 2. 11; 5. 1. 4. 2.

[2] A. B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, Cambridge, Mass. 1925, p. 573.

[3] I refer to my book *The Savayajñas*, Amsterdam Acad. 1965, p. 207.

these statements will have an *āyatana-* and a firm foundation (*hiraṇyeṣṭakānāṃ nāciketāgnāv upahitatvāt*) and, embodied, go to heaven. As a *pratiṣṭhā-* 'an establishment on a firm foundation' produced, on the basis of the supposed parallelism between ritual acts and processes in or beyond nature, in the ritual sphere was a religious and transcendent concept,[1] an *āyatana-* may in this context be of a similar character. Cf. *AV.* 11. 3. 49 [2]: if one does not perform a definite rite in the right way one will die without a *pratiṣṭhā-* and an *āyatana-*; that means, one will in the other world be without a 'foundation' and without a 'home' or 'destination' or without 'one's own resort'.

The sentence *asyām eva pratiṣṭhām āyatanaṃ vindate ya <evaṃ veda>* occurs *AVP.* 17. 29. 5. and 11, that means that one can also arrive at one's regular destination, where one ought to be, on a firm foundation.

From *TS.* 5. 2. 10. 5 f. (cf. *TB.* 2. 3. 1. 2) *ya evam etāsām ṛddhiṃ vedardhnoty eva, ya āsām evaṃ bandhutāṃ veda, bandhumān bhavati, ya āsām evaṃ kḷptiṃ veda kalpate 'smai, ya āsām evam āyatanaṃ vedāyatanavān bhavati, ya āsām evaṃ pratiṣṭhāṃ veda praty eva tiṣṭhati* it appears that to the bricks used to build the great fire-place were ascribed 'prosperity (increase)', '"mystical" or metaphysical relationship to the unseen powers (implying the possibility of producing transcendental

[1] See *The Savayajñas*, p. 164 f.

[2] *The Savayajñas*, p. 37; 165; see also St. Schayer, in *Zs. f. Buddh.* 6, p. 279 f.

effects) ',[1] order and arrangement, an *āyatana-* and a firm foundation.—*ŚāĀ.* 9. 8, describing a rite to be performed by a consecrated sacrificer who wishes to obtain something important, makes him prepare a mess, sacrifice and pour into the mess the remainders of the oblations, while pronouncing the formulas: '*Svāhā* to the highest and the best; *svāhā* to the most excellent; *svāhā* to obtainment; *svāhā* to support . . .; *svāhā* to "resort" . . .' (Keith).—After stating that this world is threefold through fire, earth and plants, and the atmosphere and yonder world are likewise threefold the author of *PB.* 10. 1. 1 says that this is the *āyatana-* (*sthāna-*, comm.; 'base', Caland) and the *bandhutā-* of the threefold stoma (which consists of thrice three verses). The man who knows this will be provided with an *āyatana-* and a *bandhu-* (2), and this stoma is regarded as a 'firm foundation' (*pratiṣṭhā-*), 'because the threefold (*trivṛt-*) stoma is firmly founded (*pratiṣṭhita-*) on these worlds (3), the commentator observing: *tadāyatanatvapratipādanāt tatraiva śrito vartate; tatas tasya pratiṣṭhātvam.* Cf. 10. 1. 5; 8, etc.

The *āyatana-* idea may also be complemented by the *yoni-* 'womb' [2]: *TB.* 3. 9. 21. 2 f. *agnir vā aśvamedhasya yonir āyatanam. sūryo 'gner yonir āyatanam. yad aśvamedhe 'gnau citya uttaravedim upavapati, yonimantam evainam āyatanavantaṃ karoti.* The sun is the womb in

[1] For *bandhu-* see my article in *The Adyar Library Bulletin* 29 (1965), p. 1 ff.

[2] See above *TS.* 1. 4. 2. 1. and further on, V.

which all fire originates [1]; it is also the 'home' of fire. In *ŚB.* 10. 6. 5. 8 the Aśvamedha and sun are identified.

Not rarely the term *āyatana-* does not refer to a spatial concept, but to something which according to the rules and system of the ritual technique ought to 'underlie' another entity or to coincide with it. From *TS.* 6. 6. 10. 1 f. it may be inferred that the *āyatana-* ('foundation', Keith) of the soma libation called *aṃśu(graha-)* [2]—which in the beginning was 'seen' by Prajāpati who prospered by it, with the consequence that the man who knows thus and for whom, it is drawn prospers also—is the *vāmadevya sāman* (*vāmadevyam iti sāma tad vā asyāyatanam*); 'singing in his mind that *āyatana-* he draws', so that 'he becomes possessed of an *āyatana-*'. Caland [3] explained: 'er singt das Sāman,[4] weil er dadurch die richtige Stätte des *aṃśugraha-* ergreift'. Compare *ŚB.* 4. 6. 1. 2 'when they draw that (cup), then that is having a hold (*ārambhaṇavat*)', the Kāṇva text reading: 'for whomsoever they draw that (cup), his vital airs are, as it were, supplied with a firmer hold, and, as it were,

[1] For the multiple meanings of the womb see M. Eliade, *Birth and Rebirth*, New York 1958, passim.

[2] See *TS.* 6. 6. 9 f. (cf. 3. 3. 3 f.); *MS.* 4. 7. 7; *KS.* 29. 6; 30. 7; *ŚB.* 4. 6. 1; 11. 5. 9; *ĀpŚS.* 12. 7. 17; 12. 8. 5 ff. and Caland's notes on *ĀpŚS.*, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II, Amsterdam Acad. 1924, p. 253 f.; 256.

[3] Caland, op. cit., II, p. 256.

[4] A metrical sacred text intended to be chanted on the melody.

firmly established (*ārambhaṇavattarā iva pratiṣṭhitā iva*)'; the verb *pratitiṣṭhati* occurs also in *TS*. 6. 6. 10. 1.—*AiB*. 2. 39. 10 the third Soma preparation (which takes place in the evening) is said to be the *āyatana-* ('abode', Keith, ?) of Jātavedas.—In a similar way the morning pressing is said to be the *āyatana-* of the Gāyatrī (*AiB*. 3. 27. 1).

GB. 2. 4. 15 (cf. 16; 17), stating the *mantra-s* for the assistants of the *hotṛ*, says, *inter alia*, *aindrāvaruṇam asyaitan nityam uktham. tad etat svasminn āyatane svasyāṃ pratiṣṭhāyāṃ pratiṣṭhāpayati* (cf. *ŚŚS*. 9. 2.).—Compare also texts such as *MS*. 1. 9. 4: I. 133. 6 *ta ekaviṃśam āyatanam acāyan. tenendram ajanayan.*

KS. 21. 8: II. 47. 22 states: *anārambhaṇam* ('without a "place of seizing" or support') *iva vā etad anāyatanam iva yad antarikṣam*.—A formula to be recited by the *hotṛ* or his first assistant in which the god is invoked to partake of an oblation is to bring about 'efficacy' and a 'destination': *KS*. 8. 10: I. 93. 14 *uttarayor haviṣor anuvākyāṃ kuryāt tejasa āyatanāya*. Cf. also 30. 7: II. 189. 11 *na sāmānuktho 'graho 'stīty āhur anāyatanaḥ sa iti.*

Another interesting place is *PB*. 4. 4. 10. While discussing the *brahman's* chant during the year the author observes that on a day, on which the *rathaṃtara-sāman* is taken for the first (or *hotṛ's*) *pṛṣṭha*-laud, the Bṛhatī (a particular metre of 36 syllables)—which is the other typical element of the *hotṛ's* performance in the first *pṛṣṭha*-laud—is the own *āyatana-* ('special place', Caland) of the *rathaṃtara-sāman*; 'he thereby

3

gives firm support to the *rathaṃtara* in its own place' (Caland: *sva eva tad āyatane rathaṃtaraṃ pratitiṣṭhati*). The commentator explains by *sthāna-*. The author continues by stating that there is a similar relation between the *bṛhat-sāman* (to be used on a *bṛhat* day) and the Triṣṭubh metre, which is therefore the *āyatana-* of the *bṛhat-sāman*. It seems clear that an *āyatana-* here is an entity which while forming part of a system, corresponds to an element of another system which in a way depends on it. Cf. also *PB*. 13. 10. 16.

From a comparison of *AiB*. 4. 29. 13 and 5. 1. 20 it appears that *ṚV*. 7. 32. 22 and 23 are the *rathaṃtara* as *pṛṣṭha* (a particular arrangement of chanted texts); on the *rathaṃtara* day, the first day, it is a manifestation (*rūpam*) of the first day; by reciting these stanzas the *hotṛ* brings back the 'basis' (*yoni-*, i.e. the verse on which a melody, *sāman*, is chanted, *in casu* 7. 32. 22 and 23) of the *rathaṃtara*, for this day is (5. 1. 20) connected with the *rathaṃtara* 'in its corresponding regular place (to which this day is related, on which it is so to say based), i.e. with regard to . . ., as far as this is concerned (*āyatanena*)'.[1] Similarly, *AiB*. 5. 4. 21; 7. 7; 12. 16; 16. 27; 18. 23; 20. 21.—Dealing with the fourth-day-rite of Atri[2] the author of *PB*. 21. 9. 8 ff., after stating that the

[1] For the use of the instrumental, compare J. S. Speyer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, Leyden 1886, p. 53 f.; the same, *Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax*, Strassburg 1896, p. 11 (§ 38).

[2] See Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, p. 559.

fourth day is 'of Anuṣṭubh nature' and that the *ṣoḍaśin*-laud is 'Anuṣṭubh-like' expresses the opinion that that laud must be applied on the fourth day, because so it is applied in the correlative space of time, to which it belongs (10 *sva āyatane*).—Thus in a continuous offering the *ṣoḍaśin* [1] is the suitable rite for the fourth day (*ŚŚS*. 10. 2. 11), which is *KB*. 17. 4 called the *ṣoḍaśin's āyatana-*.

A reference may be inserted here to *KS*. 19. 7: II. 8. 20 *chandāṃsy eva chandobhir acchṛndanti svenāyatanena, asuryaṃ vai pātram anācchṛṇṇam.*

Compare also places such as *AiĀ*. 5. 3. 2 *mūrdhā lokānām asi vāco rasas tejaḥ prāṇasyāyatanaṃ manasaḥ . . . pratiṣṭhā hṛdayasya sarvam* 'thou (the recitation addressed) art the head of the world, the essence of speech, the fire of breath, the *āyatana-* (: *āśrayaḥ*, comm.) of 'mind' . . ., the foundation of the heart, All'.

In the well-known passage *ChU*. 5. 1 which deals with the rivalry of the bodily functions it reads (5): *mano ha vā āyatanam.* That is, Śaṃkara explains: *indriyopahṛtānāṃ viṣayāṇāṃ bhoktrarthānāṃ pratyayarūpāṇām mana āyatanam āśrayaḥ.* The objects of the senses which, being brought near and in the form of ideas are to be experienced, resort to the central organ *manas*, i.e. are received and kept there.[2]

[1] A. B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, Cambridge Mass. 1925, p. 335.

[2] For *manas*, see E. Abegg, *Indische psychologie*, Zürich 1945, p. 32 f.; 60 f., etc.

IV

It would appear to me that the ideas attached to the term *āyatana-* become clearer if we take into consideration its use in ritualistic 'philosophy', where it occurs in arguments showing the systematic relations between gods and elements or provinces of nature. Commenting upon *VS.* 39. 1 ff., being expiatory formulas intended to 'heal' and atone for any failure or defect in the performance of the Pravargya ceremony, the author of *ŚB.* 14. 3. 2 argues that the formulas 'to the earth hail! to the intermediate space hail! etc.' are to be used because the earth, the intermediate space, the sky, the regions, the lunar asterisms and the waters are the *āyatana-* (their 'provinces') for all the gods (4. 6. 8. 10. 12. 13: . . . *sarveṣāṃ devānām āyatanam*). That is why, he adds, by pronouncing the formula 'To the earth hail!' one heals by means of all the deities whatever has been unsuccessful in the sacrificial rite, and the same comment applies to the other formulas.—Thus the part of the universe presided over by a god or in which he is especially believed to be active may be called his *āyatana-*: *KB.* 5. 4; 18. 10 'in that he worships Varuṇa in the waters, verily thus he delights him in his own *āyatana-* ("home" and "abode", Keith)'. —The colour of Nirṛti, the goddess of annihilation, is black, her portion chaff, her region the South-West, her *āyatana-* a natural hollow or excavation in the ground (*svakṛtam iriṇam*). There, in her own *āyatana-*

(not exactly 'abode', Keith) the awful goddess, who is elsewhere identified with the earth (*ŚB*. 5. 2. 3. 3; 7. 2. 1. 11), receives her oblations (*TS*. 5. 2. 4. 3; *TB*. 1. 6. 1. 3; cf. also *ŚB*. 5. 2. 3. 2 f.). According to *ŚB*. 7. 2. 1. 8 (cf. *TS*. 3. 4. 8. 5) Nirṛti 'seizes' (*gṛhṇāti*) any such part of the earth and 'the reason why one offers in a natural hollow or cleft, is that that much of this (earth) is possessed with Nirṛti' (*ŚB*. 5. 2. 3. 3). For a similar statement in connection with the Rākṣasa-s (*svakṛta iriṇe juhoti pradare vā. etad vai rakṣasām āyatanam*) see *TB*. 1. 7. 1. 9.

In an enumeration of the characteristics of the adorable Great Lord who abides in the lotus of the heart it reads *TĀ*. 10. 11. 2 and *MahNU*. 11. 8 (= 249 V.) *jvālamālākulaṃ bhāti viśvasyāyatanaṃ mahat* 'it (the heart, which is the seat of *manas*- "mind", comm.) is bright, light-garlanded, the great *āyatana*- ("sanctuaire", Varenne) [1] of everything'; the commentary explains: *tena ca manasā svapnavat sarvam idaṃ jagat kalpitam* 'this whole universe is like a dream mentally constructed- (-supposed-composed-and-arranged [2]) by the "mind",' referring to those who know the tradition: 'this duality has its root in *manas*'.

Thus *TS*. 1. 6. 7. 1 f. the three sacrificial fires are, each of them, related to a class of beings, namely

[1] J. Varenne, *La Mahā Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, I, Paris 1960, p. 65.

[2] For *kalpita*- see also L. Silburn, *Instant et Cause*, Paris 1955, p. 282 ff., etc.

gods, men, Fathers; accordingly they are said to be the *āyatana-s* of these groups. When the fuel is laid on the Āhavanīya the sacrificer pronouncing the formula 'I take possession of Agni (the fire) . . .; I take the Vasu-s . . ., the gods . . . at their own *āyatana-* . . . .' (*TB*. 3. 7. 4. 3, etc.; *ĀpŚS*. 4. 1. 8, etc.) 'He takes the fire; verily he takes possession of the gods in their own *āyatana-*' (*TS*. 1. 6. 7. 1 f.).—According to *KB*. 12. 5 the *āyatana-* of the *ṛc* (*Ṛgveda*) is where the *hotṛ* sits, 'but that yonder is (the *āyatana-*) of the *sāman* (*Sāmaveda*) where yonder men (the *udgātṛ* c.s.) sing the *sāman*'. The *hotṛ* should not by participating in the movement of the other officiants to the place for the performance of the *sāman*[1] remove the *ṛc* from its *āyatana-* so as to make it a follower of the *sāman*. That means that there is a systematic relation between the places occupied by the principal officiants and the parts of the liturgy with which they are entrusted. —An instructive place is *AiB*. 2. 22. 3 'If he (the *hotṛ*) were to creep, he would make the *ṛc* a follower of the *sāman*. If one here were to say of him: "This *hotṛ* has become a follower of the *sāman* singer . . ., he has fallen from his 'usual functional position' (*āyatanāt*); she (the *ṛc*) will fall from her *āyatana-*", it would certainly be so.' 'He would', the commentator explains, 'do something improper, because the *ṛc* is the substratum (support, container: *ādhāra-*) and the *sāman* that which is to be placed ("the contained":

[1] W. Caland—V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, Paris 1906, p. 171.

ādheya-) [1] in it'; hence also *ChU*. 1. 6. 1 *tad etasyām ṛcy adhyūḷhaṃ* ('placed upon') *sāma, tasmād ṛcy adhyūḷhaṃ sāma gīyate.*

It is at first sight difficult to find a better translation than 'place' (Eggeling) in cases such as *ŚB*. 1. 6. 1. 6 but that is not to say that this English word renders all the implications of the term under consideration. Though inviting the Seasons to the sacrifice and intending to worship them first, the gods did not remove Agni, who had been worshipped in the first place, from his *āyatana-*, the functional position due to him. Therefore Agni is 'not fallen, i.e. immutable, indispensable' (*acyuta-*). 'He who knows thus does not move from the position (*āyatanād*) in which (*āyatane*) he abides.'—Indra is connected with the Triṣṭubh metre (see *VS*. 9. 33) and has his *āyatana-* in the midday pressing. The Triṣṭubh which supports the pressing (*savanadharaṇa-*) 'does not depart' from the midday pressing because one thinks: 'let me not cause Indra to depart from his own *āyatana-*' (*KB*. 22. 7).—*PB*. 7. 4. 1 the Bṛhatī is said to be that part of the *pavamāna-* laud which is conducive to heaven, as is the *pavamāna-* laud itself and the midday-service, of which it forms an element. 'The *dakṣiṇā-s*' which are given at (or rather 'after') the chant of the Bṛhatī part are thereby given *svargasyaiva . . . lokasyāyatane*, which is not exactly 'on the place of the world of

[1] The *ādhārādheyabhāvaḥ* is a well-known relation distinguished by philosophers (see e.g. Udayana, *Nyāyakusumāñjali*, 1, 14, ed. Kashi Skt. Ser. 30, 1957, p. 179).

heaven' (Caland), but on that particular place or moment of the ritual performances which may be considered as 'corresponding' exactly and perfectly to the world of heaven. Compare also 7. 4. 4.—Hence also the statement contained in *JB*. 2. 130[1]: one should not give the *dakṣiṇā-s* at the morning and 'third' services; one should give them only at the midday service (cf. *ŚB*. 11. 7. 2. 5), that is the 'ford' (the 'passage, the right place to go, or to convey something, to the other side', i.e. to a goal, to its destination, that is the corresponding place in the correlative system (*tad eva tīrthaṃ, tad āyatanam*). This instruction becomes clear from *ŚB*. 11. 1. 6. 33 (*iḍā* is the vital air in the centre); 11. 7. 2. 5 (this vital air belongs to Indra, to whom belongs also the midday service, one should give the *dakṣiṇā-s* after the invocation of the *iḍā* of the cake-offering lest one brings the *dakṣiṇā-s* outside the vital airs (11. 7. 2. 4).

The metres divided the tripartite universe among themselves so that the Gāyatrī obtained the earth as her (its) share, the Triṣṭubh the intermediate space, the Jagatī the heavens. Afterwards the Triṣṭubh, being dissatisfied, troubled ('heated') her colleagues, who became afraid that she might take away their *āyatana-s* (*JB*. 1. 286). The translation 'der ihr zukommende Verbleib' (Caland [2]) leads us to conceive the parts of the universe as a sort of material residences

[1] See also Caland, *Das Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* in Auswahl, Amsterdam Acad. 1919, p. 167.

[2] ibid., p. 113.

of the 'personified' metres. I would rather consider them to be here also corresponding portions implying 'identity' in the correlative system conceived of as 'metaphorical' 'emplacements naturels'. *ŚB*. 6. 1. 1. 15 the earth is identified with the Gāyatrī.

The statement contained in *TB*. 2. 2. 2. 6 'he relates (the names of) the spouses (of the gods: *TĀ*. 3. 9); he has performed the act of worship in order to procreate offspring (cf. also *VaitS*. 4. 23); he relates them at the *upasad-s*; this verily is the *āyatana-* of the spouses', finds its explication in the ritual described *ĀpŚS*. 11. 3. 13 f.: the wives of the gods (*GB*. 2. 2. 9) are indeed to be enumerated at a given moment of the *upasad-s*. Compare the commentary: . . . *upasadaḥ tāsāṃ strītvavivakṣayā strīliṅgenopasacchabdenātideśāt sāmīpyaṃ patnīnām ucitasthānam*.—For this temporal sense compare also *ŚB*. 11. 5. 5. 11 'having offered, at their proper time' (*yathāyatanam eva prakṛtau yasmin kāle hūyeta tathaiva hutvā*, comm.).

When the deities, being created, asked for an *āyatana-* on which they could be founded (*yasmin pratiṣṭhitāḥ*) and eat food, they were given man (*puruṣa-*) in which they entered according to their *āyatana-s* (*AiĀ*. 2. 4. 2), that is to say: fire, having become speech, entered the mouth (cf. *ŚB*. 7. 1. 2. 4); air having become scent, entered the nostrils; the sun having become sight, entered the ears, etc. 'This means', Sāyaṇa observes, 'that in the absence of the deity, these faculties cannot work', quoting Bādarāyaṇa, *BrS*. 2. 4. 14 *jyotirādy adhiṣṭhānaṃ tadāmananāt*

' (there is) the presiding over (the organs) by fire, etc. on account of the scriptural teaching about that.' It is obvious that there is here a correlation between two systems, namely the ' deities ', i.e. the elements of the universe (in addition to the above, also the quarters of the universe, plants and trees, moon, death, waters . . .) and the component faculties of the human being which are their regular areas of operation. Compare *JUB*. 2. 11. 12 where the term *ākāśa-* ' space ' is applied to what here is called *āyatana-*, and the deities concerned in this process of entering are collectively known as ' the divine assembly, congregation, conference '.

ŚB. 13. 4. 4. 6-10 the system consisting of nose (centre), eyes (on the two sides of that centre), ears (outside, the eyes being inside), marrow, and flesh on the one hand and that consisting of the sacrificial stakes which, being of various kinds of wood, are arranged in a similar way on the other hand, are correlated, the central stake of Rajjudāla wood—which is in this same passage said to have arisen from Prajāpati's nose—being placed in the middle, etc. That stake is placed in the centre ' because it is the centre of the stakes and because the nose is a centre . . .' One thus places that stake in its own *āyatana-*, etc. etc.

How to translate the term in *ŚB*. 12. 2. 4. 2-7 (*GB*. 1. 5. 4), discussing the six days of the Abhiplava period (*ĀpŚS*. 21. 15. 10) ? Here the fingers of the hand are said to be *āyatane* of the metres, the little finger

being *āyatane* of the Gāyatrī, whence it is the shortest of the fingers. As in this passage the fingers are on account of their variable length correlated with the metres which are characterized by a similar difference in length, each group of entities constitutes part of a system, and both systems correspond with one another from the point of view of length. Thus *āyatana-* is a corresponding place or position in a correlative system. That means also 'the proper place' of an entity; cf., e.g. *JUB.* 1. 18. 3 (1. 4. 4. 3) *chandāṃsi saṃbharata. tāni yathāyatanam praviśata. tato mṛtyunā pāpmanā vyāvartsyatha.*—Compare also correspondences such as *MS.* 1. 4. 10 *devatānāṃ vā etad āyatanaṃ yad āhavanīyo, yad antarāgnī tat paśūnāṃ, manuṣyāṇāṃ gārhapatyaḥ, pitṝṇām odanapacanaḥ. sarvā ha vā asya yakṣyamāṇasya devatā yajñam āgacchanti ya evaṃ veda.* Cf. *KS.* 32. 7: II. 25. 17 f.

In a discussion of the functions of the four principal officiants *GB.* 1. 2. 24 states that the earth is the *āyatana-* of the *ṛcaḥ* (*Ṛgveda*), the intermediate space that of the *Yajurveda*, the sky that of the *Sāmaveda*, and the waters of the *Atharvaveda.* Elsewhere however the earth is the *Ṛgveda*, the heavens the *Sāmaveda* (*PB.* 4. 3. 5), because both the heavens and *Sāmaveda* are the third in the series to which they belong (comm.); the atmosphere is of Triṣṭubh nature (*ŚB.* 8. 3. 4. 11). Here again [1] an entity which in the system

[1] Cf. above, *TB.* 3. 9. 21. 2 f.,

of correspondences and correlations [1] is identifiable with another entity is also the latter's *āyatana-*.

The idea of reciprocity as well as that of 'belonging' or 'destination' is obvious in *MS*. 1. 5. 11: I. 80. 14 *agne gṛhapate 'gniṃ samindhe yajamāna etad vai yajamānasya svaṃ yad agnir, etad agner yad yajamāna, āyatanam iva vā etad kriyate.*

When, 'in mythical prehistory', the intermediate space was broken, the Rudra-s—who are believed to live there (see, e.g. *ŚB*. 6. 1. 2. 10)—were without an *āyatana-*, and that is why they became murderous (*TS*. 7. 1. 5. 3 f.).

Discussing the three days of the sacrificial ceremony called Upasad which precedes the pressing of the *soma* the author of *KB*. 8. 9 makes the interesting remark that in a definite case one should proceed for two days with the middle Upasad, 'for it is an insertion, being in "position" (thus Keith) the world of the atmosphere' (*āvapanaṃ hi sedam antarikṣaloka āyatanena*). That means that the position of the middle day within the system of the Upasad-s corresponds to that of the atmosphere in the tripartite system of the provinces of the universe. Hence the addition: 'then he proceeds without conflict' (*athāsamaram abhyudaiti*), because the representatives of both systems are in harmony with each other. Similar occurrences are: 'The day of twenty-four-verse *stotra-s*, which has the Bṛhat as (first) *pṛṣṭha-stotra*, etc. is called the Caturviṃśa

[1] See e.g. *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 176 (with a bibliographical note).

(day)' (*ŚŚS.* 11. 2. 1); 'now, the Mahāvrata ("day", mainly characterized by the *mahāvratasāman*) is fixed there where they undertake the Caturviṃśa; the Bṛhat is in position (*āyatanena*) the *pṛṣṭha* of the Mahāvrata; therefore (they say) "Let the Bṛhat be the *pṛṣṭha* of this (day)"' (*KB.* 19. 8).—*KB.* 22. 1-3 *prathamam ahar ayam eva loka āyatanenāgnir gāyatrī trivṛt stomo rathaṃtaraṃ sāma tan nv asya*[1] *nidānam* 'the first day (of the *pṛṣṭhya ṣaḍaha*) is this world in "position", Agni, the Gāyatrī, the *trivṛt stoma*, the *rathaṃtara sāman*, that is its 'connection on the base of identity (between entities situated on different *niveaus*, levels? or belonging to different categories)'[2]; *dvitīyam ahar antarikṣaloka āyatanenendras triṣṭup pañcadaśaḥ stomo bṛhat sāma tan . . .*; *tṛtīyam ahar asāv eva loka āyatanena varuṇo jagatī saptadaśaḥ stomo vairūpaṃ sāma tan . . . .* The Gāyatrī is indeed Agni's metre (*ŚB.* 5. 2. 1. 5), the *trivṛt stoma* is connected with the same god (8. 6. 1. 5); Agni and the earth are the Gāyatrī (6. 1. 1. 15); the *rathaṃtara* is the earth (9. 1. 2. 36), etc.—*KB.* 26. 9 *yad rathaṃtaraṃ*

[1] The text has *tanvasya* (cf. A. Weber, Ind. Stud. III, 217; B. Lindner, *Das Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa*, Jena 1887, p. 96). 'Tanva must be a man here' (Keith, *Rigveda Brahmanas*, Cambridge Mass. 1920, p. 466).

[2] For *nidāna-* see further on (VI) and L. Renou, 'Connexion en Védique, cause en Bouddhique', in *C. Kunhan Raja Pres. Volume*, p. 3: 'Nidāna désigne une connexion à base d'identité entre deux choses situées sur des plans différents.' Thus, *ŚB.* 1. 2. 4. 13 the *āgnīdhra* goes round to the North, for he is 'virtually the same person as Agni himself' (Eggeling: *agnir evaiṣa nidānena*). See also L. Silburn, *Instant et Cause*, Paris 1955, p. 63, etc.

pṛṣṭhaṃ saptamasyāhna āyatanenātha kasmād anvahaṃ bṛhat kriyate 'seeing that the r. is in "position" ("normally" Keith) the *pṛṣṭha* of the seventh day, then why is the b. performed daily?' (cf. *ŚŚS*. 10. 9. 12). One should remember that the seventh day is a repetition of the first day (*AiB*. 5. 16. 2) which is characterized by the *rathaṃtara* as the (first) *pṛṣṭha* (*stotra*) (*ŚŚS*. 10. 2. 1).—*TS*. 7. 2. 8. 1 ff. is especially instructive. Dealing with the order of the libations on the ten days which make up the substance of the sacrificial ceremony of twelve days, the author states that the cup for Indra and Vāyu is, like the opening day, connected with the Gāyatrī metre; therefore that cup is drawn on the opening day, 'then one draws it in its own *āyatana*- ("abode", Keith)'. Here that particular day is the *āyatana*- (cf. 7. 2. 8. 6; 7) of a particular cup because both are related to the same metre. The Śukra cup is in a similar way connected with the Triṣṭubh, the second day is also connected with that metre, therefore the Śukra is drawn on the second day, 'verily he draws it in its own *āyatana*-', etc.—The fourth day of the *pṛṣṭhya ṣaḍaha* is said to be the *āyatana*- of speech (*vāc*-): *KB*. 22. 6. The third pressing is the *āyatana*- of the *śilpa*-*s* (for this recitation see *ŚŚS*. 12. 8. 1), which are the lower breaths (*KB*. 25. 12). The tenth day of the Daśarātra rite, which is characterized by the use of the Anuṣṭubh, is the *āyatana*- of that metre (*KB*. 27. 1).

In this connection the alternation *hemantaḥ paṅktis . . . ity antarikṣāyatanāni* and *śiśiro 'ticchandās . . . iti*

dyubhaktīni ('. . . belong to heaven, are celestial') in *Nir.* 7. 11 is of some interest.—*PB.* 2. 8. 2 *brahmaṇo vā āyatanaṃ prathamā kṣatrasya madhyamā viśa uttamā* was translated by Caland 'The first (verse) is the place (*sthānam*, comm.) of priesthood, the middle one that of nobility . . .'

In translating *KB.* 8. 4 Keith was misguided by the assumption that this word means 'abode; house'. As rightly observed by Caland [1] the words *apaśyaṃ tvā manasā cekitānam ity etad asyāyatane prajākāmasyābhiṣṭuyāt* mean: 'he should recite *ṚV.* 10. 183 instead of (I would add: exactly, 'in the place, in the system otherwise occupied by') that (formerly mentioned text *ṚV.* 10. 177) for one who is desirous of offspring.' Similarly *KB.* 8. 5 (in connection with *ṚV.* 10. 184). Compare also *KS.* 18. 3 where the term is likewise used for a place or position in the systematic arrangement of liturgical texts.—In its comment upon the *pravargyotsādana-* (the removal and orderly laying out, in the form of a man, of the apparatus used for the Pravargya ceremony) *ŚB.* 14. 3. 1. 21 observes: '(he places) the spade on the left (north) side, for there is its *āyatana-* ("place of rest", Eggeling); the imperial throne on the right side and the black antelope-skin on the left side, because there are their *āyatana-s*'. It should be remembered that the *abhri-* 'the wooden shovel or spade' is repeatedly identified with a woman (3. 5. 4. 4; 3. 6. 1. 4; 3. 7. 1. 1) and that a woman 'has her

[1] Caland, *Sāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra*, Nagpur 1954, p. 115.

position ' on the left side (Eggeling: *uttarata-āyatanā-*) of her husband (8. 4. 4. 11).[1] So there is a regular and systematic relation between the female spade and the left side. The antelope-skin is in the Pravargya rite spread out on the left (north) side (14. 1. 2. 2); the place of the throne [2] is south of the Āhavanīya (14. 1. 3. 8). See also 14. 3. 1. 22 and compare 14. 2. 2. 43.

While being consecrated the sacrificer may not sleep on his back, left side, or face down, but only on his right side.[3] The reason for this ritual direction is *TS*. 6. 2. 5. 5 stated as follows: that side is his [4] *āyatana-*; thus he lies in his own *āyatana-*. It is clear that this cannot be an ' abode ' (Keith).

V

By offering the oblations relating to the Forms [5] in the Āhavanīya fire one offers them, according to the author of *ŚB*. 13. 1. 3. 7, at (in) the sacrificer's *āyatana-*. One should remember that there exists a ' mystic ' relation between the sacrificer and that fire which is his divine body (*ŚB*. 6. 6. 4. 5; 9. 3. 4. 12). Here again the term denotes a correlative position

[1] For the left as the female side see J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation*, Zürich—Leipzig 1937, III, p. 308.

[2] Cf. Eggeling, *The Śat. Br.* translated, V, S. B. E. XLIV, Oxford 1900, p. 461.

[3] Caland—Henry, op. cit., p. 22.

[4] Not ' of the sacrifice ' (Keith, *Veda of the Black Yajus School*, p. 507).

[5] See Eggeling, op. cit., V, S. B. E. XLIV, p. 282.

which participates in the essence of its correlate. It is, here again, dangerous to offer the oblations elsewhere, i.e. not at (in) the sacrificer's *āyatana-* (*anāyatane*, not: 'where there is no resting-place', Eggeling), because then one would raise a rival for him (13. 1. 3. 6).—For the dangers of sacrificing *anāyatane* one may also read *MS*. 1. 6. 11: I. 104. 3 *hiraṇyaṃ nidhāya juhoty agnimaty eva juhoty āyatanavaty, andho 'dhvaryuḥ syād yad anāyatane juhuyāt*; 3. 1. 4: III. 5. 11; 3. 4. 4: III. 49. 15. etc. Cf. e.g. also *KS*. 35. 18: II. 64. 8 f.; *MS*. 3. 4. 10: III. 57. 9 ff. *yo vā agnim ayonim anāyatanaṃ cinute 'yonir anāyatano bhavati. āpo vā agner yonir yat kumbheṣṭakā upadadhāti yonimantam evāyatanavantam agniṃ cinute, yonimān āyatanavān bhavati*, and 4. 7. 6: IV. 101. 15 f. . . . *achandaskam anāyatanaṃ gṛhṇīte, anāyatano yajamāno bhavaty, uttare 'han dvirātrasya gṛhyo, rātrim evāyatanam abhyatiricyate*.—*ŚB*. 13. 5. 1. 18 *anāyatane* means 'the wrong place' (Eggeling): some insert *ṚV*. 1. 162. 18 lest they should place the syllable *oṃ anāyatane* (it is not placed after formulas of the same nature). Cf. *TB*. 3. 8. 8. 3. Pouring out sacrificial matter in the wrong place (outside the *agnyāyatana-*, comm.) will entail lack of an *āyatana-* for the sacrificer (*TB*. 3. 7. 2. 1; 2; *KS*. 35. 18; *KKS*. 48. 16), a prospect following on childlessness and lack of cattle.

TS. 2. 3. 13. 3 is likewise one of those texts from which it appears that the man who is in distress is without an *āyatana-* or is in need of a rite by which he may obtain one. The rite described *ĀpŚS*. 19. 25. 1-6; *BŚS*. 13. 33 f. is to be performed for a man who

is ‘ seized by evil ’ (*pāpmanā gṛhītaḥ*); by offering clotted milk, in which a cake is put, to Indra and Varuṇa who are implored to free that person from distress (*aṃhas-*), one makes him possessed of an *ātman-* and an *āyatana-*.—The importance of an *āyatana-* is also evident from places such as *TB.* 1. 6. 8. 8 where its alternative is the much feared premature death. Omitting a definite act in connection with the *prastara* (the sacrificial grass spread on the *vedi*) which is identified with the sacrificer,[1] the latter will be devoid of an *āyatana-*.—For a ritual technique to destroy somebody's *āyatana-* see also *MS.* 3. 3. 5: III. 38. 2.—*PB.*, 7. 3. 11 by chanting a *gāyatra* which is the earth one makes (for the sacrificer) an ‘abode ’ (Caland: *āyatana-*) on the earth.

In *ŚB.* 8. 5. 3. 8 the question arises as to whether in building the great fire-place one should at a given moment lay down a thirtieth brick. The author advises against this because in doing so one would thrust the sacrificer out of his own ‘ safe resort ’ (*loka-*); one should, on the contrary, consider that ‘ that fire which they bring hither is no other than this sacrificer [2]; by means of his *āyatana-* (“ foundation ”, Eggeling) it is he who is the thirtieth (brick) in this (layer) ’. The conclusion must be that the fire is the *āyatana-* of the sacrificer with whom it may be identified.

[1] Cf., e.g. *KKS.* 39. 2; I also refer to Caland, *Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, I, p. 59 f.

[2] Cf. Eggeling, op. cit., IV, S. B. E. XLIII, p. XIX.

The *nākasad* bricks are (*TS*. 5. 3. 7. 1) said to be the *āyatana-* (not 'home', Keith) of the sacrificer (*yajamānāyatana-*); 'in that he puts them down, the sacrificer makes himself an *āyatana-*'. The special relation between these bricks and the sacrificer is *ŚB*. 8. 6. 1. 12 stated as follows: they are (the sacrificer's) self, or (ibid. 11) the four sacrificial priests with the sacrificer. These bricks are also the collected brilliant energy (*tejaḥ saṃbhṛtam*) of the Pṛṣṭha stotras; and thus this energy is won by him who puts them down (*TS*. 5. 3. 7. 1 f.). Their name may (pseudo-) etymologically be explained as *ná-ákam* 'no misfortune', thus there is no misfortune for him (ibid.). The conclusion may be that he who utilizes these bricks, which are in a definite way related to his own person, in the ritually correct way, prepares himself an *āyatana-*.

In connection with the death of an *agnihotrin*, *ŚB*. 12. 5. 1. 17 informs us that some built up a funeral pile in the midst of the dead man's three fires, believing that there is his *āyatana-* ('abode', Eggeling). One should remember that the fires were believed to be the vital spirits of the person concerned,[1] and that according to *TS*. 4. 2. 4. 1, etc. Yama was supposed to have given, in the situation under discussion, a 'resting-place' (*avasāna-*; cf. also *AV*. 18. 1. 55 d; 18. 2. 37 a) for him in the earth, and the *pitṛ-s* to have made a selected position of safety (*loka-*) for him.[2]

[1] I refer to W. Caland, *Die Altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche*, Amsterdam Acad. 1896, p. 5.

[2] See Caland, op. cit., p. 33 f., also variants there.

It is interesting to notice that Uvaṭa on *VS.* 19. 45 explains *loka-* in connection with the Fathers in Yama's realm by *āyatana-*.

By ritual means an *āyatana-* can be created which lacks any spatial substratum. The sacrificer being consecrated is Indra (Vājapeya, *ŚB.* 5. 1. 4. 2; 5. 3. 5. 2), hence the use of texts and objects which are generally known to belong to that god. Thus the sacrificer is consecrated at his own *āyatana-*. Eggeling's inadequate translations are ' dwelling-place ' and ' resting-place '.—The *vāmadevya* must not be chanted conformably to the *bṛhat* and the *rathaṃtara*; it must be chanted with (on) its own ' support ' (*PB.* 7. 9. 15. Caland: *svenaivāyatanena*); then one comes into possession of an *āyatana-*. The commentary explains: *vāmadevasya yat s. ā. niyatā gītiḥ tasyāṃ gānam evāsya rūpe sthitaḥ.*[1]

A curious rite, being part of the Sautrāmaṇī ceremonies,[2] is described *SB.* 12. 8. 3. 20 (cf. *KātyŚS.* 19. 4. 19-21): the officiants lift the sacrificer up knee-high, then navel-high, then as high as the mouth; ' in doing so ', the text explains, ' they now help him in obtaining " positions " in these regions of the universe (earth, atmosphere, heavens) ' (*eṣv evāsmā etal lokeṣv āyatanāni kalpayanti*), adding that this ritual act is similar to the obligatory mounting of the sacrificial stake in the Vājapeya rites.

[1] See Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, p. 157.

[2] Cf. P. E. Dumont, *L'Aśvamedha*, Paris—Louvain 1927, p. 236.

The *adhvaryu* and his two assistants drink the contents of the Āśvina cup, for the Aśvin-s are the *adhvaryu* (and his assistant) of the gods: they thus consume each his own share in his own *āyatana-* (*ŚB.* 12. 8. 2. 22); similarly, 23. In 24 the author states that the sacrificer drinks the contents of the cup belonging to Indra, because this sacrificial rite, the Sautrāmaṇī, belongs to that god, and even now he who sacrifices is *indrāyatana-* (' has his abode along with Indra ', Eggeling; ' dependent on Indra ', Monier-Williams, Dict., rather: ' occupies the position which in the correlative system coincides with Indra's position '); ' he thus consumes his own share in his own *āyatana-*'.

At first sight *TS.* 1. 5. 2. 3 is not clear: *vibhaktayo bhavanti vāco vidhṛtyai yajamānasyāparābhāvāya. vibhaktiṃ karoti, brahmaiva tad akaḥ . . . vibhaktim uktvā prayājena vaṣaṭkaroty āyatanād eva naiti*, i.e. ' there are modifications, i.e. case forms (of a noun) in order to separate speech and to preserve the sacrificer. He pronounces a case form, thus he has made Brahman . . .; having pronounced a case form he produces the Vaṣaṭ-call with the formula for the preliminary sacrifice; verily he does not leave his *āyatana-*'.[1]

In reading part of the preceding places as well as the following we should however remember that a ' settlement ' was not only a socio-economical, but also

[1] See *ĀśvŚS.* 2. 8. 6; *MŚS.* 5. 1. 2. 6; Caland, on *ĀpŚS.* 5. 28. 6 ff.

a religious concept. It was a 'selected', sacred position, which stands out from the surrounding extent of space, a centre of power, and meant a refuge and safety, a fixed point where to live in a real sense.[1] Arriving at one's destination (*ā yat-*) means making an end of wandering and unsteadiness, of living in 'strange places', which may be dangerous, of belonging 'nowhere' and feeling disintegrated socially as well as from the ritual and religious points of view. *AiB*. 3. 22. 10 f.: according to the use of definite metres one may make a man with or without an *āyatana-*. No prospect of social and ritual integration can be seen by that man and his descendants against whom a definite incantation is performed so that there will be no *āyatana-* for him (*ŚB*. 3. 9. 6). Were they to chant a *sāman* without a finale (*nidhana-*), the sacrificer would be deprived of an 'abode' (*PB*. 7. 3. 12), because a chant which is devoid of a finale is without an *āyatana-* (5. 2. 5, not exactly 'support', Caland, following the comm.: *nidhana-*=*āyatana-*).

The man who being permitted by a *vrātya* and knowing thus [2] offers, foreknows the road to gods and Fathers, does not insulate himself among the gods; [3] his oblation succeeds and there is left in this world (*loke*) an *āyatana-* ('support', Whitney—Lanman) for him (*AVŚ*. 15. 12. 7; cf. 11).

[1] I refer to *Loka, World and Heaven in the Veda*, esp. p. 39; 42.

[2] For the *vrātya* concept see J. C. Heesterman, in *Indo-Iran. Journ.* 6, p. 1 ff.

[3] See *The Savayajñas*, Amsterdam Acad. 1965, p. 359 f.

The *vedi* (sacrificial bed or bank) is said to be the *āyatana-* of the sacrificer (*TS.* 1. 7. 5. 3); in that a full bowl is placed within the *vedi*, good grass and good water is placed in the sacrificer's own *āyatana-* 'homestead', with which the *vedi*—which is often said to be identical with the earth (e.g. *ŚB.* 7. 3. 1. 15), and elsewhere is for instance stated to bear the sacrificer to heaven (*ŚB.* 11. 4. 1. 16)—is identified.

By means of the same rite which enabled the gods to drive their rivals, the Asura-s, out of 'these worlds' a sacrificer can (*PB.* 9. 2. 11 f.) drive his rival *ebhyo lokebhyaḥ*, with the implicit result that the sacrificer will be safe and happy in all circumstances which from the socio-religious points of view are really important and with the explicit consequence that he will (or can, or must) perform a sacrificial session in his own *āyatana-*. This must mean 'on his own plot of ground', because according to *BaudhŚS.* 2. 2; *ĀpŚS.* 2. 9. 11 ff. the sacrificer has to ask the 'king' for a sacrificial ground, but the ceremony was no doubt intended ritually to confirm and ratify his success in expelling his rivals from his sphere.

Some interest attaches also to *JUB.* 2. 12. 8 (2. 4. 3. 8): 'therefore one who knows thus should not fear being without a (material) house or being without a "position" of safety and well-being (*loka-*); he should know: These divinities will make in this world houses for me from (their) houses, from *āyatana-s* of their own', that is to say, from places or positions, where they belong or with which they are naturally

associated. ‘ Wheresoever these divinities touch, there no trace of evil is left ’ (ibid. 1), so that man may also hope to derive shelter and safety from contact with the *āyatana-s*, the residences (which are everywhere: *ŚB*. 14. 3. 2. 3 ff.) of the gods.

After explaining that ‘ of the *sāman-s* the *vāmadevya* is the essence or pith (*sat-: sāra-*, comm.) of the sacrifice ’ (4. 8. 10) the author of *PB*. observes: ‘ they who rise after chanting the *vāmadevya*, rise from essence to essence, from fullness to fullness, from *āyatana-* to *āyatana-*’ (13 ‘ support ’, Caland). The text continues *antarikṣāyatanā hi prajā*, the comm. recalling to mind that the *vāmadevya* is (of the nature of) the intermediate space (cf. *ŚB*. 1. 8. 1. 19), and observing that creatures cannot move without space which they secure by means of the *vāmadevya*: *avakāśam antareṇa saṃcaraṇānupapattes tāsāṃ tadāyatanatvam; tathā saty āyatanabhūtād vāmadevyād uttiṣṭhanta āyatanaṃ prajānām āyatanaṃ sthānam antarikṣātmakam abhilakṣyottiṣṭhanti prajānām āyatanatvaṃ labhanta ity arthaḥ*. Cf. *ŚB*. 13. 6. 2. 2: the *antarikṣa-* is the *āyatana-* of all creatures. This must also mean that they live in the atmosphere and are with a view to their continued existence dependent on it.

It is evident that in contexts such as *PB*. 7. 3. 18 a translation ‘ abode ’ (Caland) is not quite satisfactory: the intermediate sphere is the least strong of the three provinces of the universe, it must be supported on both sides by heaven and earth; however, by chanting a *sāman* with three finales (*nidhana-*, 17, the word meaning also ‘ settling down, resting-place,

residence') one gives it an *āyatana-* 'foothold' or 'destination', it reaches its normal conclusion. Thereby one establishes oneself firmly (*pratitiṣṭhati*) in the three worlds (20).

The gods, produced by Prajāpati, wished to have offspring; Prajāpati, advising them to seek that in austerity, gave them Agni as an *āyatana-* —which, I think, must mean 'as their resort', 'as something to depend on'—, saying: 'exert yourselves with that *āyatana-*'. They did so and after a year produced a cow (*TS*. 7. 1. 5. 2).

What does *TS*. 1. 6. 7. 2 exactly mean: *barhiṣā pūrṇamāse vratam upaiti vatsair amāvāsyāyām, etad dhy etayor āyatanam?*: 'at the full moon he undertakes his vow with the (strewing of the) straw, with the (driving of the) calves at new moon; for that is their abode' (Keith).[1]

There existed a rite to produce an enemy in some-one's own *āyatana-* ('abode', Keith): *TS*. 2. 2. 10. 5. After having gone to the plot of ground (land, house: *kṣetra-*) of one's rival (*ĀpŚS*. 19. 19. 9 f.; cf. *BŚS*. 13. 18: II. 130. 5) one should there select a sacrificial bed and dig it up half (i.e. the southern half of it), and half not, spread half the straw (on that southern half), and half not, pile on half of the kindling-wood and half not. We may be sure that *āyatana-* and *kṣetra-* are in this passage not synonymous.

[1] A. Hillebrandt, *Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*, Jena 1880, p. 4; 7.

ŚB. 11. 8. 1. 3 is interesting because of the alternate use of *kula-* and *āyatana-*. The term *mahas-* meaning cattle, cattle thrive (*mahīyante*) [1] in the homestead (*kule*) of the sacrificer. Therefore, if people were to drive him from his regular position (*āyatanāt*), he should after performing the Agnihotra, approach (the fires) and say '*mahas*'; then he is not deprived of his *āyatana-* (=*sthāna-*, comm.; 'home', Eggeling). It seems clear that both words are not synonymous, but express corresponding concepts, one in the socio-economic, the other—which may be less concrete—in the ritual-religious sphere.

At first sight, Eggeling's translation of the term in *ŚB.* 10. 5. 2. 21, namely 'foundation' seems irreproachable: the fire-place consists of three bricks . . .; whatever brick he lays down with a *ṛc* (verse) that has the gold plate for its *āyatana-*; whatever . . . with a *yajus* (formula) that has the (gold) man for its *āyatana-*, etc. The gold man however represents Prajāpati-Agni as well as the sacrificer, whose (divine) body is co-extensive with the fire-place which is to be built; the gold plate is vital energy, etc. and the third object, the lotus-leaf, is the womb, laid down in the centre of the site, marking the womb or commencement of the construction, and the birth-place of Agni-Prajāpati as well as the sacrificer.[2] It is therefore clear that

[1] See my article on *mahas-* etc. in *J. Or. Inst.*, Baroda 8 (1958), p. 264.

[2] For references see J. Eggeling, op. cit., V, p. 537 f.; 547; IV, p. xx and *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 191 f.

these objects—which are placed one above the other: (*ŚB*. 7. 4. 1. 7; 10; 15)—are more than a mere foundation.

TS. 3. 1. 9. 1 f. very interestingly informs us that 'some libations have bases (Keith's translation), some have not; those which have a sprinkling with clarified butter have bases, those of Soma have not' (*āyatanavatīr vā anyā āhutayo hūyante, 'nāyatanā anyāḥ. yā āghāravatīs tā āyatanavatīr, yāḥ saumyās tā anāyatanāḥ*). By sprinkling a cup of Soma while pronouncing the formula 'this sacrifice must proceed well to the herbs, cattle, our folk . . .' [1] one makes these libations of Soma to have an *āyatana-*, with the result that the man who knows thus becomes also possessed of an *āyatana-*. The sprinkling with ghee is a consecration, i.e. an act by which an object acquires some qualities which are characteristic of a state of transmutation.[2] That is to say, the object consecrated is no longer an immediate reality; it becomes a supernormal reality, it lodges power, efficacy, endurance; it is no longer a loose or detached entity 'in the chaos of the homogeneity and relativity of profane space' [3] but it is founded in, and forms part of, a cosmos, i.e. of a harmonious and well-ordered system. See also *TS*. 5. 7. 3. 3 '. . . he makes this libation to have an *āyatana-*; he wins that for desire of which he makes this offering'.

[1] For this *mantra* see my article on *adhvara-* and *adhvaryu-*, *Vishveshvaranand Indol. Journal* 3 (Hoshiarpur 1965), p. 176.

[2] Cf. *The Savayajñas*, p. 150.

[3] M. Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, New York 1961, p. 22.

In contradistinction to ' an elevated place ' (*āroha-*) of a tree which does not furnish a *yoni-* and an *āyatana-*, the ' firm-rooted part ' (*svārudh-*) does; hence in cutting down the sacrificial post one should cleave the ' firm-rooted part ' in order to provide the sacrificer—whose endeavour is to reach a higher plane of existence—with a *yoni*—which may mean ' a safe place, where one is out of harm's way and where arises religious merit and a " new birth " '[1]—and an *āyatana-* —a ' homestead ' in a ritual sense—(*KS*. 26. 3: II. 125. 16: *KKS*. 41. 1); cf. *TS*. 6. 3. 3. 5 ' this among trees is firmly founded (*pratiṣṭhita-*) which grows from its own birthplace (*yoni-*) . . . and stands firm (*prati tiṣṭhati*) '.

The cake on seven potsherds prepared for the Marut-s is, in an enumeration of oblations, to be offered by those who perform the Vaiśvadeva (the first seasonal sacrifice; cf. also *TS*. 1. 8. 2; *ĀpŚS*. 8. 2. 2) *ŚB*. 2. 5. 1. 12 said to be a ' foundation ' (Eggeling's translation of *āyatanam*; *sthānam*, comm.) for the curds (*payasyā-*) an oblation of which—presented to the Viśve Devāḥ—is to follow. This cake is (14) offered for the safety (*ahiṃsāyai*) of creatures, which are also said to receive the curds, because it is on milk that they subsist (15). So the term *āyatana-* may apply to an entity which, serving for the accomplishment of the sacrifice (*yajñasya kḷptyai*, TB. 1. 6. 2. 3), creates a sensation of safety for another entity which it

[1] I refer to *Loka*, p. 142 f.

precedes, and on which this other entity, which affords subsistence, is dependent.[1]

Praising the waters in connection with their different connections *TĀ*. 1. 22. 1 says: 'He who knows the *āyatana-* of the waters, becomes one who has an *āyatana-*; fire is the *āyatana-* of the waters (because, the commentary explains, fire is according to the sacred tradition, the origin of water and hence its *āśraya-* "abode", a term for "substratum"); [2] he becomes one who has an *āyatana-*; he who knows the *āyatana-* of fire, becomes . . .; the waters are the *āyatana-* of fire; he becomes . . . who knows thus (the commentary stating that the waters are the *ādhāra-* "substratum" refers to the words: "the waters were this All", cf. 10. 22. 1)'. In the same way wind (the moving atmosphere: *vāyu-*) and the waters are said to be each other's *āyatana-*, the sun (because, the commentator observes, it produces rain) and the waters, the moon and the waters (because the moon emits rays consisting of dew, comm.), the *nakṣatra-s* and the waters (because of the connection of some asterisms with rainfall, comm.), Parjanya and the waters (because the cloud, called Parjanya, contains rain, comm.), the year and the waters (because the year brings water by means of the rainy season). What

[1] Compare also the motivation of these oblations in *TB*. 1, 6. 2. 1-5 (Caland, *Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II, Amsterdam Acad. 1924, p. 9).

[2] Cf. e.g. D. H. H. Ingalls, *Materials for the Study of Navya-Nyāya Logic*, Cambridge Mass. 1951, p. 43.

strikes us is, first the mutuality of the *āyatana-* relation and in the second place the fact that the waters are said to be the *āyatana-* of some entities which may be, and indeed elsewhere are, considered as belonging to the same category, namely the elements.

In the confused section *BĀU.K.* 3. 9. 10-18[1] Śākalya distinguishes eight *puruṣa-s*, which are the last goal and resort of every *ātman* and whose 'mind' in each case is light, but whose *āyatana-s*, *loka-s* and divinities are different. Of the *puruṣa-* which is in (connection with) the body the *āyatana-* is the earth (*pṛthivī-*), the *loka-* fire, the deity the immortal (*amṛtam*); of that which consists of desire (*kāma-*) they are: desire, the heart, women; of that which is in the sun: forms, the eye, reality (*satyam*); of that which is in hearing: space, the ear, the quarters of space; of that which consists of shadow: darkness, the heart, death; of that which is in the looking-glass: forms, the eye, life (*asu-*); of that which is in water: water, the heart, Varuṇa; of that which consists of the son: semen (*retas-*), the heart, Prajāpati.[2] Part of these combinations (11; 12; 13; 14; 17) are at once intelligible. Miss van Gelder[3] is however hardly right in arguing that 'die erste Bestimmung: Sitz, Stelle, Heimat, so ziemlich dasselbe (ist) wie die zweite: Platz, Raum,

[1] For a characterization of which see J. M. van Gelder, *Der Ātman in der Grossen-Wald-Geheimlehre*, The Hague 1957, p. 82 ff.

[2] For Prajāpati as a god of procreation see *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 180.

[3] Van Gelder, op. cit., p. 82.

Welt, Erde '. Notwithstanding some paragraphs being confused and inconsistent so much seems clear that the *loka*- 'position' of these 'persons' (centres of individuality) in most cases is a physical organ in and through which they display their activity and that the *āyatana-s* are substrata. 'Substratum' may also be the translation in a case such as Nīlakaṇṭha on *Gaṇeśagītā* 2. 38 *karmānurūpaṃ janma duḥkhabhogāyatanaṃ labhate*.

The Gandharva-s and Apsaras-es cause madness; the homes (*gṛhāḥ*) of these deities are the fig-trees, Nyagrodha, Udumbara, etc.; offering for a man who is mad, one should use wood of these trees for kindling fire, in order to appease these deities in their own *āyatana*- (TS. 3. 4. 8. 4 f.).

VI

The word *nidāna*- [1] is in the Veda usually translated by 'Ursache' (*ṚV*. 10. 114. 2), 'Grundform, Grundlage' (*ṚV*. 10. 130. 3; *TB*. 2. 2. 11. 6, etc.), 'base', 'foundation' (*TS*. 6. 5. 11. 2). Oldenberg's [2] suggestion to take it as meaning 'das woran etwas einen Anhalt hat' has however something to recommend it. Cf. *ṚV*. 10. 114. 2 stating that the inspired poets have understood the *nidāna*- of the three goddesses of destruction which is (founded) in mysterious functional

[1] See above, IV.

[2] Oldenberg, *Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft*, p. 117.

behaviour in connection with the universal order [1] (*tā́sāṃ ní cikyuḥ kaváyo nidā́nam páreṣu yā́ gúhyeṣu vrateṣu*); 10. 130. 3 what was in creating the sacrificial rite the *pratimā́-* 'likeness, pattern' and what the *nidāna-*?; *TB*. 2. 2. 11. 6 the Daśahotṛ formulas have the Agnihotra as their *nidāna*, the Caturhotṛ formulas [2] the rites of Full and New Moon, etc. These formulas, which may be employed independently but are often used in the course of important rites, are termed offerings, because they represent various sacrifices, such as the Agnihotra; *TS*. 6. 5. 11. 2 the hymn called the Ājya (Śastra) is the *nidāna* of the cups: that means that definite ritual acts to be performed in connection with the cups have their 'Anhalt' or their motivation in that recitation.[3] Thus *nidāna-* is a general term for various forms of connection between entities which are in the systematic thought of the ritualists identified or intimately connected: cf. e.g. *ŚB*. 3. 7. 1. 11 *yajamāno vā eṣa nidānena yad yūpaḥ* 'the sacrificial stake is by (on account of) its "bond" (i.e. by its being "bound" to an entity with which it is identified) the sacrificer'.[4] This ancient force of the term has not quite paled at Kāl. *Ragh*. 3. 1 *nidānam ikṣvākukulasya saṃtateḥ* '(her

[1] For *vrata-* see *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 79.

[2] Cf. Eggeling, S.B.E. XXVI, p. 452, n. 2; Caland, *Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II, p. 386 ff.; Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 356.

[3] For particulars see Caland—Henry, op. cit., p. 230 ff.

[4] Eggeling's translation '. . . is in reality . . .' is incorrect, and so are 'originally, essentially, properly' (Monier-Williams, s.v.).

pregnancy was) the (chief) cause (root, base, or whatever word we would choose to render the idea into English; *mūlakāraṇam*, comm.) of the perpetuation of Ikṣvāku's race': that means that the perpetuation of that family is indissolubly connected with, depends on, that pregnancy, which on the other hand may be said to be identical with that perpetuation. As already observed this term combines at *KB*. 22. 1 with *āyatana*- and both terms were in later times adopted by the medical schools as synonyms of *hetu*- which usually is translated by 'cause' or 'reason'. Indian nosology endeavouring to explain the symptoms of diseases in relation to the physiological system adopted mainly investigated the *nidāna-s* ('l'occasion en laquelle se produisent les troubles' [1]). Caraka (Nidānasthāna) makes mention of seven synonyms for *hetu*-, namely *nimitta*-, *āyatana*-, *kartṛ*-, *kāraṇa*-, *pratyaya*-, *samutthāna*- ('rise, origin') and *nidāna*-. Compare also Vāgbhaṭa, *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā*, Nid. 1. 3: *nimitta*-, *hetu*-, *āyatana*-, *pratyaya*-, *utthāna*- and *kāraṇa*- are synonyms of *nidāna*- 'cause'. It seems clear that *āyatana*- was no more than *nidāna*- an exact equivalent of our 'cause' or 'reason'.[2]

[1] J. Filliozat, *La Doctrine classique de la Médecine indienne*, Paris 1949, p. 23: 'Cette occasion, déterminée par le temps, le régime, le comportement ou telle autre cause, consiste dans l'excitation ou le ralentissement de l'un ou de plusieurs d'entre les (trois) éléments. Poser un diagnostic ne consiste pas seulement à reconnaître une maladie mais à juger du rôle qu'y jouent le vent, la bile ou la pituite.'

[2] See also L. Hilgenberg und W. Kirfel, *Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā übersetzt*, Leiden 1941, p. 213.

Impressing us as having that meaning it properly denoted the place where a disease had 'taken position', that is, where it has its seat. One might compare expressions such as, in the *Pañcat.* 1. 2 *śoka-sthāna-*, *bhaya-sthāna-* 'occasion of sorrow, . . . of fear'.[1]

VII

It seems worth while here to insert some texts exhibiting the verbal adjective *āyatta-* in order to show its intimate semantic connections with the verb on the one hand and the substantive on the other. St. 21 of *ṚVKh.* 3. 15. the Hṛdyasūkta intended to cause mutual sympathy between two persons (cf. *ṚgVidh.* 3 21. 2)[2] runs as follows: *cíttaṃ ca te mánaś ca te máyi dhātā́ ní yacchatu. máyi te cíttam ā́yattaṃ mánas te máyi samaśnute*, expressing in various ways the thought 'Let your mind and heart be fixed on me'.—*MaiU.* 6. 6. (5. 6) *cakṣurāyattā hi puruṣasya mahatī mātrā* [*cakṣuṣā hy ayam mātrāś carati*] 'of (for) a person the great object (i.e. the material world) comes to (is dependent on) his eye [; for the person operates on the whole material world with the eye]',[3] the insertion being of an explanatory character.—In the eulogy of the remnant *AVŚ*.

[1] From the above discussion of the term it seems very doubtful whether this use is 'presumably Buddhistic' (S. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, II, Cambridge 1932, p. 395).

[2] See also J. Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda*, Breslau 1906, p. 102.

[3] Compare J. A. B. van Buitenen, *The Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad*, The Hague 1962, p. 84 ff.; 136.

11. 7 [1] (*AVP*. 16. 82. 3) it reads (st. 3) *laukyā ucchiṣṭa āyattāḥ*: ' (all beings) in the world have taken a footing on this highly important principle (so as to depend on it) '.—*JB*. 2. 246; *PB*. 20. 16. 1 *idam eva prathamenāhnā vyākarod yad asyām āyattamūlam* is explained (comm. *PB*.) by *aṣṭhīnamūla-*, *sthāvarāṇāṃ hi mūlāni bhūmau praviśya tiṣṭhanti;* ' firmly rooted ' (Caland, *PB*.). —Because Aditi, ' who is this (earth), once discerned the zenith, plants and trees grow upright, men go upright, etc., whatever there is on this earth, that occupies a vertical position ' (rather than ' that stretches upright ', Keith: *KB*. 7. 6 *yad asyāṃ kiṃcordhvam eva tad āyattam*).—Translators disagree about *BĀU* 1. 5. 3 *yaḥ kaś ca śabdo vāg eva sā*; *eṣā hy antam āyattā, eṣā hi na.* I would reject: '. . . it serves to determine an end (object), but is not itself (determined or revealed) ' (Radhakrishnan); rather '. . . it has come to an end, it is not '.[2]—The words Manu 7. 65 *amātye daṇḍa āyattaḥ* were translated by Bühler ' the army depends on the official (placed in charge of it) ', a translation which brings out the mutual character of the relation implied in the process: the army so to say comes to the official (general), a ' place ' where it ought to come and then depends on him.

The translation ' depending on ' for *āyatta-* which may be supposed to have expressed the idea of ' having reached its normal position ' and hence ' being firmly,

[1] See my relative article in *Mélanges d'Indianisme à la Mémoire de Louis Renou*, Paris 1968, pp. 301 ff.

[2] Thus Miss van Gelder, op. cit., p. 139.

properly, normally established on (in)' is indeed warranted in cases such as *KB.* 6. 11 *atra ca bhūyiṣṭhā hotrā āyattā bhavanti* 'on it (on the *ṚV.*) very many functions of the *hotar* c.s. depend'.[1] Although sometimes other translations may for some reason or other be preferred—cf. e.g. *MārkPur.* 69. 23 *tavāyatto 'smi:* 'I am all docile towards thee' (Pargiter, 72, 21)—it can often be considered the best equivalent: Kāl. *Megh.* 16 *tvayy* (the cloud) *āyattaṃ kṛṣiphalam;* Somadeva, *KSS.* 18. 136 *daivāyatta-;* 53. 7 *īśvaraḥ pradadāty eva karmāyattam idaṃ kila;* comm. on *Gaṇeśagītā* 1. 6 *tau* (release and bondage) *ca dhanasadasadbhāvāyattau.*

VIII

Some stray remarks may finally, by way of addendum, be made here on the main uses of the term made by the Pāli authors. It may appear that these uses, in spite of stereotyped translations and the impression created by lexicographers, associate themselves very well with the Vedic senses. Some definitions[2] and semantic explications of the concept occurring in Buddhist literature are indeed in essential harmony with the results of the above examination of

[1] Cf. Caland—Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, p. 3.

[2] A stereotyped etymological explication (cf. C. P.D. II, p. 128) is, e.g. *Vism.* 481, 22 (cf. 527. 22) 'Als *āyatana-* (Grundlage) hat man das zu verstehen, was sich betätigt, was die "eindringenden Dinge" (*āya-*) "dehnt" (*tan-*), oder was das "Ausgebreitete" (*āyata-*) "lenkt" (*nayati*)' (Nyanatiloka, *Visuddhi-magga*, Konstanz 1952, p. 558).

text places. Cf. *Sadd.* 577. 20 ' an *āyatana-* is (one's) dwelling (place of existence), birth-place or place of origin (and place of one's family), place of meeting . . .'.[1] Explaining it as a concept which is peculiar to worldly existence this author also attempted to account for its connection with the verb: *āyatananti anamatagge saṃsāre pavattaṃ atīva āyataṃ* (N.B.) *saṃsāra-dukkhaṃ yāva na nivattati tāva nayat' eva pavattayat' evā ti āyatanaṃ.*

There are exact parallels of Sanskrit uses, e.g. *Jāt.* V. 346. 12 *vihitā sant' ime pāsā pallalesu janādhipa. yaṃ yad āyatanaṃ maññe dijānaṃ pāṇarodhanaṃ*[2] '. . . in every haunt of birds, methinks a deadly snare was set'; I. 173. 13 *araññāyatana-* (of an antelope)[3]; but *Manorp.* II. 272. 22 *assānaṃ Kambojo āyatanam* I would translate ' K. is the (native) country of (the) horses'.

The word is also used metaphorically in contexts such as *SuN.* 406 *rajasa āyatanaṃ* ' a seat or haunt of passion'; 399 *apuññāyatanam*, etc.

One should not be led astray[4] by the possibility of a paraphrastic interpretation or successful explicative translation in cases such as, e.g. *Jāt.* I. 178. 16 *paṇḍitā anāyatane pi viriyam akaṃsu* ' the wise exerted themselves even with reference to what is not the right

[1] Cf. H. Smith, *Saddanīti*, Lund 1928, p. 396, 4; 23 ff. For other details see C. P. D. II, p. 128. Cf. e.g. also G. Ch. Pande, *Studies in the Origin of Buddhism*, Allahabad 1957, p. 38.

[2] ed. *yaṃ yadā y.*

[3] not exactly ' a lonely spot' (P. E. D. I, 105, s.v.).

[4] Cf. P. E. D. I, p. 32 s.v.

place', i.e. '. . . an unworthy object, amid hostile surroundings, in hopeless circumstances, etc.'; V. 122. 28 *anāyatanaṃ vuccati lābhayasa-sukhānam anākaro* '. . . not a receptacle, worthy place for, unworthy'. Thus the Pali English Dictionary resorts at *Jāt.* V. 121. st. 35 *anāyatanasīla* even to 'non-exertion, sluggishness, indolence.'

Expatiating upon the meaning of the term under discussion, Buddhaghoṣa, *Aṭṭh.* 3. 275: 140 f. says that among ordinary people it may mean 'abode', in expressions such as 'the *āyatana-* of Vāsudeva'—this use has already been commented upon—; in expressions such as 'an *āyatana-* of gold or silver' it means 'mine'—in view of the fact that the synonymous *ākara-* literally means 'place where something has been scattered, where something has been accumulated or bestowed lavishly', an *āyatana-* may be 'the natural place to which gold, etc. have come'—in some passages of religious interest such as *AN.* III. 43 'in a pleasant trysting place (*manorame āyatane*, of a mighty tree) the passengers of air flock together' it means (Buddhaghoṣa continues) "'meeting-place'"—this is a mere contextual variant of the use mentioned first—; 'and in passages such as *MN.* I. 494 'if there be any *āyatana-* ("objective", Horner), then you will attain the ability of realizing (witnessing) here and there . . .' it means 'reason' (or 'cause', 'ground for': *kāraṇam*). Adding, further on, an explanation of the concept 'ground' or 'reason' the author helps us in understanding this use also: '*āyatana-* in the sense of

" cause ", because of its being the cause-in-relation of the co-existence, etc., of contact and so on ' (*phassādīnaṃ pana sahajātādipaccayaṭṭhena kāraṇattā kāraṇaṭṭhenā pi āyatanaṃ ti veditabbaṃ*).

The compound *kasiṇāyatana-*, translated by ' base or object of a *kasiṇa* exercise ',[1] is the regular place or object of *kasiṇa* (cf., e.g. *DN*. III. 268 *dasa kasiṇāyatanāni paṭhavīkasiṇam*, etc.; *MN*. II. 14), *kasiṇa-* being ' a round, bounded, limited, circumscribed, etc. object of earth, water, etc., a colour, etc.[2] placed on a foot or underframe in a screened place and serving as a device for promoting concentration ', in short ' pure external devices used in meditation exercise to produce and develop concentration ', but originally ' totality ' because one concentrates one's whole attention upon this object.

That contextual use which in the C. P. D. is explained by the English terms ' ground, base, source, cause, condition, occasion, case ' and which is explained by *kāraṇa-* is indeed of special interest. It is identical with the above Sanskrit use. Cf. *DN*. 31. 8: III. 182. 30 (discussing the various evils arising from bad conduct and enumerating a set of six sources of evil

[1] P. E. D. III, p. 29 s.v.

[2] For details see Buddhaghoṣa, *Vis*. ch. 4, etc. (Ñāṇamoli's translation, *The Path of Purification*, Colombo 1956, p. 852 s.v.); S. Lindquist, *Die Methoden des Yoga*, Lund 1932, p. 73 ff.; F. Heiler, *Die buddhistische Versenkung*, München 1922, p. 26 f., etc.; F. L. Woodward, *The Book of Gradual Sayings*, V, London 1955 p. 31, n. 1.

or danger) . . . *sandiṭṭhikā dhanañjāni, kalaha-ppavaḍḍhanī rogānaṃ āyatanaṃ* . . .; *AN*. III. 21 f., etc. the well-known five *vimuttāyatanāni* (hearing the Doctrine taught by the Master, teaching it oneself, etc.); *Attan*. II, 1 *avinayānaṃ āyatanaṃ* 'a cause of (forms of) bad discipline'; *MN*. 106: II. 262. 14 *tassa evaṃ paṭipannassa tabbahulavihārino āyatane cittaṃ pasīdati*; ibid. 102: II 233. 9 *sabbe te imān' eva pañc' āyatanāni abhivadanti*.

The combination with *patiṭṭhā* (<*pratiṣṭhā-*) is not absent in Pāli texts: *AN*. III. 43. 5 ff. (cf. also Sadd. 396. 23 ff.) (a mighty banyan tree) *patiṭṭhā* ('resting-place', Hare [1]) *hoti pakkhinaṃ. manorame āyataṇe sevanti* ('come home to that fair haunt', Hare) *naṃ vihaṅgamā chāyaṃ chāyatthino yanti phalatthaṃ phalabhojino*, explained as *samosaraṇaṭṭhānam* ('place of meeting').

In a spiritual sense it may mean 'transcendental plane, sphere, realm': *DN*. II. 69. 21 *asaññasattāyatanaṃ nevasaññā-nāsaññāyatanam eva dutiyaṃ* 'there are two transcendental planes, one of the unconscious beings and another of neither consciousness nor unconsciousness'.

As is well known the term is also applied to the transcendental conditions or states of mind, the four stages of 'formless' meditation as well as the eight stages of mastery over the senses in *jhāna*. As to the former [2] it may suffice to quote the canonical formula of these Arūpa spheres (e.g. *DN*. 33. 1. 11: III. p. 224

[1] E. M. Hare, *The Book of Gradual Sayings*, III, London 1952, p. 35.

[2] See, e.g. Heiler, op. cit., p. 26 and 80.

VII; *Dhammas*. 265 ff.) in which the use of the verbs *samatikkamati* 'to pass beyond' for rising above and leaving the lower stage and *upasampajjati* 'to attain, enter on, reach, gain' for reaching the higher stage are in tune with the proper meaning of the noun, which in itself denotes a highly important stage in the career of a Buddhist monk. It is the systematic plurality of these 'destinations' and 'establishments' which leads us to the translation 'stage' (German 'Stufe'). Given their transcendental character the terms 'state' or 'condition' may serve in cases such as *DhS*. 116. 12 *lokuttaraṃ āyatanaṃ bhāveti* 'produces a transcendental state of mind'. Compare also in connection with the first meditation *MN*. I. 303. 35, etc. . . . *ahaṃ tad āyatanaṃ upasampajja viharissāmi yad ariyā etarahi āyatanaṃ upasampajja viharantīti* '. . . I, entering on it, will abide on that plane which the eminent men, entering on, are now abiding on'.

As is likewise a matter of common knowledge among students of Buddhism the elements of existence (*dharma-*) are differently classified, namely into *skandha-s*, *āyatana-s*, and *dhātu-s* (cf. e.g. *Therag*. 1255). The second classification made with a view to a division into (the six) cognitive faculties and (the six categories of) their (corresponding) objects comprises the twelve *āyatana-s*, namely the six internal ones or receptive faculties (sense of vision, etc.) and the six external ones (colour and shape, etc.).[1] Although etymologically

[1] For details see, e.g. Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Central Conception of Buddhism*, (London 1923), Calcutta ²1956, p. 3 ff.; H. Dayal,

untenable the explication furnished—in accordance with the Buddhist tradition and Rosenberg [1]—by Stcherbatsky [2] is instructive. Consciousness never arises alone; it is always supported or introduced by a cognitive faculty and a corresponding objective element.[3] 'Introduced', and hence the application of the term 'doors (*dvāra-*) for consciousness',[4] and Stcherbatsky's explication: 'the term *āyatana-* means "entrance" (*ayaṃ tanoti*)'.

The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, London 1932, p. 122; 241; E. J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, London ²1951, p. 164 f.; Bhikshu Sangharakshita, *A Survey of Buddhism*, Bangalore ²1959, p. 507.

[1] O. Rosenberg, *Die Probleme der buddhistischen Philosophie*, Heidelberg 1924, p. 139 (with a bibliographical note).

[2] Stcherbatsky, *Central Conception*, p. 7, who rightly rejects the usual translation 'sphere'. (In *Erkenntnistheorie und Logik nach der Lehre der späteren Buddhisten*, München 1924, p. 132 he translated 'Gebiet').

[3] Cf. e.g. SN. I, 111 f.; SN. IV, 67 f.

[4] 'Der Terminus "āyatana" wird im Sinne von Stütze des Bewusztseins gebraucht; *āyatana* sind diejenigen Elemente, auf Grund welcher im gegebenen Augenblick das Bewusztsein erscheinen kann; darum werden sie "das Tor" genannt, durch welches das Bewusztsein eintritt, oder Basen, auf welche sich das Bewusztsein gründet. . . . Sich auf diese zwölf Elemente, aus denen sich der Moment zusammensetzt, stützend, erscheint im nächstfolgenden Moment das sechsfache Bewusztsein, d.h. das Bewusztsein des Gesichts, des Gehörs usw. Also bezieht sich die Klassifikation nach den zwölf Basen auf die Zusammensetzung eines gegebenen Momentes im Verhältnis zum nächsten' (Rosenberg, loc. cit.). Another attempt at translating is 'Grundlage' (Nyanatiloka, *Visuddhi-magga*).

This use, while continuing that made at *ChU.* 5. 1. 14 (see above),[1] is rather based on the conception of the internal and the corresponding external *āyatana-s* as 'bases',[2] or more exactly as the two opposite (terminal) stations in the processes conditioning their mutual contacts,[3] the point to which their mutual relations 'extend'.[4] Remember, e.g. the doctrine of the relations as *grāhāḥ* 'graspers' or 'apprehenders' (eye, ear, etc.) and *atigrāhāḥ* 'over-graspers' or 'over-apprehenders' [5] (form, sound and the other objects of perception) in *BĀU.* 3. 2 [6]; the conception of sensation as a grasping or being seized which is also known to later authors, e.g. to the Buddhists (e.g. Buddhaghoṣa, *Aṭṭh.* 4. 2: 140 *manogahanaṃ*); Buddhist terminology, concerning the processes underlying perception such

[1] Cf. also J. E. Carpenter, *Theism in Medieval India*, London 1921, p. 13; S. Dasgupta, *Indian Idealism*, Cambridge 1933, p. 71; 94; 96.

[2] See, e.g., Agehananda Bharati, *The Tantric Tradition*, London 1965, p. 30; Thomas, op. cit., p. 165 'bases of cognition'.

[3] See, e.g. W. Ruben, *Zur indischen Erkenntnistheorie*, Leipzig 1929, passim; the same, *Die Nyāyasūtra's*, Leipzig 1928, p. 199 ff.; Frauwallner, op. cit., II, Salzburg 1956, p. 52 ff.

[4] Cf., e.g. R. Garbe, *Die Sāṃkhya-Philosophie*, Leipzig ²1917, p. 319 ff.; E. Abegg, *Indische Psychologie*, Zürich 1945, p. 31; 60; 69; E. Frauwallner, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie*, I, Salzburg 1953, p. 491 s.v.

[5] P. Masson-Oursel, *Histoire de la Philosophie indienne*, Paris 1923, p. 146 translates 'bases, conditions de la conscience'.

[6] See, e.g. Abegg, op. cit., p. 31 f.; and compare S. Z. Aung, and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Compendium of Philosophy*, London 1910, p. 254 f.

as: 'the action of the eye is not cut off', 'external visible objects come into focus (avenue)' or 'come within its range . . . and there is an appropriate impact' (*MN.* I, 190 *ajjhattikañ c' eva cakkhuṃ aparibhinnaṃ hoti bāhirā ca rūpā āpathaṃ*[1] *āgacchanti tajjo ca samannāhāro hoti* . . .).[2] It seems therefore that the explication given by Mrs. Rhys Davids,[3] referring to Buddhaghoṣa, *DN.* comm. 2. 124. is somewhat nearer to the truth: the corresponding *āyatana-s* are, she holds, 'places of meeting' (between organ and object). The idea of movement present in the pseudo-etymological explication (*āya-* 'coming (in)'), furnished by Vasubandhu, *AK.* I. 37: '*āyatana-* signifie "porte d'arrivée ou de naissance (*āyadvāra-*) de la pensée et des mentaux"; etymologiquement, on nomme *āyatana-* ce qui étend (*tanvanti*) l'arrivée (*āya-*) de la pensée et des mentaux'[4] may, in a way, recall the fundamental meaning of the term, it should not induce us to translate[5] *āyatana-* by 'source'.[6]

[1] Cf. C. P. D. II, p. 99.

[2] Compare also translations such as 'fields of sense-operations' (S. Dasgupta, *Indian Idealism*, Cambridge 1933, p. 96).

[3] C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, London ²1924, p. 57. Cf. also Dayal, op. cit., p. 241.

[4] L. de la Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, I, Paris—Louvain 1923, p. 37.

[5] With Conze, *Buddhist Thought*, p. 108; C. Humphreys, *A Popular Dictionary of Buddhism*, London 1962, p. 40.

[6] Ñānamoli translates *Khuddhap.* 82. 31 f. as follows: 'They are connected in what has to do with oneself (*ajjhatte niyuttāni*) and occur in subordination to self, thus they are in-oneself (*ajjhatika-*). They are bases (*āyatanāni*), because of actuating

It is interesting to add that while distinguishing contextual variants of the meaning of this term these authors did not fail in their way to argue them to be coherent and forming a unity. In explanation of the statement ' " mind " (*mano*) is declared to be a " sense-organ " (*āyatana-*) ', Buddhaghoṣa op. cit., 141 says: ' three of the meanings are suitable: " birth-place ", because states such as " contact ", etc. are born in the mind; " meeting-place ", as in the passage " external objects, visible, etc. assemble (*ārammaṇa-*) [1] there as objects in the mind "; " ground ", because of its being the cause-in-relation of the co-existence, etc. of contact and so on '.[2]

(*āyatanāto*), because of being the range of the origin (*āyassa tananato*), and because of leading on the actuated (*āyatassa . . . nayanato*) suffering of the round [of rebirths]. This is a designation for eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind ' (Bhikkhu Ñānamoli, *The Minor Readings* (*Khuddhakapāṭha*), London 1960, p. 88, n. 24. Compare also the same, *The Path of Purification* (*Visuddhimagga*, Colombo 1956, p. 548).—In an attempt to assert the original triadic conception about all that is conditioned Buddhaghoṣa, *Aṭṭh.* 4. 80: 327, while distinguishing ' initial charge ' (*ācaya-*) which is origination, ' successive charge ' (*upacaya-*) and ' object charged ' (*āyatana-*) to which the *ācaya-* refers, observes that *ācaya-* and *āyatana-* imply, or refer to, each other. That is, they are relative and mutually conditioned. The above translations are borrowed from H. V. Guenther, *Philosophy and Psychology in the Abhidharma*, Lucknow 1957, p. 261. Pe Maung Tin, *The Exposition*, II, London [2]1958, p. 427 f. translates *āyatana-* by ' sense-organ '.

[1] I cannot enter here into a discussion of this interesting term.

[2] Cf. Pe Maung Tin, op. cit., I, p. 186.

IX

From the above survey of occurrences it may appear that in this case also [1] there is less question of striking and radical semantic shifts and developments than of a considerable number of textual variants of one and the same central and fundamental meaning. Once we have succeeded in establishing, that is, at least, in defining or paraphrasing that central meaning and in getting away from the idea that the series of different 'meanings' enumerated in our dictionaries necessarily represent a historical chain of well-defined and independent uses of the word which must have developed one from the other, it becomes clear that there is much less diversity in sense between the contextual uses of such a word than our usual translations would suggest. Then it also appears that the occurrence of the term in such a variety of contexts is determined by the fact that it contains a special nuclear element characteristic of its total semantic content and differentiating it from terms which at first sight may appear to be more or less synonymous. That is of course not to contend that authors who traditionally resorted to the term in one of its contextual applications were of necessity aware of that special differentiating element so as to be able to define the relations between the use made of the term in their special technical vocabulary and other applications. What

[1] Compare the observations made in *Loka*, Amsterdam Acad. 1966, passim and in *Dhāman*, Amsterdam Acad. 1967, passim.

however, largely or to a certain extent, escapes us is the historical interrelation between the main contextual applications. Although it is for instance an obvious assumption that typically Buddhist uses of the term are foreshadowed by definite Vedic occurrences it would be a risky undertaking to trace the exact relations between all its contextual uses and the chain of analogous transferences.

THE MEANING OF THE WORD ALAṂKĀRA

For two reasons we may take an interest in the exact meaning of the words *alaṃkāra-*, *alaṃkṛta-* etc. in early Sanskrit literature. The first reason is the elucidation of a number of texts from the magical-religious point of view : here the question may be raised if *alaṃkāra* always means " ornament ", i.e. " that which adds grace or beauty to a person or to a thing ; that which adorns, i.e. makes beautiful ". The second reason bears on the history of Sanskrit literature. It is a well known fact that *alaṃkāra* also means " embellishment in poetry ; figure of speech etc.", as the lexicographers and other scholars are accustomed to translate it in English.

Now, the dictionaries seem to agree about the matter : *alaṃkāra* means : " (1) das Schmücken—(2) Schmuck, Zierath—(3) eine rhetorische Figur " (Petersburger Wörterbuch) ; "...ornament...an ornament of the sense or the sound " (MONIER-WILLIAMS) ; *alaṃkāra* " ornament " (CAPPELLER), *alaṃkārin* " adorning " (id.)

As is well known, we find the form *alam* in Vedic prose and in post-vedic literature ; Rigveda and Atharvaveda have the by-form *aram*.

In determining the meaning of this sort of words, it is an awkward and hazardous procedure to take the " etymology " as a starting-point. In that case we run the risk of adjudicating to the word in question the not-well-established meaning of a " root " or the prominent meaning of a cognate word in another language. If the etymology is not a certain one, so much the worse. Nevertheless, though I will found my explanations and translations on the texts themselves, I will, to be brief, also add some Greek texts and Latin words which, to my mind, give support to the supposition that *aram* and *alam* have the same origin as Gr. *arariskō*, " join—, fit together ; equip, furnish ", *armenos* " fit, fitted, suited to, prepared, ready etc."[1] It seems to me that there is no ground for the view that *aram* (adv.) and *aramkar-* (verb) have a different origin.[2]

The meaning of class. *alam* has been recorded satisfactorily in the dictionaries and other handbooks, although, of course, we may differ with one another as to particulars. We know that *alam ativistareṇa* means " enough of prolixity ", *alaṃ ākranditena* " stop your cries ", *alaṃ viṣādena* " do not be sorry ". So, sometimes *alam* with instr., gerund or infin. expresses a

1. Cp., for instance, WACKERNAGEL, *Altindische Grammatik*, I, p. 220 ; E. BOISACQ, *Dict. étymologique de la langue* grecque[2] (1923), p. 73.

2. Cp. WALDE-POKORNY, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1 (1930), p. 69.—I do not agree with the view of UHLENBECK, *I.F.*, 25, p. 143 f.

prohibition[1] : sometimes, on the other hand, "it is used with infin. in its proper sense of 'being enough' ", cp. Manu 2, 214 *avidvāṃsaṃ loke...*| *pramadā hy utpathaṃ netum,* where *alam* = *samarthāḥ* (Kullūka), "are able to...". Besides, *alaṃ mallo mallāya* means "one athlete is a match for another" (P. 2, 3, 16 Sch.) ; *daityebhyo 'laṃ hariḥ* (Vop. 5, 16). The last-mentioned shade of meaning, "being equal to,—a match for" is a more original one than "enough", which, in its turn, develops into "thoroughly, greatly" (*atyantam*).[2]—Cp. Pāli *alam eva* = *yuttam eva.*

When we review the passages in Vedic prose,[3] in which *alam* occurs, we may, in my opinion, conclude that the starting point of the semantic development must have been "being fit,—good,—sufficient,—suited for,—having strength enough for". Compare Śat. Br. 1, 4, 2, 1 the gods appointing Agni to the Hotṛ-office : *vīryavān vai tvam asi, alaṃ vai tvam etasmā asīti,* "thou art vigorous...equal to this" ; 4, 4, 5, 5 "although he is footless", *alam eva pratikramaṇāya bhavati* "he has strength enough for..., he is able to walk" ; Jaim. Br. § 186 (CALAND) *kumāri sthaviro vā ayam asarvo nālaṃ patitvanāya,...* "this old decrepit man is ill-matched with you as your husband, has no attainments to be y. h." ; Jaim. Br. § 102 *vivṛhe vā āvaṃ svo na tasmā alam,* "wir beiden sind verstümmelt, wir sind dieser (Sache) nicht gewachsen"[4] ; Ait. Ār. 2, 3, 6 *kāmebhyo nālaṃ syāt,* "he would be unable to have delights" ; Śat. Br. 12, 7, 2, 2 ; Ait. Br. 5, 30 ; Śat. Br. 9, 2, 1, 2 *alam* to injuring ; 3, 48 to eat food ; Nir. 2, 3 *yo ....a.* (able to) *vijñātum.*[5]

Then, with a slight modification of meaning Śat. Br. 5, 3, 2, 3 *yo'laṃ yaśase san na yaśo bhavati,* "being qualified for..." ; cp. 8, 6, 2, 1 *alaṃ śriyai ;* 5, 1, 1, 12 *na vai brāhmaṇo rājyāyālam,* "such as is required for, qualified for" ; 4, 1, 3, 6 ; "well-disposed" 4, 3, 4, 14.

Also the shade of meaning "fit, sufficient, enough" : Ait. Ār. 2, 4, 2, when the deities fell into the ocean, a cow and a horse were not *alam* (enough) for them to sit upon ; they offered a man to them, and then they said *sukṛtam* "like this it is suited", now they had made it *alam,* it was *alaṃ kṛtam ;* Śat. Br. 3, 9, 3, 32 ; 4, 2, 1, 31 the residues of oblations are (not) *alaṃ homāya* "(in) sufficient for offering" ; 3, 2, 1, 30 *yadā vai suṣamaṃ bhavaty athālaṃ yajñāya bhavati, yado duḥṣamaṃ bhavati na tarhy ātmane canālaṃ bhavati,* "when it is a good year then it is fit (there is abundant) for sacrifice, but when it is a bad year then it is not "fit" (there is not enough) even for himself" ; cp. 6, 5, 2, 1 ; Ait. Ār. 2, 5, 33. I derive the meaning of *a.* Manu 8, 16 *tasya* (*dharmasya*) *yaḥ kurute hy alam*[6] "who checks, violates the *dharma* from "being powerful enough,—a match for."

1. Cp. SPEYER, *Sanskrit syntax* (1886), §§ 353, R. 1 ; 379, Ia ; 384, R. 1.
2. Comm. *Ragh.* X, 80 ; *Śiśup* IV, 39.
3. As for the varying constructions, cp. also *Pet. Wtb.* I, 458.
4. CALAND, *Das Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl, Verh. Kon. Ak.* v. *Wet.,* Amsterdam 1919, p. 116.
5. Cp. also *Pet. Wtb.*, s.v.
6. *alaṃśabdo vāraṇārthaḥ* Kull ; see Amarak, 3, 4, 32, 13 ; 3, 5, 11.

As for the passages in Vedic poetry where *aram* occurs, the translations given by various scholars now and then differ. As I take it, sometimes we have the meaning "ready, prepared, disposed to, fit, willing to", in various shades of meaning Ṛ. V. 4, 32, 24 (horses) ; 1, 66, 5 (a wife, in a comparison) ; 2, 18, 2 (sacrificial fire) *sāsmā áram* "prepared," but also "willing" and "able" ; 9, 24, 5 (*Soma*) *áram índrasya bhāmne*; cp. 10, 71, 10. 7, 66, 14 the sun is *víśvasmai cákṣase áram,* "in the condition that he might be seen." Ṛ. V. 1, 173, 6 *áraṃ ródasī kakṣye nāsmai,* we have the meaning "fit" (as a girdle), which we might compare with Homer, Iliad 4, 134 (213) *Zōstēri arēroti,* "a well-fitting girdle", cp. also Odyssey 2, 342. Ṛ V. 1, 108, 2 *tāvāṃ ayám pātave sómo astv áram indrāgnī mánase yuvábhyām,* (the Soma juice :) prepared, and invigorating to your liking," cp. Homer, *Il* 1, 136... *arsantes kata thumon* they shall give a present, after having prepared it to my liking." ṚV. 2, 17, 6 *sāsmā áram bāhúbhyāṃ yám pitākṛṇod* ....here GELDNER[1] translates : "für seine Arme passend", and thus we might compare Homer, *Il.* 3, 338...*enchos ho hoi palamēphin arērei* "the lance that fits in his hand" and latin *arma* "defensive weapons" such as shield, helmet, greaves and such like which adapt themselves to the body.[2] Yet the question might arise, if "comforting, invigorating" should not be the meaning : just as soma refreshes and invigorates him who drinks it, so the thunderbolt gives vigour and strength to him who wears it. And, in my opinion, we have to admit this meaning sometimes. 8, 92, 24 *áraṃ ta indra kukṣáye sómo bhavatu* was translated by GRASSMANN, Rig-Veda[3] : "(Der Soma) sei...passend deinem Leib", perhaps "refreshing to, comforting" is more adequate; then the god becomes powerful (26)[4] 6, 41, 5 *áraṃ te sómas tanvè bhavāti,* "wilkommen sei der Soma deinem Leibe" (GRASSMANN[5]) "refreshing, invigorating to", we might compare Homer, Od. 5, 95. *epei deipnēse kai ērare thumon edōdēi.*

Here we must add 1, 70, 5 : Agni is the protector of riches *dāśad yó asmā áraṃ sūktáiḥ,* translated by OLDENBERG[6] "to the man who satisfies him with well spoken (prayers)", by GELDNER[7] "der ihm...pünktilich aufwartet", by GRASSMANN[8] "der germe ihm dient", etc.

Here we must, in my opinion, recall to mind the great importance of the word in magic and religion.[9] The word of man, just as the word of the deity, had a magical, a creative power. In various religions magical formula and prayer cannot be kept apart. Just as the gift (the offering),

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1. K. F. GELDNER, *Der Rigveda,* p. 268.
2. Cp. also A. ERNOUT—A. MEILLET, *Dictionnaire étymologique le da langue latine,* p. 69 : "armes défensives qui s'ajustent au corps".
3. H. GRASSMANN, *Rig-veda übersetzt etc.* 1876, I, p. 507.
4. Cp. this place with 8, 45, 10.
5. *O.c.,* I, p. 266.
6. S. B. E., Vol. 46.
7. K. F. GELDNER, *Der Rigveda übersetzt und erläutert* I, p. 82.
8. *O.c.* II, p. 71.
9. See, for instance, G. VAN DER LEEUW, *Religion in essence and manifestation* (1938), p. 422.

the word is able to increase the power of the deity (energetic prayer[1]). When this belief is weakened, the conception arises that the deity rejoices at the sacrifices and the words ("prayers, hymns" etc.) and becomes kindly-disposed by them.

The enumeration of acts of heroism, exploits and achievements, manifestations of power of the god have in view, among other things, the increase of his power. In India also the power of speech was great[2], *yāṃ kāmāye táṃ tam ugrám kṛṇomi*, says the Goddess herself (Ṛ.V. 10, 125, 5), "upon speech all the gods live". Thus, 1, 70, 5 the meaning of *aram* may be "in a sufficient way", that is to say "in a way that has power, and adds power to....." or in the weakened sense something like OLDENBERG'S translation. 7, 29, 3 *kā́ te* (= Indra) *asty áraṃkṛtiḥ sūktaíḥ*; GRASSMANN translated a: "Zurichtung, Dienst",[3] I should like to interpret: "how can we strengthen (refresh; rejoice etc.) you?" As far as I see we have no reason to translate *araṃkṛti-* by the French "parure" (= ornament etc.[4]). In the same way the word *araṃkṛt-* may be "he who makes (another) *aram;* he who makes fit, ready, sufficient, strong enough etc. Sāyaṇa (ad Ṛ. V. 1, 14, 5) says *a.* = *alaṃkartāraḥ* but it is not necessary to translate: "ceux qui ornent":[5] *káṇvāso vṛktábarhiṣaḥ havíṣmanto araṃkṛtaḥ* (cp. 8, 5, 17) "preparing, arranging (the sacrifice[6]), fitting (it) out in such a way that it answers its purpose". 8, 1, 10, *íṣam... araṃkṛ́tam,* "Labetrunk...der Segen bringt"[7] is a somewhat inadequate rendering, but would be better than: "who adorns"; I translate: "refreshing". In this way, 8, 67, 3 *ādityā́nām araṃkṛ́te* would be "for him who makes the Ādityas fit,...who refreshes...etc." Now, 7, 86, 7 we find *aram* + *kṛ-*, with "tmesis" and dative: *áraṃ dāsó ná mīḍhúṣe karāṇi,* "as a servant I will supply His Grace (= Varuṇa) with everything needed" or perhaps more to the letter "I will do (make) for him what is fit for him", which develop into "I will gladden him etc.". Cp. 4, 33, 2. *atyā́yā́hi śáśvato vayáṃ té 'raṃ sutébhiḥ kṛṇavāma sómaiḥ,* they say (3, 35, 5) to Indra, "we will supply thee with the expressed soma juice", if so "wir wollen es dir mit...recht machen".[8] As we have seen the offering is intended to give strength to the god, to feed him[9]; in the Sūktavāka

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1. See also ṚV. 1, 85, 2, where Sāyaṇa refers to Ait. Br. 3, 20; *gíras...... apasyúvaḥ* ṚV. 9, 2, 7; ṚV. 8, 6, 11 *gírah...yénénaraḥ śúṣmam id dadhé*; ṚV. 1, 10, 12, 5, 2, 7; 5, 11, 5; 8, 62, 1; 66, 11; AV. 1, 15, 2" increase (*vardhayatā*) this man, ye songs; 1, 29, 1; 1, 35, 3; 4, 39, 1. Hanumat being praised *vyavardhata,* Rām 467. 4f.
2. See H. OLDENBERG, Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft (1919), pp 78 ff.
3. H. GRASSMANN, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda* (1873), 101; cp. his *Rig-Veda,* I, p. 325.
4. DIWEKAR *Fleurs de rhétorique,* p. 4 (§ 7).
5. DIWEKAR, p. 4 (§ 6).
6. Cp. GELDNER, o.c., p. 13.
7. GRASSMANN, *Rig-veda,* I, 386.
8. Cp. GELDNER, o.c. p. 338.
9. Cp. for instance, Pañcav. Br. 14, 6, 8, 1.

formula uttered near the end of the sacrifice it is said : "The god has accepted the offering, he has become strengthened, he has gained greater strength."[1] The idea is expressed also 2,5,8 *yáthā vidvā́ṃ áraṃ kárad víśvebhyo yajatébhyaḥ.*

By the side of these examples the construction with accusative[2] is found. 1, 170, 4 *áraṃ kṛṇvantu védim,* which I should not like to translate : "den Altar mögen schmücken sie"[3], but "to prepare..., to make ready the sacrificial bed" ;[4] we must pay attention to Sāyaṇa's note : *araṃ kṛṇvantu saṃmārjanaparyukṣaṇādinā paricarantu.* Hemacandra says (Anekārthas. 2, 234) a vedi is an *alaṃkṛtabhūtala-*, that means a prepared part of the soil, by other lexicographers called *pariṣkṛtabhūtala-, pariṣkṛtā bhūmiḥ.*[5] *As for pari-skr-*compare ṚV. 9, 46, 2 ; 43, 3 ; 10, 135, 7 ; 85, 6 etc. Compare also 3, 31, 12 *pitré cic cakruḥ sádanaṃ sám asmai,*[6] where "prepare", Germ. "bereiten" ; 3, 35, 8 ; 6, 41, 3 ; 5, 76, 2 ; *rā́ṇāya sáṃskṛtaḥ* 8, 33, 9, with *sam+skṛ-.* Then, 10, 63, 6 *kó vo' dhvarā́ṃ...karad,* "prepare the sacrifice" ; 10, 101, 2 *iṣkṛṇudhvam ā́yudhāraṃ kṛṇudhvam,* here the rendering of GRASSMANN[7] and DIWEKAR[8] is incorrect : "make ready".

GELDNER[9] accepted the two meanings mentioned by Sāyaṇa : *paryāpta-* and *śīghra.*[10] PISCHEL believed the second to be the more original.[11] It seems to me that *śīghram* at best is a mere shade of meaning, a secondary meaning. We must not overlook the fact that in all the examples of *aram+gam-* the dative is found too. 1, 187, 5 (to the nourishment) *áram bhakṣā́ya gamyāḥ,* of the thing (cp. *alam* in Vedic prose) "sufficient, etc."; 7, 68, 2, of the person, *áraṃ gantuṃ havíṣo vītáye me* "ready to" ; cp. 6, 63, 2 ; 10, 9, 3 "in favour of" ; in the same way *araṃgamá-,* cp. for instance AV. 3, 13, 5 "invigorating."

The word *araṃkṛta-* is found in AV. firstly 2, 12, 7 in a much discussed[12] sūkta "against such as would thwart my incantations," cp. Kauśikasūtra 47, 12 ff., where it is designated as "the cleaver of Bharadvāja", "with which one cuts a staff for practices pertaining to witchcraft".[13] Now,

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1. See A. HILLEBRANDT, *Das Altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer,* p. 144.
2. Cp. *alam + bhavati* or *asti* in Vedic prose.
3. GRASSMANN, o.c., p. 167.
4. Cp. also GELDNER, o.c. p. 224.
5. *Medink* d. 15 ; *Amarak,* 2, 7, 17.
6. See GELDNER, *Der Rigveda in Auswahl,* II, p. 51.
7. *o.c.* II, p. 383.
8. *o.c.* p. 2 (§ 3).
9. In PISCHEL and GELDNER, *Vedische Studien* II, p. 256.
10. Cp. Sāyaṇa ad Ṛ. V. 7, 68, 2.
11. PISCHEL and GELDNER, *Vedische Studien* II, p. 75.
12. Cp. M. BLOOMFIELD, *American Journal of Philology* 11, pp. 330 ff.; BLOOMFIELD, *Hymns of the Atharva-veda,* S. B. E. 42, p. 294 ; WHITNEY-LANMAN. *Atharva-veda Saṃhitā,* I, pp. 53 f.
13. Cp. BLOOMFIELD. S. B. E. 42, p. 295,

as has been set forth by BLOOMFIELD,[1] the verses 7 and 8 of this sūkta, which occur also in Paippalāda in the verse-order 8, 7, represent a modification of funeral verses for the purpose of injuring an enemy : cp. v. 6 *átīva yó... mányate.... tápūṃṣi tásmai vṛjināni santu,* "whoso.... thinks himself above us.... burnings must be for him his wrong-doings", 7 in different metre.... *áyā yamásya sā́danam agnídūto áraṃkṛtaḥ,* "thou shalt go to the seat of Yama...." ; here the address to a deceased one has been adapted for another purpose too and also made a menace against an enemy ; it has been made an execration. Its original use we find AV. 18, 2, 1 *yayam sómaḥ pavate yamāya kriyate havíḥ | yamáṃ ha yajñó gachaty agnídūto áraṃkṛtaḥ* to which compare ṚV. 10, 14, 13 *y. sómaṃ sunuta y. juhutā haviḥ,* etc., with which agrees TĀ. 6, 5, 1, where, however, in c it says *gachatu.* Now, Kauśikasūtra informs us of the use of this verse : 81, 34-37, which form, as has been observed by CALAND,[2] one single whole, indicate eleven verses that are to be used to accompany the *yāmān homān* the (eleven) oblations to Yama, offered in the pitṛmedha after the lighting of the fire.[3] As is clear from the mantra itself it is the yajña that is *aramkṛtaḥ* : ".... to Yama goes the sacrifice, messengered by Agni, made satisfactory," as runs the translation of WHITNEY-LANMAN, "fitly prepared with Agni as a guide", "wohl bereitet, mit Agni als Führer", as the renderings of BLOOMFIELD and HILLEBRANDT[4] respectively read. Sāyaṇa, in his commentary on Tait. Ār. 6, 5, 1[5] ; explains : *araṃkṛtaḥ : bahubhir dravyair alaṅkārarūpair yuktaḥ.*

We must compare AV. 12, 1, 22 *bhū́myāṃ devébhyo dadati yajñáṃ havyáṃ áraṃkṛtam,* "on the earth men give to the gods the sacrifice, the duly prepared oblation". Here as well as in 18, 2, 1 the meaning is clear : *araṃkṛta-* = "which has been adapted to its destination ; to which has been conferred the qualities that will make it fit". And 2, 12, 7 where the pāda has been adapted and where the subject is the enemy who is driven away with curses, we should like to translate : "(brought by Agni) after having been consecrated ; after having received the funeral ceremonies." These ceremonies, indeed, prepare the deceased for their admission to Yama's dominion. It is a well-known fact that after the moment of death the man was washed and anointed, his hair, beard and nails were trimmed, a garland and a new and fresh garment were laid upon him.[6] Not before all this had

1. BLOOMFIELD, *Am. J. of Phil.* 7, p. 476 ; 11, 334 ff.; *Proc. Amer. Or. Soc.* 1887 (*JAOS.*, 13), p. CCXXV ; cp. also WHITNEY-LANMAN, *o.c.*, pp. 55 f.

2. W. CALAND, *Die altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche, Verhandelingen Kon. Akad. v. Wetenschappen, Amsterdam* 1896, p. 65.

3. Cp. also WHITNEY-LANMAN, o.c., II, p. 827.

4. A. HILLEBRANDT, *Vedische Mythologie,* II, p. 369 ; "fertig" CALAND, o.c., p. 64.

5. Bibliotheca Indica, vol. 52. The 6th prapāṭhaka contains the pitṛmedha-6, 1 the cremationary rites, etc.

6. Cp. CALAND, o.c., pp. 14 ff.; A. B. KEITH, *Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads,* p. 418.

been done the deceased was duly prepared for the offering; according to some authorities the burning indeed was an āhuti in the fire;[1] it was regarded as an expedient to attain the regions of heaven. Now, Chānd. Up. 8, 8, 5 informs us: *pretasya śarīṃ bhikṣayā*[2] *vasanenālaṃkāreṇeti satkurvanti, etena hy amuṃ lokaṃ jeṣyanto manyante,* "the body of one deceased they supply with what they have begged, with dress, with a., for they think that thereby they will win yonder world". It is evident enough that the words *alaṃkṛta-* and *alaṃkāra-* not only denote the idea of "adorn, beautify, ornament, add grace or beauty", but also that of "provide, make ready and fit for a purpose, prepare, etc."

AV. 10, 1 belongs to a class of sūkta's called *kṛtyāpratiharaṇāni,* "repellers of sorceries or spells". Here the spell which is counteracted has its seat in a terrifying and evil-working figure ("bugbear", "eine Art Puppe, ein Popanz").[3] Strophe 25 runs as follows: *abhy̍aktā́ktā sv̍araṃkṛtā sárvaṃ bhárantī duritā́ṃ ápehi,* etc., "anointed, smeared, svaraṃkṛta go thou away (O kṛtyā), bearing every misfortune". The word *svaraṃkṛtā* means, I think, "duly furnished, well-equipped[4] with things that put the evil in the kṛtyā and increase its magical power. And although Kauś. 39, 18 and commentaries are silent about the *alaṃkāra,* we may suppose that bracelets, necklaces and this sort of things are meant, as we learn, for instance, from the description of an image of Night made of meal (*piṣṭarātrī*) in Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa 4, 3-5 and 6, where 4, 3, 1 *atha piṣṭamayīṃ rātriṃ......|arcitāṃ gandhamālyena sthāpayet*; 4, 4, 9 .... *iti pratisaram*[5] *ābadhya*; 6, 1, 6 *chattraṃ hiraṇmayaṃ*[6] *dadyāc .... dadyāc chubhrāṇi vāsāṃsi,* etc.[7] The translation "well-adorned" given by WHITNEY-LANMAN is not quite correct.

In Kauśika-sūtra the words occur several times. Kauś. 35, 23........ *prācīnakaṇṭakān alaṃkṛtān......ādadhāti,* rightly translated by CALAND:[8] ".... nach Osten gerichtete Dörner....., (mit Schmalz) beschmiert..... legt er aufs Feuer". An informing place is 28, 9-10. In a remedial rite against possession by evil spirits one puts pulverised śamī-leaves in the food and *alaṃkāra* of the patient. The commentary of Dārila (D schol.)

1. CALAND, *o.c.*, pp. 18; 175; KEITH, *o.c.*, p. 422.
2. ŚAṄKARA: *bhikṣā*: *gandhamālyānnādilakṣaṇā.*
3. Cp. BLOOMFIELD, S. B. E. 42, p. 603; CALAND, *Altindisches Zauberritual.* Verh. Kon. Ak. v. Wet., Amsterdam 1900, p. 132, n. 1. The remark of WHITNEY-LANMAN, *o.c.*, II, p. 562 "*she* because kṛtyā 'witchcraft' is feminine" is incorrect, not "witchcraft" but a figure is meant. As for the word *kṛtyā,* we may compare the word *fetish,* "a thing which is supposed to have a magical power, and is therefore worshipped", which derives from lat. *factitius* "made by the hands of man and not by nature"; in Portuguese *feitiço* means "factitious", and "amulet; charm" (lat. *facit*=skt. *karoti*).
4. Cp. BLOOMFIELD, SBE. 42, p. 75.
5. Cp. J. GONDA, in *Acta Orientalia,* 15, pp. 311ff.
6. Gold also was highly beneficial, cp. e.g., AV. 1, 35, 1; 14, 1, 40.
7. Cp. the edition of BOLLING and VON NEGELEIN, 1909, pp. 60 and 70.
8. CALAND, *Altind. Zauberritual,* p. 118.

has *athavālaṃkāre cūrṇāni prakṣipyālaṃkuryāt, piśācagṛhītāya*. CALAND interprets " .... (tut er) in die Augensalbe und Salbe des Kranken und lässt ihn sich damit scmücken"[1], adding the remark *alaṃkāraḥ=āñjanābhyañjane*. Parallel passages are 36, 33, where the Paddhati of Keśava[2] having *alaṃkāraṃ samālabhate* also thinks of unguent and anointing, and 47, 23, where in 24 in a rite of sorcery for the death of one's enemies this dveṣya- must be slain with a staff that has been *alaṃkṛta-* " smeared, anointed ", doubtless with the ointment mentioned in 23. It would be wrong to explain *alaṃkṛta-* as " adorned, made beautiful, etc." In addition to the cosmetic, sanative, decorative and other merits, fat and other unguents, regarded as a seat of life and strength, in the magical-religious sphere of thought, have a potent virtue. The anointing transmits the divine essence to the person to whose body the fat, etc. is applied.[3] The striking with a staff confers the magical substance on him : elsewhere straps, or a shredded animal's skin are used in this way.[4]

Kauś. 48, 3 an amulet derived from the aśvattha-tree, upon which an oblation has been poured out and which is *alaṃkṛta-* is bound round ; cp. Dārila (D schol.) : *alaṃkaraṇaṃ ghṛtena* ; 4 we read : .... *pāśān iṅgiḍālaṃkṛtān saṃpātavataḥ....*, " bonds besmeared with ingida-oil[5] and with the residue of the butter offering ". This residue, the saṃpāta, is an important ingredient in the magic offerings, and the iṅgiḍa too is often mentioned as such ; these liquids possess a magical power.

In Kauś. 47, 44 the lack of every aesthetic element is obvious. In a long incantation against an enemy we read *nivṛtya svedālaṃkṛtā juhoti* after 43 *paścād agneḥ śarabhṛṣṭīr nidhāyodagvrajaty ā svedajananāt*. So he produces sweat and with that he anoints reed-points : these reed-points he offers.[6] Here the sweat is not an ornament, but a magical ingredient, a medium that sets sorcery in motion against an enemy. The commentators, both Dārila and Keśava, explain *a.* : *abhyaktā(ḥ)* (D.), *°aktāḥ* (K.). In a rite that is in line with the one mentioned, Bṛh. ār. up. 6, 4, 12, the word *akta-* occurs : *śarabarhiḥ stīrtvā tasminn etāḥ śarabhṛṣṭīḥ pratilomāḥ sarpiṣāktā juhuyāt.*

Kauś. 13, 12 the verb *alamkṛ-* is found in a prescription for expelling the wasting disease yakṣma ; here too *alaṃkurute* seems to me to have the same meaning, " einreiben, salben ", not " schmücken "; Dārila (D. schol.) says

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1. CALAND, *o.c.*, p. 89.
2. In the edition, *JAOS*. 14 (1890), p. 338.
3. Cp., for instance, HASTINGS' *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, I, 549ff.
4. In Rome during the Lupercalia, see e.g. LEFÉBURE in *Revue de l'hist. des Rel.* 59 (1909), p. 75 ; O. BERTHOLD, *Unverwundbarkeit in Sage und Aberglauben der Griechen*, RGVV. XI, 1, p. 10.
5. As for iṅgiḍa, see CALAND, *o.c.*, p. 159, n. 5.
6. See CALAND, *o.c.*, p. 165, n. 37. As for the rite in general V. HENRY, *La magie dans l'Inde antique* (1909), p. 237f.: " brûler l'ennemi... par (le feu) de la chaleur humaine " ; as for the magical power of sweat in general : HASTINGS' *Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics*, 12, 127. See also OLDENBERG, *Religion des Veda*, p. 500.

anulimpati surabhigandhair....[1] According to Keśava sandal and other perfumes should be used and, I think, these will serve as an unguent. As the odours of fragrant trees are used to drive away demons,[2] we also find in this place a magical function of the *alaṃkāra-*, just as Kauś. 54, 5, where the same strophes 12, 1, 23-25 are recited during the godānam ; here two paddhatis add *gandhapuṣpādi.*

The words also occur in places in the Pariśiṣṭas of the Atharvaveda. 3, 1, 3 we have *alaṃkāra-* in an enumeration[3] : *rathasiṃhāsanāsichattra-cāmaradhvajagajavājivastrālaṃkārasāṃvatsaracikitsakapurohitādīni.* 4, 1, 5 it is found in a description of the rite of the morning blessing of each article of the king's equipment. The purohita gives the king his clothes, his seat, etc., each thing with a suitable mantra, the *alaṃkāra* whilst reciting AV. 1, 35, 1 "what gold the descendants of Dakṣa..., that I bind for thee, in order to life, splendour, strength." In Kauś. (11, 19 ; 52, 20) this mantra is used in ceremonies for fortune and for power ; there it is clear that the thing bound round is a gold amulet.[4] Thus we may suppose that also AV. Par. 4, 1, 5 a gold amulet is meant. In the same text, 18b, 1, 2 the same mantra is recited *puṣpādyalaṃkāraṃ varjayitvā;* AV. Par. 13, 1, 7 in connection with the twining of a golden wreath. AV. Par. 11 is a description of the ritual for the presentation of the king's weight in gold to the priest ; in 1, 9 we read *vāso gandhasrajaś cābadhnīyāt,* "he must tie (on the king) clothes, perfumes, garlands," 1, 12 *ātmālaṃkārān kartre dadyāt;* is it bold to suppose that the *alaṃkāra* in 12 are the objects enumerated in 9 ?[5]

An interesting place is 1, 31, 7 II=35, 3 I *kumārīṃ dadhipātreṇa gṛhītena svalaṃkṛtām,* a maiden in possession of a sour-milk-jug. Is there room here to admit a beautiful ornament ? It is, however, likely that the instrumental does not depend on *sv.*

Just as in Kauśika, we find in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa an instance of the magical-religious use of ointment for the eyes and for the feet (*āñjanābhyāñjana-*), "such are human *alaṃkāra-* and therewith they keep off death from themselves" (13, 8, 4, 7). In the Śāṅkhāyana-āraṇyaka 3, 4, where the text describes the path after Death we read that 500 apsarases come towards the dead man, a 100 with fruit in their hands, a 100 with unguents, a 100 with garlands, a 100 with garments, a 100 with aromatic powders. "Him they adorn with the ornaments of Brahman. He adorned with the ornaments of B, knowing B., advances to B. (n)" ;[6] here too these *alaṃkārāḥ* are not merely things that are pleasing to the eye. Cp. Kauṣ. Up. 1, 4.

So *alaṃkāra-* is a magical-religious expedient. It applies to a sacred state. In the description of the daily study of the Veda, the Śatapatha-

1. Cp. CALAND, *o.c.*, p. 26.
2. See KEITH, *o.c.*, 384.
3. Cp. also 13, 1, 10 ; 4, 7.
4. Cp. CALAND, *Altind. Zauberritual*, p. 22.
5. Cp. also 70, 3, 4.
6. Translation of KEITH, *The Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* (1908), p. 19.

brāhmaṇa has (11, 5, 7, 4) *yadi ha vā apy abhyaktaḥ alaṃkṛtaḥ suhitaḥ sukhe śayane śayānaḥ svādhyāyam adhīte.* The same text, 13, 4, 1, 8 (aśvamedha) "the four wives of the king are *niṣkinyo 'laṃkṛtāḥ* wearing golden ornaments for the neck and *alaṃkārāḥ*", when they co-operate in a part of the rite. Compare also Kauś. 60, 25 (*savayajñāḥ*) (*brāhmaṇīm*, Keśava) *anuguptām alaṃkṛtām.* During the funeral rites : Kauś. 80, 17 *snātam alaṃkṛtam ahatena vasanena prachādayati,* bathing and clothing with a new dress are religious acts too.[1] The words "bathed," "adorned" and "dressed" we find many a time, cp., for instance, Hir. G. 1, 1, 7 (upanayana), where the commentary adds *a.* : *mālyānulepanādimaṇḍitaḥ.* See Āśv. Śr. S. 6, 10, 2 etc.

During the marriage ceremonies the bride is washed, dressed in a new garment, anointed, etc. Here too we find the "ornaments".[2] But it is a curious fact that Āpast. (G. S. 4, 8) only mentions the new garment and then says that she is to be girdled with a yoke-cord. We know this girdling from the śrauta ritual, where—according to Śat. Br. 1, 3, 1, 13—it is intended to make a person pure and fit for a sacrifice (*medhya-*)[3] "Wives adorned for their husbands" we find already in the AV. (5, 12, 5).

See also Ṣaḍv. Br. 4, 4, 14, where the yūpa is object : *āplāvayanty alaṃkurvanty ahatena vasanenāchādayanti ca.* Ath. V. Par. 4, 2, 1 ff. as a part of the daily ceremonies of the king : *snāto'bhiṣekamantrair abhimantritaḥ.... anuliptaḥ.... vastrālaṃkārādibhiḥ suvarṇaniṣkam.... saṃgṛhya.* The goddess Lakṣmī resides not only in a man who observes approved usages, in him who is devoted to sacred law, in him who keeps his mind under control, etc., but also in the men who constantly are "adorned" with flowers, scented with perfumes or adorned with bracelets, etc. (Viṣṇusmṛti, 99, 18ff). The sacrificial cakes too may be subject to an *alaṃkaraṇa,* the "Schmückung des Opferkuchens";[4] then the dish is poured over in a distinct way with clarified butter.[5] Here too it is a religious act, not an æsthetical notion.[6]

But, as is well-known, many articles that are hung round the neck, breast, arms or other limbs are not only amulets, talismans or dress which put the wearer in a "sacred" state, but they are also ornaments, and, at times, merely trinkets.[7] Doubtless their functions are different : at one time the first function will prevail ; when, however, more attention is paid to the outward appearance of the amulet or sacred dress, the other will have the upper hand. Thus, during the preparation of the soma altar with the high altar, the Śat. Br., 3, 5, 1, 36, has : "he then bestrews it with gravel ;

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1. Cp. OLDENBERG, *Rel. d. Veda;* KEITH, *Religion and Philosophy,* passim.
2. Cp. KEITH, *Rel. and Phil.,* p. 374 ; HILLEBRANDT, *Ritualliteratur,* p. 65.
3. See also WINTERNITZ, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell,* p. 48.
4. CALAND, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba,* III (Verh. Kon. Ak. v. Wet. *Amsterdam,* 1928), p. 457.
5. Cp. CALAND ad Āpast. Śr. 6. 29, 20 ; 8, 2, 10 ; 9.
6. See also Śat. Br. 4, 2, 5, 11 *puroḍāśam alaṃkuru.*
7. See my paper in *Acta Orientalia,* 15, p. 319.

alaṃkāro nv eva sikatā(ḥ)," now gravel is an *a.*, *bhrājanta iva sikatā(ḥ)*, 'because gravel is so to say shining'.

Also in post-vedic literature the double aspect of the meaning of these words is evident. Manu 3, 68, e.g. *ūnadvivārṣikaṃ pretaṃ nidadhyur bāndhavā bahiḥ | alaṃkṛtya śucau bhūmau ....*, "when a child has died before the completion of its second year, the relatives shall carry it out, deck it (with garlands, flowers &c ; *mālādibhir alaṃkṛtya* Kull. and bury it) in pure ground.... " This burying too is a religious act. The sacrificial bed or altar is *alaṃkṛta-*, e.g. Rām. 1, 73, 21 *alaṃcakāra tāṃ vediṃ gandhapuṣpaiḥ samantataḥ | suvarṇapālikābhiś ca citrakumbhaiś ca sāṅkuraiḥ | aṅkurāḍhyaiḥ śarāvaiś ca dhūpapātraiḥ sadhūpakaiḥ | śaṅkhapātraiḥ sruvaiḥ srugbhiḥ*, etc. ; but these objects are not merely ornaments ! How many things can be called *alaṃkāra* appears also in other places, for instance Baudh. G. Par. Sūtra,[1] 3, 4, where the rite of worship of Upaśruti is described : *gandhaiḥ kṛṣṇapuṣpair dhūpair dīpair alaṃkṛtya.* Now, compare Kāl. Śak. 4, 0, where Śakuntalā's saubhāgyadevatā is to be worshipped and flowers are gathered for the offering by Priyaṃvadā and Anasūyā : *alaṃ ettiehiṃ kusumehiṃ* "with so many flowers 'it' (the deity) will be *alam*" "so many flowers will do".

In places we find a social side of *alaṃkṛta-*, "wearing his badges of honour, the insignia of his dignity": Manu 7, 222 "the king shall inspect his warriors, chariots, etc. *alaṃkṛtaḥ* (*kṛtālaṃkāraḥ san* Kull.) 'wearing his insignia, his robes of state' ". Compare, Mahābh. 7, a. 82, the description of Yudhiṣṭhira's awakening, bathing and dressing : he does not welcome Kṛṣṇa and the other nobles until he wears his *bhūṣaṇāni.* Cp. also Mbh. 3, 77, 1 (Nala) ; 1, 185, 23.

Elsewhere the aspect of "beautify" and "beautiful things" prevails : Manu 9, 92 "Manu assigned to women a love of their bed, of their seat and ornaments." And thus we often meet with *kanyāḥ svalaṃkṛtāḥ* (e.g. Mbh. 5. 173, 12) ; *gaṇikāḥ sval.* (Mbh. 4, 68, 29), Yājñ. 1, 84. Jātakamālā 22, 11 the shore of a beautiful lake is embellished by the pollen of lotuses, etc. as it were with gold-wires : *abhyalaṃkṛtatīrānta-*, and 13 the same lake is *alaṃkṛta-* by the limpidity of its water. Raghuvaṃśa 2, 18 the cow and the king decorated (*alaṃcakratuḥ*) the road with their beautiful gaits ; 10, 70.

When used of horses (e.g. Mbh. 7, 82, 18), of troops (e.g. Mbh. 3, 54, 11) and such like, the meaning of *alaṃkṛta-* etc. is interesting : "well-equipped", but, of course, often the equipment of a royal horse, or of a horse that is intended to be a fee to the priests is at the same time a thing of beauty.

As has already been noticed at times the words *alam+kṛ-* and *sam+skṛ-* run parallel. I cannot dwell on the meanings of *sam + skṛ-*, which

1. See P. Harting, *Selections from the Baudhāyana-gṛhyapariśiṣṭasūtra*, Diss, Utrecht, 1922, p. 16.

indeed, are well-known to my readers. I only point at a few texts : ṚV. 1, 2, 1 *sómā áraṃkṛtāḥ,* where GELDNER correctly : " die Somasäfte sind fertig " ;[1] here Sāyaṇa says : *a.* : *alaṃkṛtāḥ abhiṣavādisaṃskāro 'laṃkāraḥ* Rām. 5, 89, 19 G. the sacrifice (*yajña-*) is called *susaṃskṛta-,* "well arranged, prepared", ṚV. 1, 162, 5 we read *téna yajñéna svaraṃkṛteṇa,* and here Sāyaṇa adds : *s.* : *suṣṭhv araṇīṃ kṛtena svalaṃkṛtena vā uccārasauṣṭhavādinā suṣṭhu saṃpāditena..* ṚV. 1, 38, 12 *súsaṃskṛtā abhīśavaḥ* (*santu*) " ±solid and well-made must be your reins ", compare Sāyaṇa : *s.* : *aśvabandhanarajjuparigraheṇa svalamkṛtāḥ sāvadhānāḥ santu.*[2]

That *saṃskāra-* " einem bestimmten Zwecke entsprechends Verfahren mit Etwas " is met with in connexion with various other words, is evident when we cast a glance at Pet. Wtb. VII, 488. I draw the attention to the expression *vācaḥ saṃskārālaṃkṛtaṃ śubham,* found in the Rāmāyaṇa, 7, 4, 8,[3] which refers to grammatically correct speech[4]. Properly and correctly pronounced speech is *saṃskṛta-* and accordingly it attains its object, is successful, says Kālidāsa, Ragh. 10, 36, were Mallinātha remarks *saṃskāraḥ* : *sādhutvaspaṣṭatādiprayatno yasyāḥ sā.* Speech, and especially religious speech, a vedic verse, must be recited with the proper accents and with grammatical purity (correct pronunciation) ; otherwise, as is explicitly stated in the *Śikṣā,* it is not only ineffective, but noxious : *mantro hīnaḥ svarato varṇato vā mithyāprayukto na tam artham āha, sa vāgvajro yajamānaṃ hinasti;* see also Rām. 5, 15, 39 (NNS.) *duḥkhena bubudhe sītāṃ hanuman analaṃkṛtām*[5] *śaṃskāreṇa yathā hīnāṃ vācam arthāntaraṃ gatām.* What to Sītā, who is separated from her husband, is the absence of her " ornaments ", is to a word the absence of grammatical correctness : both, Sītā and the word, are hardly to be recognized,[6] Chānd. Up. 2, 22, 5 says : *sarve svarā ghoṣavanto balvanto vaktavyāḥ* : *Indre balaṃ dadānīti,* see Ṛkpr. 766, 760 etc.

We come to the meaning of *alaṃkāra* as a technical term in the Indian science of poetry. Here I may refer to the short paper of KANE[7], so rich in its contents, and the learned discussion of JACOBI,[8] where peculiarities about the meaning of this word in works on poetry are communicated.

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1. GELDNER, *Der Rigveda übersetzt, etc.,* I (1923), p. 2.

2. As for the interpretation of the verb *piṃśati* (cp. DIWEKAR, p. 2, § 3, who discusses ṚV. 10, 53, 7, *raśanā....piṃśata*), I refer to the dictionaries ; the root *piś-* (" carve, cut up, arrange, etc.") does not prove either that *alamkṛ-* should always mean " to adorn ".

3. Mbh. 13, 2321. *vāṇī saṃskārabhūṣaṇā,* etc., and often elsewhere ; cp. also Mbh. 3, 136, 9.

4. Rāmatilaka : *s.* : *padavākyārthasaṃskārayutam.*

5. *analaṃkṛtām* : *saṃskāreṇati, snānānulepanādiraṅgasaṃskāraḥ* (Rāmat.).

6. I also refer to the use of the word *saṃskāra* in the Prātiśākhyas, cp. WEBER *I. S.* IV, 68 : " die Zurechtmachung der in padapāṭha stehenden Wörter für den *saṃhitāpāṭha.*"

7. P. V. KANE, *Outlines of the history of alaṃkāra literature,* in Indian Antiquary 41 (1912), pp. 124ff. and 204ff.

8. H. JACOBI, *Über Begriff und Wesen der poetischen Figuren in der indischen Poetik, Nachrichten Göttingen* 1908, pp. 1ff.

As pointed out by KANE and other scholars,[1] the word *alaṃkāraśāstra-* was used in a wider sense "the science of poetic art, including everything that makes poetry attractive", and, roughly speaking, in later times, in a narrower one, the (more limited) science of the "figures of speech". In the one and the other case, however, it embraces in its sphere the description of several embellishments which distinguish the work of a poet from an unpoetical composition. As appears from the introduction of an authoritative native work on the subject, the Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin, according to "the methods laid down by the great experts" (1, 9) the *alaṃkārāḥ* present a contrast to the body of poetry (1, 10), and this body is *iṣṭārthavyavachinnā padāvalī,* "a series of words able to convey a settled meaning". And 2, 1 we learn that the *dharmāḥ* ("Bestandteile") that give beauty to poetry are called *a.* (*kāvyaśobhākarān dharmān alaṃkārān pracakṣate*). Vāmana in his Kāvyālaṃkārasūtras, 1, 2 defines : *saundaryam alaṃkāraḥ,* "*a.* is beauty". Ānandavardhana (Dhvanik. II, 7, p. 78) argues that as guṇas are the properties of the soul of poetry as bravery is a property of the human mind, so figures of speech are purely ornaments that enhance the inherent beauty of poetry, as golden ornaments set off the beauty of a person. And, to wind up with, in Viśvanātha's Sāhityadarpaṇa, 10, 1 (=361) we meet with the same simile :.... *ye dharmāḥ śobhātiśayinaḥ... alaṃkārās te 'ṅgadādivat,* "the *a*....that are like bracelets and so on," and the commentary adds : "as bracelets and the like redound to the man's advantage by adding to his beauty, so alliteration, simile and so on, which, by promoting the beauty of word and sense aid the rasa, etc., are (called) *a.*"

And, in fact, everyone who has read the works belonging to the kāvya-literature knows that there the poets try to embellish their work and to overtrump each other in art and tricks, whether the results may be to our liking or not. But we must ask ourselves : Has the character of the stylistic phenomena that are described by the alaṃkāraśāstra always been the same? Have they always been nothing but embellishments? Many of them, indeed, are artificial products, but a number of these phenomena were known very early : Yāska in his Nirukta gives a definition of the *upamā* (simile),[2] in the sūtras of Pāṇini are found the terms *upamā, upamāna* etc., in the Bhāratīya-Nāṭyaśāstra (16, 41) the term *yamaka-* occurs, and so on. And as early as the Ṛgveda, as has occasionally been noticed by several scholars,[3] in the texts themselves these "figures of speech", as they are often named, occur. Now, were they, as far back as the Ṛgveda, embellishments, ornaments, and no-

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1. See also M. KRISHNAMACHARIAR, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature,* Madras, 1937, pp. 709f.

2. See KANE, *o.c.,* p. 127 and H. R. DIWEKAR, *Les fleurs de rhétorique dans l'Inde,* Diss. Paris, 1930, pp. 23ff., who, treating the same subject as KANE, does not mention his paper.

3. See my essay *Stilistische Studie over Atharvaveda* I-VII, Wageningen 1938, p. 8 ff.

thing else, or no more than that? Nowhere have I found an answer in the negative. On the contrary,[1] DIWEKAR, who, only eight years ago, treated the subject in detail, says explicitly : "nous avons vu que les poètes védiques ornaient leurs hymnes..."[2] But in my opinion, we are wrong when we say that the vedic alaṃkāra is nothing but an ornament.[3] In an essay about the language of Atharvavedasaṃhitā I-VII[4] I have tried to describe a number of stylistic phenomena of the atharvanic mantras. I have proved that in these texts which for the greater part had a more "popular" origin than the main body of the Ṛgveda and did not flourish in the atmosphere of the court, where the precursors of the kāvya-poets of the classical time cultivated their art—also many cases of alliteration, rhyme, anaphoric repetition, paronomastic juxtaposition of similar forms and so on occur. To my mind the said phenomena had in all probability another function in AV. and such like mantras than to be nothing but ornaments. Here, as in the literature of several other peoples, we have a sacral or ritual "Sondersprache", which in some regards is different from the colloquial speech in general. Its characteristics are usually a certain archaism, stereotypy in the construction of the sentence (parallelism etc.), a certain circumstantiality, the employment of repetitions and "figures of speech" which consist in repetition of various kinds, the employment and exploitation of linguistic phenomena which occur in the colloquial language of many a people. So in a "Sondersprache" like this many peculiarities are to be met with which do not play a logically—intellectual part, but express feelings, moods, desires and so on. At the same time we ought not to forget that in magic religious texts the sound, in itself, has often great significance. Harmony in sound, similarity or partial similarity in name points to essential harmony or likeness. The pronouncing of a word, especially in certain formulas has a magic power, the repeated pronouncing of it intensifies this magic power. Partially similar words, e.g. words with the same ending, said in a certain rhythm, elevate the general mood. They have a hallowing effect. Often the peculiar virtue of "verba concepta" and "carmina", of solemn speech is recognized by the general public. These peculiarities of the sacral language may also have an æsthetic side, which will probably have been observed and cultivated by individual poets a.o. by Ṛgvedic poets. Then they become figures of speech and when applied in excess they become "Spielerei".

Reminding my readers of the fact that of the alaṃkāras the *upamā, rūpaka, dīpaka* and *yamaka* are mentioned first in literature (see f.i. Bhār.

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1. Compare also JACOBI, who was a great authority in this domain (*ZDMG.* 56, p. 392) : "Die indische Poetik ist, wenn man aus ihrem Namen A. auf ihr ursprüngliches Wesen schliessen darf, erwachsen aus eine Lehre von dem poetischen Schmuck"; GELDNER, *Vedische Studien* III, 32 f. ; 99, n. 5.

2. See also my *Stilistische Studie......*,p. 10 ; ff.

3. The French word *ornement* is explained by LITTRÉ, *Dict. française*, s. v. "...... terme de littérature : figures, forme de style qui servent à embellir le discours".

4. See the preceding note but one.

N. S. 17, 40 : *upamā rūpakam caiva dīpakaṁ yamakaṃ tathā | alaṃkārās tu vijñeyāś catvāro nāṭakāśrayāḥ*), I should like to suggest the following hypothesis : when pointing to material things *alaṃkāra-* meant things which make *alam*, which give the strength required for something > things which bestow a consecrated condition upon a person, amulets, > "ornaments". Now, as the above mentioned characteristics of the Sondersprache of the Vedic mantras made it what it was made it fit to answer its purpose, because without the typical "figures of speech"—in the manner in which, and with the frequency with which they occur—the prayers and formulas would have no success[1], would not be "texts" and prayers—these peculiarities of style of the language may have been given the same names as their material counterparts, when the language of the holy texts began to be considered and studied, which was at a very early date. We ought not to forget that the definitions containing the idea "beauty" arise only centuries later and bear on art-poetry. In my opinion the word *saṃskāra-* is something to go by,—we have already pointed out that *saṃ-skr-* and *alaṃ-kr-* to an important degree run parallel in semantic. If *saṃskāra-* a.o. is grammatically the correct form of language which is exclusively effective, *alaṃkāra-* (for the mantra's) may indicate the correct form of style[2].

One might object that similes and metaphors also (*upamās* and *rūpakās*, together with *dīpakās*) belong to the *alaṃkārās* already mentioned. In a treatise which, as I hope will be published about simultaneously with this article, I propose to explain that this fact tells not against, but indeed strongly in favour of the hypothesis stated above.

If this hypothesis is correct[4]—when the name *a.* was used for the first time, I am unable to say myself—,one might perhaps wonder at the fact that the Indian "Begriffbestimmung of practical figures" "so wenig befriedigend ausfiel"[3] and that later theorists have not suggested this explanation. A look at the history of the study of analogous phenomena in Europe may make us think better of it, if this wonder should at the same be a reproach.

At first sight, it seems that other objections can be raised against my theory, viz. in various texts and commentaries synonyms are met with or verbs are used in the same context which are accredited with the meaning "to adorn etc." We can, however, make plausible that other verbs also did not possess that meaning, or only that meaning, from the beginning. Although want of space prevents me from explaining this in full detail, I call to memory the following facts :

Several times, Sāyaṇa paraphrases *prasādhayan* : (*svatejasā*) *alaṃkurvan*

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1. Would be *anarthakāḥ*, DIWEKAR, p. 25.

2. Already at a very early date the *vācaḥ krūrāṇi* were distinguished, which had a destructive effect (f. i. Āp. Śr. S. 14, 14, 1). See HILLEBRANDT, *Rituall*, p. 170.

3. JACOBI, *o.c.*, p. 2.

4. Of course it is possible that at an early date the aesthetical shade of meaning of the word was present too.

(ad ṚV. 1, 95, 7); *prasādhayantī* (*svatejasā*) *svātmānam alaṃkurvatī prasiddhiṃ prāpnuvānā vā* (ad ṚV. 1, 172, 2), cp. (ad ṚV. 1, 37, 3[1]) *prasādhayati* means "to accomplish" : AV. 1, 24, 4, "to arrange, put in order" etc.[2], at times specialized, but also "to adorn"; see the play on the word Raghuvaṃśa 19, 3; Veṇīsaṃhāra 1, 7.

Lexicographers and other authors[3] have: *bhūṣaṇe 'lam.* I intend to write a short paper about the family of *bhūṣ-*, *bhūṣaṇa-*, wherein I hope to demonstrate that the semantical history of the word *bhūṣaṇa-* is partly parallel.

DIWEKAR[4] sets a high value on the use of the word *śumbhati* in parallel contexts. Now, the family of *śubh-* too has other meanings than "to embellish." Cp., e.g. Manu 8, 297 *mṛgapakṣiṇaḥ śubhāḥ*, not" beautiful wild quadrupeds and birds"[5], but, as often in texts on augury "auspicious, faustus".[6] Manu 2, 112 *śubhaṃ bījam*, "von guter Beschaffenheit", Pet. Wtb., where many instances; a *śubhaḥ silpin* is "a clever artisan" (Rām). In ṚV. 1, 33, 8 there is an interesting place: *hiraṇyena maṇinā śúmbhamānāḥ...* "With golden chains, trinkets or the like that have a magic power"; 1, 85, 3 *gómātaro yác chubháyante añjíbhis tanūṣu śubhrā dadhire virúkmataḥ bādhante víśvam abhimātínam*, the magical and religious use of *añj-*, *añji-* is well-known[4], in c the result is clearly seen; the Maruts oppress every foe; therefore, to my mind, they put on, not things which only add beauty to them, but things that have a magical power; 9, 62, 6 *ād īm áśvaṃ ná hétāró 'śūśubhann amṛ́tāya mádhvó rásaṃ sadhamāde* "just as drivers harness the horse (that it may be ready for its task), they prepared the sap *madhu-* ...".[8] In AV. 6, 54, 1 (to secure and increase some one's superiority) the magical meaning of the verb is obvious: "with amulets etc. I put this man in the condition that he is superior ...";[9] AV. 6, 115, 3; 12, 3, 13 the meaning is "to cleanse"; ṚV. 5, 54, 11 we meet with an enumeration: spears on the shoulders, rings on the feet, golden plates on the breasts, *śubhaḥ* on the chariot, lightnings in the arms, helmets on the heads: practical things, outfit, weapons with material power and amulets with magical power, but, of course, these things might be glittering and beautiful too.[10] Now the passages, quoted by DIWEKAR in favour of his theory that *alaṃkaroti* always means "to adorn, to add beauty to".[11] We are not under the necessity of translating ṚV. 5, 22, 4 *gīrbhíḥ*

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1. Cp. also GELDNER, *Vedische Studien*, III, 29.
2. See the dictionaries.
3. For instance Amarak. 3, 4, 32, 13; Pāṇini 1, 4, 64.
4. *O. c.*, p. 2.
5. MAX MÜLLER, S.B.E. 25, p. 306.
6. See Kullūka, and, e.g. Mahābh. 5, 143, 17.
7. See, f.e., ERE, s.v. Anoint.
8. Cp. GRASSMANN, *Wörterbuch*, 1405 "zurichten".
9. Cp. WHITNEY-LANMAN, *Atharva-veda*, p. 321.
10. Moreover, we must consider that "beautiful" and "brilliant, bright, glittering" are not the same.
11. DIWEKAR, o.c., pp. 2 ff.

śumbhanty átrayaḥ and ṚV. 8, 44, 26 *agníṃ śumbhāmi mánmabhiḥ* with "Les Atris (te) parent de leurs chants" and "Je pare Agni de prières". As we have seen, the chant invigorates (or rejoices) the god : thus we might translate : "I favour Agni with ..." or something like this." Here too we meet with the idea "to render a person or a thing fit for his (its) task".[1] In the same way : ṚV. 9, 2, 7 *yā̆bhir* (*gī̆rbhir*) *mádāya śúmbhase* "to be in the right condition to", cp. Pet. Wtb. VII, 260 ; and ṚV. 8, 6, 11, where we must quote the whole stanza : *ahám pratnéna mánmanā gíraḥ śumbhāmi kaṇvavát yénéndraḥ śúṣmam íd dadhé ;* here too I should like to render *śumbhāmi* with : "I make a thing in an appropriate manner etc." ṚV. 1, 130, 6[2] *śumbhánto ... yathā ... vājínam átyam iva śávase sātáye dhánā,* we must render : "harnessing (a horse), make ready etc.," mere ornaments do not suffice to win the race and the prize !

Now, it is noteworthy that the family of words to which Engl. *ornament, adorn,* fr. *orner* belong, which are often used to translate *alaṃkāra-* etc. once had a different meaning, which agreed with the more original meaning of *alaṃkṛ-*. In Latin the verb *ornare* signified : firstly "to fit out, to prepare, to equip, to supply with everything needed etc.," e.g. *classem o.* "to fit out a fleet", *aliquem armis o.* "to equip a person with weapons" (*miles ornatus ferro*) etc. ; secondly "to adorn, to make beautiful", also said of the orator who adorns his speech (Cicero) ; *ornatus* means I "well-equipped" ; *equus o.* "a bridled horse", *ornatus armatusque* "fitted out and armed" ; II "beautiful, elegant, fine, often of speeches" ; *ornatus,* subst. means I the equipment; II the attire or costume worn by a person (germ. Ausstattung) ; III germ. schmückende Ausstattung, adornment. In modern French, as well as in the other Romance languages, we only find the changed meaning : Fr. *orner,* It. *ornare,* Port. *ornar* signify "embellish, adorn".

This is not the only case of such a semantic change. The Latin verb *parare* signified "to prepare, to procure, to make ready, to equip" (*epulas,* "banquet", etc.), *paratus* "ready, prepared". In connection with some words *parare* could be understood as "to adorn" ; *auro paratus* ("... with gold"). In the 10th century French *parer* signified "to adorn", *parement* was "Ausschmückung, Schmuck"[3], in modern French *parer* means I "apprêter certaines choses de manière à leur donner meilleure apparence, à les rendre plus commods ...., terme de marine) mettre en ordre une chose ...." II (usually) "orner, embellir."[4]

Although the original meaning of German *Schmuck* was another ("das, was sich dem Leibe anschmiegt"), in the 15th century (in Luther's works) it was used for the whole dress "mit dem Nebenbegriff des schönen, kostbaren, verzierten", then it assumed the meaning : "was zur Verschönerung con etwas

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1. Cp. a *bhiṣaj- śóbhana-* Ath. V. Pr. *JAOS.* VII, p. 536.
2. DIWEKAR, p. 5 (§ 9).
3. Cp. also GAMILLSCHEG, *Etymol. Wörterbuch der französischen Sparche,* p. 670.
4. Cp. LITTRÉ, *Dict. de la langue francaise,* s.v.

dient" ; also of speech "Schmuck der Sprache, der Rede, von zierlichen oder bildlichen Ausdrücken..."[1] The semantic development of Greek ***kosmos*** and its derivatives also seems to have another starting-point, and these words denote also other and different notions; yet we may call to memory that here also the following meanings are found together: "arrange, prepare" (meal, wreath), "equip, dress" (also of horses), "adorn, embellish" (also of speech).[2]

And, in fact, it is very difficult to say, "where clothing ends and ornament begins," or "where clothing springs out of ornament"[3]; a great many ornaments traced and trace their origin back to practical and serviceable things, such as clothes etc., or such as amulets.[4] And this development is reflected in many languages.

The English word *charm* (from lat. *carmen*) at first signified "a magical formula, recited to bring about some beneficial result, to cast about a spell etc." then "any action, process, word, material thing credited with such properties", "talisman", "amulet"; in the end "a thing that gives great pleasure", esp. "a small ornament or trinket ...."

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1. Cp. GRIMM, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, s.v.
2. Here too we find "equipped with gold" > "adorned...." (Hom. h.Ven. 65), and the meaning "adornments buried with the dead."
3. Cp., for instance, HASTING'S *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, 5, 41b.
4. See *Acta Orientalia* 15, 319; also *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, 7, 1255. We must not forget that amulets often were sewn in clothing, affixed to weapons, attached to ornaments.

SKT. *UTSAVA-* 'FESTIVAL"

Primitive man is anxious about the powers of nature, especially about the growth of the crop. He is afraid that after the periodical dying in nature there will be no new life, no resurrection. Hence he has recourse to several rites and other means to awake nature when it sleeps, to rouse the 'daemon of vegetation' and to make him live again, when he seems to have died. As is well known, these means to stimulate or to resuscitate the vital powers of nature may often be called 'festivals'. Originally, festivals were not commemorative, no occasions to give expression to joy, but events bearing upon the cyclical life of nature, especially upon the growth of cereals etc. Dancing and singing which, as a rule, form an important part of a festival further man's consciousness of his own power and refresh his mood; they are suitable to compensate for the sensation of fear and inferiority with regard to the unknown powers of nature, whose activity is beyond the comprehensive faculty of man. Hence these festivals are essentially more or less religious or magical: they exert an invigorating influence not only upon man himself, but also, at least as man takes it, upon nature. Thus the belief has arisen that the divine powers of nature, which are of great moment to the welfare and destiny of man himself, may be influenced by acting and by traditional and periodical rites and ceremonies. Without them the powerfulness of life would be brought to stagnation. Festivals therefore are not merely recreational; on the contrary, primitive peoples regard them as useful work and as things of duty. This may also be gathered from the use Indonesian languages have made of the sanskrit word *kārya-* "affair, duty, business, work". In Sanskrit *devakārya-* and *pitṛkārya-* mean "a rite in honour of the gods,—of the manes" (Mān. Dh. Ś. 3, 203), in Javanese the meaning "wedding ceremonial" is met with [1]), and in Sundanese the word only means "festival": the circumcision of a child, the receiving in state of a prince etc. are *kariyas,* in Achenese *köröja* means "festival", especially a "wedding-feast" (but here the meaning "work" is known also), in Gajo "wedding, wedding-feast" is the most usual meaning of the word. In Java,

1) I refer to H. N. VAN DER TUUK, *Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek,* II (1899), p. 99 f.

Acheen and other parts of the Indian Archipelago feasts are believed to promote good or to ward off ill fortune, to bring about the safe return of a traveller, success in the undertaking, to charm away epidemics etc. And the Christian calendar, which no longer produces natural 'fruits', is intended to nourish spiritual life. "Sans fête la vie ne peut durer. La fête n'est pas une 'détente' permise, et peut-être désirée que prendrait une place à part dans la vie affairée de tous les jours, la fête participe à la vie, est indispensable" [2].

Thus the people of Posso (Celebes) celebrate, among other ceremonies, a festival of the blacksmith intended to invigorate the members of the community with the power of iron [3]. In many parts of the earth care for the continuance of life of souls after death is not inconsistent with merrymaking, and the mad processions of Hindustan remind one more of a fair than of a funeral pageant. During a festival various games and sports usually take place, which are often in the first place magical or sacred acts. Dancing, which produces vigour in man, produces rain and fertility in nature (magical analogy), single fights further the growth of the crop, races of every kind, pageants and processions are often to be considered as magical ceremonies. The roman ludi, which were celebrated on the birthdays of the gods, especially of the rural gods, intended to "recréer la Terre et tout ce qu'elle porte pour obtenir le renouvellement du monde", on birthdays of prominent men they were 'pro salute', on other occasions they 'renewed' the dead and strengthened the divine power; they were means "pour assurer le renouvellement d'une force surhumaine" [4]. By strengthening the divine power men strengthen themselves: Bhagavadgītā 3, 11 *devān bhāvayatānena* (viz. *yajñena*) *te devā bhāvayantu vaḥ* | *parasparaṃ bhāvayantaḥ śreyaḥ param avāpsyatha*; cp. also R.V. 6, 19, 5-6; 10, 148, 4 etc.

In India too festivals have always had a magical-religious character. The rathayātrā [5], e.g., was a ceremony of the said kind, and the race of seventeen chariots during the vājapeya is doubtless, as has been stated by Oldenberg [6], a rite to confer on the sacrificer swiftness, power, victory, "If people are not merry, there will be famine", says the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa 3, 117, 23. The idea that festivals are invigorating and strengthening actions affords, to my mind, the key to the etymology of skt. *utsava*- "festival, joy etc.". According to the Petersburg Dict. (I, 904) *utsava*- "Festtag" is "der Form nach nom. act. von *su*- mit *ud*".

2) G. VAN DER LEEUW, *L'homme primitif et la religion* (Paris, 1940), p. 68 f., who quotes MALINOWSKY, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1932), p. 209. See also K. A. H. HIDDING, *Gebruiken en godsdienst der Soendaneezen* (Batavia, 1935), p. 31.

3) H. KLUIN, *Het geestesleven der natuurvolken,* p. 178 f., who refers to Alb. C. KRUYT.

4) A. PIGANIOL, *Recherches sur les jeux romains* (Publ. de la faculté des lettres de l'université de Strassbourg, 13, 1923), pp. 137 ff. See, for instance, J. J. MEYER, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation,* Zürich-Leipzig, 1937, passim; G. VAN DER LEEUW, *Religion in essence and manifestation,* London, 1938, ch. 56; THURNWALD, in EBERT, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte,* s.v. Fest (III, 230); *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens,* II, 1348, s.v. Feste; W. B. KRISTENSEN, *Theologisch Tijdschrift,* 44 (1910), p. 1 ff. and the works and papers quoted in these books and articles.

5) See J. J. MEYER, *o.c.,* I, p. 224; II, p. 200; also *WZKM.* 46 (1939), p. 100.

6) H. OLDENBERG, *Religion des Veda,* p. 470.

Sub voce 1. *su-* "auspressen", *ud- su-* "aufregen" (only text Bhāg. Pur. 3, 20, 35) this dictionary (VII, 1020) remarks: "der Bedeutung nach eher zu 2. *su-* (wie auch *utsava-*), which, preceded by *ud* means "aufwärts gehen lassen" (only text Kāṭh. 19, 5). In his commentary on the Śakuntulā, Kale says [7]: "*utsava-,* a festival, from *ud* + *sū-* "to give birth to" (also 3. *sū-* "zeugen, gebären") + suffix *-a-* (the birth of a son being considered as the greatest occasion of joy); or from *sū-* "to perform a sacrifice" (the sacrifices being looked upon as great festivals)". These authors leave the matter there. As I take it, the word must be connected with *su-* "to set in motion, to impel, to rouse etc.".

In the Ṛgveda the word *utsava-* is rather rare; it occurs twice. The Petersburg Dictionary, Grassmann's Wörterbuch and other dictionaries agree on the interpretation of both the texts: „das Unternehmen, Beginnen; die Unternehmung; enterprise". Nevertheless, I must differ with these authorities. R.V. 1, 102, 1 it reads: *imā́ṃ te dhíyam prá bhare mahó mahī́m asyá stotré dhiṣáṇā yát ta ānajé | tám utsavé ca prasavé ca sāsahím índraṃ devā́saḥ śávasāmadann ánu.* The second part of this stanza was rendered by Grassmann [8]: "Dem Indra jauchzten voller Kraft die Götter zu, der siegreich Thaten unternimmt und weiter führt" [9]. According to Geldner [10] this text means: "Dem Indra, der bei Kampffest und Wettrennen der Sieger ist, jubelten die Götter mächtig zu". His remark that "die vielen Hinweise auf Kampf und Sport wohl nur bildlich zu verstehen (sind)" does not seem probable: races, combats etc. are, indeed, often mentioned in Ṛgvedic texts; by these events "(sucht) sich der Opfernde Stärke, Glück, Fruchtbarkeit seiner Felder und Weiber usw. zu sichern" [11]. The preceding victory will give force and power to defeat the enemies, the coming off victorious in a race must bring about the victory in a real battle which is close at hand: one of the special features of the Vājapeya-rite, which was connected with the attainment of great prosperity, was a race in which the sacrificer came off victorious [12]. According to Sāyaṇa (ad T.Br. 2, 7, 13, 4 c, d where the mantra *tam* etc. (R.V. 1, 102, 1 c d) occurs also) *utsava-* means "in the execution of the said sacred act" and *prasava-* "in der Auswirkung des Erfolges dieser" (Geldner).

The other Ṛgvedic text is 1, 100, 8: *tám apsanta śávasa utsavéṣu náro náram ávase táṃ dhánāya.* Here, GRASSMANN has translated *u.*: "in den Kriegsmühen" [13]. The interpretation, given by Geldner, is not quite clear: "An ihn, den Herrn, wenden sich die Herren an den Festtagen der Kraft (d.h. in den Kämpfen) um Beistand, an ihn um Beute". In my

7) M. R. KALE, *The Abhijñānaśakuntalam of Kālidāsa*[7] (Bombay, 1934), Notes, p. 147.

8) H. GRASSMANN, *Rig-Veda übersetzt,* II, p. 102.

9) Compare the same author in his *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda,* 883, s.v. 2. *prasava-* 5 "die Unternehmung, besonders in ihrem Fortgange, im Gegensatz zu *utsava-,* was das Beginnen derselben bezeichnet".

10) K. F. GELDNER, *Der Rigveda übersetzt und erläutert* I (1923), p. 119.

11) H. OLDENBERG, *Die Religion des Veda,* pp. 309; 470; 504.

12) Cf., e.g., A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads,* p. 339 f. I refer also to my paper on the so-called humorous sūktas of the Rgveda, which will appear in a volume edited by the Dutch Oriental Society.

13) GRASSMANN, *Rig-Veda übersetzt,* II, p. 100.

opinion, *śavasa utsava-* means "the generating, rousing, setting in motion, stimulating of power (strength, superiority)" [14]), which is exactly the character and object of a 'primitive' festival. Now, 1, 37, 9 the *śavas-* "power" of the Maruts is renewed: *yát sīm ánu dvitā́ śávaḥ,* in several texts the power is intensified and increased: 1, 52, 7 *tváṣṭā cit te yújyaṃ vāvṛdhe śávaḥ*; cp. 8, 64, 13 *várdhā* (viz. Agni) *no ámavac chávaḥ.* In other songs the poet says that power is created or produced: 10, 44, 4 *ójaḥ kṛṣva* (viz. O Indra); cp. also 9, 66, 19; *bhadra-* "luck, good fortune" and *sarvatāti-* "completeness, being unhurt and uninjured" too, are produced: 5, 81, 2; 3, 55, 11; 10, 36, 14 and the verb used in these texts is *su-* (*pra-su-, ā-su-*). As solemn speech, singing etc. is a means to strengthen a god etc. (e.g. 1, 52, 7 ... *bráhmāṇīndra táva yā́ni várdhanā*; 5, 11, 5 *tvā́ṃ gíraḥ ... ā́ pṛṇanti śávasā vardháyanti ca* "the songs fill thee (O Agni), with power and strengthen thee"; 8, 3, 3 *imā́ u tvā (Indra) ... gíro vardhantu yā́ máma*; 4 *ayáṃ sahásram ṛ́ṣibhiḥ sáhaskṛtaḥ*; 3, 32, 3 *yé te śuṣmaṃ yé táviṣīm ávardhann árcanta indra marútas ta ójaḥ*), we may expect that other magico-religious acts have the same result.

Although the word *utsava-* is rare in the Ṛgveda, the notion it expresses is closely related to the idea expressed by the term *āji-* "a running or fighting match". PISCHEL [15]) identified the two notions: "Im Wettkampf des Indra" (1, 176, 5 *ājāv Indrasya*) kann nur heissen „im Wettkampf zu Ehren des Indra". *ājāv Indrasya* entspricht dem klassischen *Indrotsave* oder *bhagavataḥ Śaṃkarasya yātrāyām* u. dgl.". Pischel has perhaps strained the point, but it seems certain that the expressions *ājā Yamasya* etc. mean "in the race in honour of Yama", i.e. "... which intend to strengthen Yama". The conception that Indra and other gods are strengthened is very common in the Ṛgveda; we even meet with texts where *śávase* has been added: 1, 81, 1 *índro mádāya vāvṛdhe śávase vṛtrahā́ nṛ́bhiḥ* where by the aid or influence of men, Indra has become strong 'for enthusiasm and for power'.

There is another expression meaning the procreation or the bringing forth of strength (swiftness etc.), viz. *vājasya prasava-*: Ath. Veda 7, 6, 4 *vā́jasya nú prasavé mātáraṃ mahī́m áditiṃ nā́ma vácasā karāmahe,* rendered by Whitney-Lanman [16]): "Now, in the impulse of might, will we commemorate(?) with utterance the great mother". Although in this text this translation will perhaps do, the interpretation "Zeuger der Kraft", proposed by Weber [17]), is, in my opinion, more correct, provided that we modify it here into "Zeugung der Kraft". In the same way I should like to translate Ath. V. 3, 20, 8 *vā́jasya nú prasavé sáṃ babhūvimemā ca víśvā bhúvanāny antáḥ* "at the generating of strength [18]) we have come into being, and all these beings within". As has been supposed by Geldner [19]) R.V. 1, 102, 1 (*utsavé ca*) *prasavé* (*ca*) may be explained as *vā́jasya prasavé*; and this inter-

14) Indra, who RV. 8, 58, 4 is called *sūnu- satyasya,* is 4, 24, 1 *śavasaḥ sūnu-* and 8, 81, 14 *putra- śavasaḥ.*

15) R. PISCHEL in PISCHEL und GELDNER, *Vedische Studien* I (1889), p. 172.

16) W. D. WHITNEY-Ch. R. LANMAN, *Atharva-Veda Saṃhitā* I (1905), p. 393.

17) WEBER, *Über den Vājapeya, Sitz. Ber. Berlin* 1892, p. 796 f.

18) "In the impulse of vigor(?)" Whitney-Lanman.

19) GELDNER, *o.c.,* p. 119.

pretation is not inconsistent with Geldner's other supposition ("Wettrennen, Lauf", cf. 3, 33, 2 and 4).

Manu 3, 59 *tasmād etāḥ sadā pūjyāḥ* ... | *bhūtikāmair narair nityaṃ satkāreṣūtsaveṣu ca* "hence men who seek (their own) welfare, should always honour women on holidays and festivals ..." [20]); here Kullūka explains *satkāreṣu* by *kaumudyādiṣu* (*kaumudī*: the day of full moon in the month "Kārtika", dedicated to the god Kārtikeya), *utsaveṣu* by *upanayanādiṣu* "the ceremony of introducing a young member of the three higher ranks unto a teacher"; this ceremony and the other saṃskāras that follow it are essentially 'sacraments' whose aim is to make the young man fit for the next period of his life. Manu 9, 84, where the text has *abhyudayeṣu,* Kullūka explains *vivāhādyutsaveṣu*; now, *abhyudaya-* means "rising (of the sun), ascent, success,welfare, good fortune", and also "festival", viz. a high day or a happy event in a family, such as birth, wedding and so on, on the occasion of which a śrāddha takes place; the brahmans who are invited, are addressed as Nāndīmukha "joyful in countenance", instead of "with tearful countenance", which is elsewhere not seldom met with. This rite is performed for the benefit of the dead.

Mahābhārata 4, a. 13 a celebration, *mahotsava-,* in honour of Brahmā is described (see esp. vs. 14 ff.), in which wrestling and gladiatorial games are played; in the contest Bhīma slays a famous wrestler. According to Nīlakaṇṭha this festival takes place in autumn, when the young corn comes forth: *brahmaṇa utsavaḥ śaradi navadhānyotpattau sarvaiḥ kriyate sa ca deśaviśeṣe prasiddhaḥ.* The opinion expressed by Hopkins [21]) that these gladiatorial games etc. were played as if the Father God were still a god delighting in destruction, is, to my mind, not correct; wrestling and bloody contests do not necessarily prove that the ceremony aims at destruction, they may also be interpreted as generating power [22]).

Mbh. 5, 176, 46 a svayaṃvara is called an *utsava-*: *kanyānimittaṃ viprarṣe tatrāsīd utsavo mahān*; 2, 210, 22 Nīlakaṇṭha explains the word *u.* as follows: *yātrā vivāhādiḥ*; in the same chapter, vs. 1, *utsava-* is used in connection with festivities in connection with the returning of Sunda and Upasunda to their town; everybody was glad, there was eating, drinking, singing, giving (alms, food etc.) and rejoicing in various ways. According to a wide-spread popular belief eating etc. generate power, not only the physical force of the man who eats, but also fertility in nature etc. [23]). Mbh. 3, 207, 9 in a description of a *nagarī ramyā* it reads: *hṛṣṭapuṣṭajanākīrṇāṃ nityotsavasamākulām,* and vs. 6 the town is called *yajñotsavavatīm*: worship, sacrifices and feasts belong together.

A very important text is Rām. 2, 67, 15, in which in a praise of kings the author says [24]): *nārājake janapade prahṛṣṭanaṭanartakāḥ* | *utsavāś ca samājāś ca vardhante rāṣṭravardhanāḥ*

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20) As to the text see BÜHLER, *S.B.E.* 25, p. 85, n.

21) E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, *Epic Mythology* (1915), p. 196.

22) I refer to MEYER, *o.c.*

23) See e.g. my treatise on the origin of the Indian drama, *Acta Orientalia* 19, p. 395 ff.

24) See also A. HILLEBRANDT, *Über die Anfänge des indischen Dramas, Sitz. Bar. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1914, 4, p. 9.

"in a kingless realm do not thrive festivals and festal assemblies where naṭas and nartakas are delighted and which make strong the kingdom" [25]). In the commentary of Rāma *utsavāḥ* is explained by *devādyutsavāḥ,* which is quite correct, for these festivals are essentially religious, and *samājāḥ* by *tattadrāṣṭrakāryasiddhiprayojanāḥ samūhāḥ* "gatherings the purpose of which is the success of various state-affairs". Here too, the strengthening effect of these *utsavāḥ* has been clearly expressed [26]).

The 6th chapter of the Dásakumāracarita opens with a description of a festival: *so 'ham ... suhmeṣu dāmaliptāhvayasya nagarasya bāhyodyāne mahāntam utsavasamājam alokayam* "...in a garden outside of the city I saw a festive gathering crowded with people": the daughter of the Suhma king had to revere the goddess Pārvatī (who had given two children to her father) by means of a dance accompanied by a game at ball (*kandukanṛtya-*) to obtain an excellent husband". Here too the magico-religious aim of the ceremony, which is called a *kandukotsava-,* is evident. Elsewhere in the same novel (ch. 2) [27]) Daṇḍin sets forth how an *utsavottaro maṅgalavidhiḥ* has to be performed for a young girl, who is destined to be a courtesan, on her birthday and on a 'holy day' (*puṇyadine*): an auspicious ceremony followed by (accompanied by) an *utsava-*.

Yātrās and suchlike occurrences which in general have a magico-religious character in connection with fertility and the transition of the seasons [28]), may be called *utsavāḥ* or *mahotsavāḥ,* cf. e.g. Rājataraṅgiṇī 1, 222 *kramāt pravavṛte so 'tha naṭacāraṇasaṃkulaḥ | prekṣilokasamākīrṇas tatra yātrāmahotsavaḥ.* An *Udayanotsava-* (see Harṣa, Priyad. 3, 3 +) is a festival instituted to celebrate the marriage of king Udayana and Vāsavadattā; the ladies of the gynaeceum have to meet in the garden of Love: these festivities too were originally ceremonies to further fertility and to strengthen the potency of the powers of nature [29]).

The verb *ud-su-* is found Kāṭh. 19,5 ... *ud u tiṣṭha svadhvarordhva ū ṣu ṇa ūtaya ity ūrdhvām eva varuṇamenim utsuvati,* "... 'arise, thou of fair sacrifice', 'arise, erect to aid us' with these verses he sends aloft the wrath of Varuṇa that is in him"; the parallel text TS. 5, 1, 5, 3, however, has ... *iti sāvitrībhyām ut tiṣṭhati, savitṛprasūta evāsyordhvāṃ varuṇamenim utsṛjati.*

If I am right in assuming for *utsava-* the original meaning "the generating, stimulating, producing (viz. of power)", it will be interesting to cast a glance at some cognate words. Savitar [30]), the original meaning of whose name was still felt for a long time, is the great 'Stimulator god', the great impeller or stimulator of life and motion in the world; he awakes man to do his work and the priests to perform their sacrifices, he drives away the evil spirits, he gives the gods and men immortality, he conveys the souls of the deceased to the place

25) See also J. Gonda, *o.c.,* p. 360.

26) As to the conception of *siddhi-,* see Gonda, *o.c.,* p. 437.

27) Ed. Godbole-Pansīkar10 (Bombay, 1925), p. 79.

28) See my treatise on the Indian drama (*o.c.*), passim.

29) See my treatise on the Indian drama (*o.c.*), especially p. 430 ff.

30) See Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (ed. 1923), p. 63 f. Compare also A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*2 II (1929), p. 100 f.; A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology* (Grundriss), § 15.

where the righteous dwell. His name is derived from the root *su-*, which is very often used to express the arousing, impelling and stimulating action of this god [31]). At times this stimulating activity becomes a creating or producing one, then again a granting or a determining one [32]). The semantic development of the nouns *sava-* and *prasava-* is the same. In the Śatap. Br. 1, 7, 4, 8 we are told how a part of the sacrifice, which had burnt out the eyes of Bhaga and knocked out the teeth of Pūṣan, was 'impelled' ('influenced') by Savitar, so that it did not injure Bṛhaspati [33]): *sa bṛhaspatiḥ savitāram eva prasavāyopādhāvat. savitā vai devānāṃ prasavitedaṃ me prasuveti tad asmai savitā prasavitā prāsuvat tad enaṃ savitṛprasūtaṃ nāhinat tato 'rvācīnaṃ śāntam* ... Here the influence (*prasava-*) of Savitar neutralizes magico-religious power. Now, in the Ṛgveda, the dative *savāya* is met with several times. The translation, given by Geldner ("die Weisung"), seems to be incorrect: 2, 38, 1 S. has risen "for influencing": he grants the *ratna-* (immortality or the offerings) to the gods and to him who invites to sacrifices he gives a share of happiness; 3, 56, 7 the impulsion consists in granting the *ratna-*. 1, 113, 1 *yáthā prásūtā savitúḥ savāyaṁ evā rātry uṣáse yónim āraik* seems to mean: "as the night itself has arisen (has been impelled, created) to be impelled (influenced) by S. ..."; 4, 54, 5 the mountains *tasthuḥ savitaḥ savāya te*: the translation given by Geldner does not satisfy me: „so standen sie doch auf deine Weisung still, o.S.", for it is Indra by whose order the mountains remained firm; I should prefer to translate: "the mountains remained firm to be impelled by you": if they ever will move again, S. will be the impeller [34]); 5, 82, 6 ... *devásya savitúḥ savé | víśvā vāmāni dhīmahi* "may we through the influence of S. possess all boons". The *sava-* of S. is a purifying influence: 9, 67, 25 *ubhābhyāṃ deva savitaḥ pavítreṇa savéna ca | māṃ punīhi viśvátaḥ* [35]). The word *prasava-* is almost always used to express the notion "impulse": RV. 3, 33, 4; 6; 11; sometimes the impulse originates with Indra: 8, 89, 12; 10, 111, 8, sometimes with Savitar: 10, 139, 1; 5, 81, 5 "Thou alone art the lord of stimulation (impulse)"; 6, 71, 2 *nivéśane prasavé ca*; 5, 42, 9 and 7, 82, 4 the impulse consists in favour: *prasavé vāvṛdhānān* and *kṣémasya prasavé*; 1, 102, 9, *índraḥ kṛṇotu prasavé rátham puráḥ,* the word *p.* expresses a notion which is almost identical with that expressed by *útsava-* (cf. the 1st stanza): *yuddhotpattau* (Sāyaṇa), "Wettrennen" (Geldner).—By his "impelling" S. grants the fulfilment of wishes: ŚBr. 2, 3, 4, 39 *tatho hāsmā ete savitṛprasūtā eva sarve kāmāḥ samṛdhyante* "and thus all his (the sacrificer's) wishes are fulfilled, 'impelled' as they are

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31) I refer to MACDONELL, *o.c.*, p. 34.

32) The texts are counted up in GRASSMANN'S *Dictionary*, 1560 f.

33) I do not adhere to the view expressed by various scholars (see e.g. VON SCHROEDER, *o.c.*, p. 105; J. EGGELING, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa translated* I, *SBE.* 12 (1882), p. 211, n. 3; A. A. MACDONELL, *A vedic reader*, p. 11) that the consistent use of derivations of the same root is only a play on the name of the god and an artificial device: see my book *Stilistische studie over Atharvaveda I-VII* (1938), especially p. 64 ff.

34) Compare Ś. Br. 2, 3, 1, 37; 38 *tat savitṛmat prasavāya* "it (the sacrifice) becomes possessed of S. for his impulsion".

35) I refer to MACDONELL, *Vedic Mythology* (1897), p. 34.

by S." (= 3, 9, 1, 20). An instructive text is ŚBr. 5, 3, 5, 8 *sa juhoti. yāni purastād abhiṣekasya juhoty agnaye svāheti, tejo vā agnis, tejasaivainam etad abhiṣiñcati, somāya svāheti, kṣatraṃ vai somaḥ, kṣatreṇaivainam e.a., savitre svāheti, savitā vai devānāṃ prasavitā, savitṛprasūta evainam e.a.,* etc. Here *tejasā, kṣatreṇa* etc. and *savitṛprasūta-* are, in a sense, on a par. The 'influence' of S. confers a quality upon the officiating priest which may be compared with *tejas-, kṣatra-* etc. conferred upon the person who is consecrated. See also 6, 5, 4, 11 [36]).

Boehtlingk and Roth [37]) are right in deriving from the same root the word *sava-* to denote a solemn consecration (*abhiṣeka-*) for special ceremonies of considerable variety. According to a commentary quoted by them the word has to be explained: *sūyata īśvaratvenābhiṣicyata eṣv iti savā ekāhaviśeṣāḥ.* And, accordingly, Caland remarks: "Die Savas sind eigentlich 'Weihungen zu...'" [38]). Taitt. Br. 2, 7 and Āpast. Śr. S. 22, 25-28 deal with a number of these savas which are accounted as forms of the soma-offerings of one day. A brahman who desires priestly prestige (social consideration as a learned priest) or who wishes to be employed as a purohita must perform the Bṛhaspatisava and also the man who wishes to be anointed to hold the office of a sthapati (governor or chief-judge?) (Āpast. 22, 7, 5 ff.). The Pṛthisava (id., 22, 25, 14 ff.) has to be performed to obtain cattle; this rite and the Somasava (id. 9 ff.) are simplified forms of the Rājasūya. The man who desires unlimited power has recourse to the Gosava (id. 22, 12, 17 ff.); 20 the yajamāna has to be sprinkled or 'anointed' with fresh milk: "now his strength increases... I anoint you with the unlimited sovereignty of Prajāpati". The Odanasava is required when the yajamāna desires food: id. 22, 26, 7 Agni is implored to confer upon him a full life and vital power. The Agniṣṭut (id. 22, 6, 5 ff.) is a sava for a person who is impure and wishes to become pure. Another sava the Indrastut-Indrastoma (22, 27, 13 ff.), confers courage or power upon the yajamāna. There is also a *rājābhiṣeka,* the consecration of a king (id. 22, 28, 1 ff.), which confers upon him royal dignity, long life, vital power, wealth, health, courage, etc. The vighana (22, 13, 12) destroys ill-luck and rivalry. The cayana (i.e. Agniṣava), the rājasūya [39]) ("the ceremony of consecrating a king") and the vājapeya, a sacer ludus which, by means of a race, confers the swiftness and strength of the horses upon the sacrificer, are essentially savas too. From these texts it is clear that a consecration, a bestowing of power or the fulfilment of a wish are connected with them.

Accordingly the verb *su-* expresses not only such conceptions as "impelling, quickening, instigating, exciting" and "imparting, creating", but also such as "setting power in motion, to make power active", hence "(impelling), stimulating, influencing in general", "bestowing power upon persons etc., consecrating etc." RV. 7, 40, 1 the verb is used without an object:

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36) As to the formula *devasya savituḥ prasave* see VON SCHROEDER, *o.c.,* II, p. 104 f.

37) *Petersb. Dict.* VII, 841.

38) W. CALAND, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba,* III (*Verh. Kon. Akad. v. Wet. te Amsterdam, Lett.,* N.R. 26, 4; 1928), p. 318 (ad 22, 7, 5).

39) This °*sūya-* too belongs to the same root *su-*.

yád adyá deváḥ savitā́ suvā́ti syā́mā́sya ratníno vibhāgé and the activity it expresses is a creating and a granting one. RV. 4, 54, 4 *yát pṛthivyā́ várimann ā́ ... suvā́ti satyám asya tát*: Geldner translates: "Was (S.) auf der ganzen Weite der Erde... bestimmt, das wird bei ihm zur Wahrheit"; it would appear to me that "what (S.) ... has influenced by his stimulating activity that becomes reality for him" will be a more adequate rendering. RV. 1, 164, 26 *śréṣṭhaṃ savā́ṃ savitā́ sā́viṣan no* has been translated by Geldner: "Die beste Anweisung soll uns Savitṛ geben"; "S. will in the best way set in motion his influencing power for us". AV. 6, 1, 3 the same god "sets in motion for us many amṛtas unto welfare"; RV. 4, 54, 2 he imparts *amṛtatvam* ("immortality") to the gods; 5, 42, 3 *vasūni* ("wealth") to men; 6, 71, 6 goods; 5, 82, 4 *saubhagam* ("happiness, bliss"); AV. 7, 14, 3 he is implored to 'impel' to men desirable things, abundance of cattle and 14, 1, 33 he "shall quicken (kine) for this man" (Whitney-Lanman). The same use is met with in the Avesta: Y. 31, 15 *yə̄ drəgvāitē xšaϑrəm hunāitī* "who wishes to impart sovereignty to the adherent of *druj-*"; Y. 35, 5 ("etwas antreiben nach Jemand hin (Dat.), einem etwas zu verschaffen suchen", Bartholomae). Now, there is an interesting text in the Ait. Br. (8, 5, 2): *sūyate ha vą asya kṣatraṃ, yo dīkṣate kṣatriyaḥ san*; these words which form part of the description of the *Punarabhiṣeka* are translated by Keith [40]: "his lordly power is consecrated who being a kṣatriya consecrates himself". The commentary, however, runs as follows: ... *asya puruṣasya kṣatraṃ ... sūyate, pravartate,* "his lordly power rises, becomes valid" and this interpretation makes us see how "to set in motion power or powerful (strengthening) influence" develops into "to consecrate". To a curious stanza of the Ath. V., 14, 1, 43 *yáthā síndhur nadī́nāṃ sā́mrājyaṃ suṣuvé vṛ́ṣā | evā́ tváṃ samrā́jñy edhi,* Whitney-Lanman, who translate as follows: "As the ... river won(?) the supremacy of the streams, so be thou supreme" [41]), add this remark: "*suṣuve,* lit. 'impelled for one's self' is employed here in an unusual sense". But why should not *suṣuve* mean "has set in motion, has roused, has made active (effective) for one's self"? The river called *sindhu-* (perhaps nomen proprium) has made the supremacy of the *nadīḥ* effective in its behalf. Maitr. Up. 6, 16 we find a passive form which according to Boethlingk and Roth means "in Thätigkeit gesetzt werden" [42]): *vigrahavān eṣa kālaḥ ... eṣa tatsthaḥ savitākhyo yasmād eveme candrarkṣagrahasaṃvatsarādayaḥ sūyante*; the commentary explains: *abhisūyante, āpyāyante* (*āpyāyante* means "become full, rich, strong") *svatejaḥpraveśanenety arthaḥ,* "this embodied time ... yonder (orb) called the sun, abides therein (as its cause), from which (which is the origin that...) the moon etc. move". When a person is the object of the verb, it means (+ *abhi-*) Kāṭh. 13, 2 "begaben mit" (B. and R.): *pāpmanaivainam abhiṣuvati* (after *mṛtyunaivainaṃ grāhayati*), Taitt. Br. 2, 7, 5, 1 *yo vai somena sūyate* the commentator explains by *niṣpadyate* "ripens, is accomplished".

Taitt. Saṃh. 5, 6, 3, 2 the etymological connection with *sava-* is clear: *asmai savān pra*

40) A. B. Keith, *Rigveda Brahmanas ... translated* (1920), 8, 5, 2.

41) According to Kauṣ. sū. 75, 27 the verse accompanies the emergence of the bride from the bath.

42) E. B. Cowell, *Maitr. Upan.* (*S.B.E.*, 1862) has translated the verb by "are born", adding "or 'ar nourished by entering into its light' ".

yacchanti. ta enam suvante "they confer 'consecrations' upon him; they consecrate him". This meaning is often met with in the language of the Brāhmaṇas, p. e. Ś.Br. 5, 3, 1, 3; 4, 3, 23; Taitt. S. 5, 6, 3, 1. Occasionally, however, another translation must be preferred. The formula *savitā tvā savānāṃ suvatām, agnir gṛhaspatīnām* etc. (VS. 9, 39; Ś.Br. 5, 3, 3, 11; Āp. Śr. 18, 12, 6 etc., Ved. Conc. 995) has with good reason been rendered by Caland [43]) as follows: "S. soll dich zur Herrschaft über die Geheisse ... ermächtigen" [44]), and the next formula *imaṃ devāḥ ... suvadhvam mahate kṣatrāya* etc. (Ved. Conc. 231) in this manner: "Ihr Götter ... ermächtigt diesen ... zu grosser Herrschaft". Ś.Br. 13, 4, 2, 17 *yat kiṃ ca janapade kṛtānnaṃ sarvaṃ vas tat sutam* "and whatever prepared food there is in the country, is 'ermächtigt' to be your food". That in the conception expressed by the verb *su-* was implied the idea of "to enable oneself to obtain something by rousing power" appears e.g. from Ś.Br. 5, 2, 3, 9 *athāgrayaṇeṣṭyā yajate ... devasṛṣṭo vā eṣeṣṭir yad āgrayaṇeṣṭir. anayā me 'pīṣṭam asad, anayāpi sūyā iti. tasmād āgrayaṇeṣṭyā yajata. oṣadhīr vā eṣa sūyamāno 'bhi sūyate. tad oṣadhīr evaitad anamīvā akilviṣāḥ kurute. 'namīvā akilviṣā oṣadhīr abhi sūyā iti* "... may I be consecrated for (the obtainment of) healthy and faultless plants".

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43) W. CALAND, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba,* III, p. 137.

44) The two translations proposed by J. EGGELING (ŚBr. 5, 3, 3, 11, SBE) are incorrect.

THE MEANING OF VEDIC KĀRÚ–

Some thirty years ago the German scholar Paul Thieme,[1] basing himself upon *AV*. 20, 127, 11 *índraḥ kārúm abūbudhad ū́t tiṣṭha vicarā járan / mámed ugrásya carkṛdhi sárva ít te pṛṇād aríḥ* "Indra has woken up the proclaimer (of his praise, saying): "Rise, wander about praising; speak highly of me, the powerful one; every *ari*[2] will grant you abundant (gifts) ", argued that in the Veda a *kārú-* —which in the *Petrograd Dictionary* was translated by "eulogist, poet"—must have been a wandering bard who in this stanza is enjoined to praise the god in the house of a stranger, or at least of other people. In a later publication[3] the same scholar expressed the opinion that such a wandering bard, being endowed with the divine virtue of his inspiration, must have been inviolable or rather sacrosanct and was therefore supposed to make an excellent messenger. His views were recently endorsed by Rüdiger Schmitt in a book on poetry and poetical language in (prehistoric) Indo-European times.[4] Recalling the well-known Greek word *kā́rūx* (in the Ionic and Attic dialects *kḗrūx*), which is usually translated by "herald", he made an attempt at demonstrating that this word and Vedic *kāru-* —which notwithstanding the *k-* extension and the long *u* in Greek have very often been considered to be etymologically identical[5]—continue an

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1. P. Thieme. *Der Fremdling im Ṛgveda,* Leipzig 1938, p. 75 f. See also Geldner, *Vedische Studien,* III, Stuttgart 1901, p. 75.

2. An *ari* probably is "a member of the Āryan community with whom one or one's relatives might lawfully marry" rather than "a stranger". See E. Benveniste, in a lecture on "The study of the Indo-European vocabulary," delivered before the University of London, May 1949 (see J. Brough, *The early brahmanical system of gotra and pravara,* Cambridge 1953, p. XIV).

3. Thieme, "Vorzarathustrisches bei den Zarathustriern," *in Z.D.M.G.* 107 (1957), p. 85.

4. R. Schmitt, *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indo-germanischer Zeit,* Wiesbaden 1967, p. 301 f.

5. For references see Schmitt, o.c., p. 301, n. 1740 and e.g. H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch,* I, Heidelberg 1954—1960, p. 845; M. Mayrhofer, *Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary,* I, Heidelberg 1956, p. 202.

original Indo-European term (*kāru-*) for the "poet". The semantic gulf between the Vedic word translated by "poet, panegyrist, reciter of eulogies" and the Greek word meaning "herald" should, he argues, be bridged over by the consideration that both functionaries essentially were wandering and that one and the same original function may have differentiated in the different cultural milieus of (prehistoric) Greece and India.

This argument gives occasion to some critical remarks. First, is it warranted to assume on the strength of a single passage that the most prominent characteristic of a Vedic *kāru-* was his ambulatory living? The large majority of the occurrences point to another semantic kernel or central meaning. A *kāru-* was to praise and extol a god or divine power in his eulogies, to honour them, rejoice them or to "be kind" to them (*ṚV*. 3, 33, 8 *ukthéṣu kāro práti no juṣasva;* see 8, 92, 19 *índrāya....stobhantu no giraḥ / arkám arcantu kārávaḥ* "our words of praise must raise themselves for Indra; the proclaimers of his praise start a eulogy"; 3, 39, 7; 8, 94, 3; 10, 75, 1) and was expected to gain a hearing (*ṚV*. 3, 33, 9 f.). He is also said to wake up the Aśvins by means of his well-spoken or well-formed words (*ṚV*. 7, 68, 9 *eṣá syá kārúr jarate sūktaír ágre budhānā́ uṣásām sumanmā́*). From the simile in *ṚV*. 2, 43, 1 it appears that the eulogist was, naturally enough, characterized by his voice: ominous birds answer like *kāravaḥ* raising their voices at the right moment. According to *ṚV*. 1, 178, 3 Indra, who is together with his heroic worshipper victorious in combat, hears the *kāru* who seeks his help, but the poet words this idea as follows. "Indra will hear the call of the poet in need (*śrótā hávaṃ nā́'dhamānasya kāróḥ*).

It is true that the verb *carati* is again used at *ṚV*. 8, 92 33 but the context makes it quite clear that the acclamations of praise, not the movements or wandering of the eu ogist are the centre of interest: *tvā́'m íd dhí tvāyávo' nunónuvataś cárān/ sákhāya indra kārávaḥ* "For thee alone thy faithful supporters will (continuously) follow with acclamations of praise, (thy) companions, O Indra, the proclaimers of (thy) praise". As is well-known the verb *carati* accompanied by a participle could express continuous action. Thus *ṚV*. 1, 83, 6 speaks of a *kāru-* who being skilled in praising raises his voice (*vádati kārúr ukthyaḥ*) in the house or in the compound of a sacrificer, but the text quite intelligibly omits any reference to his origin or journeys. That the eulogist travelled is without question: see probably *ṚV*. 1, 11, 6 stating that the poet returned, that

is, no doubt, went home, with gifts, and addressed (probably to make mention of his success and rendered an account of the recompenses received) the river (of his country), the *kārávaḥ* being witnesses, and 1, 165, 15 etc. where it is implied in the words "We would like to find a prosperous sacrificial enclosure the owners of which are inclined to give abundantly". Cf. also stanza 14. It is not surprising that these eulogists should have praised also their patrons (*ṚV*. 6, 45, 33).

A *kāru-* did not only deliver his eulogies, he also composed them: cf. *ṚV*. 1, 184, 4 requesting the Aśvins to stimulate the eulogy of the *kāru-* (*stómaṃ hinotam . . .kāróḥ*). The early morning was the point of time that was especially proper to the manifestation of "visions" and inspiration; hence the invocation of the Aśvins whose matutinal character is well-known).[6] See also 1, 148, 2 where Agni's activity is the determinant factor in the poet's receiving inspiration; 3, 6, 1; 4, 16, 3;[7] 9, 10, 6. In *ṚV*. 8, 3, 18 the *kārávaḥ* are called *viprāsaḥ*, a term which denoted a moved, inspired, ecstatic and enthusiast seer as a bearer or pronouncer of the vibrating emotional sacred words.[8] As inspired poets the *kārávaḥ* knew more than other men (compare e.g. *ṚV*. 9, 92, 5). Yet I would hesitate to translate the appellation *kāru-* by "poet".[9]

Thus the phrases *gīrbhir gṛṇánti kārávaḥ* "the proclaimers praise (extol) with eulogies (verses, invocations)" (*ṚV*. 8, 46, 3; 8, 54, 1 and *ṚVkh*. 3, 6, 1 adding *stóbhantaḥ* "shouting"), *gṛṇántaḥ kārávo girā'* (9, 29, 2) and *gṛṇatáḥ kārū'n* (5, 33, 7)—cf. also 6, 24, 2—may be supposed to indicate in as few words as possible the most essential side of the character of this Vedic figure who in the first place was a "proclaimer of praise". I would however object to Thieme's[10] translation of *ṚV*. 6, 45, 33 *tát sú no víśve aryá ā' sádā gṛṇanti kārávaḥ* "that all bards praise (for) us well (also those) in the house

6. I refer to my book *The vision of the Vedic poets*, The Hague 1963, p. 78 ff.

7. See the note by K. F. Geldner, "Der Rig-veda übersetzt," I, Cambridge Mass. 1951, p. 339 f. (on *ṚV*. 3, 4, 7).

8. See *The vision of the Vedic poets*, p. 39.

9. As is done by A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic index of names and subjects*, London 1912 (Varanasi 1958), I, p. 150 and Geldner, o.c., III, p. 22 (ṚV 9, 17, 6), etc.

10. Thieme, o.c., p. 74 f. For "bard" see further on.

of the stranger". Hence also the juxtaposition of *kāru-* and *jaritar-* in *ṚV.* 1, 165, 14 : Indra, addressing the Maruts, states that the inspiration or wisdom of *Mānya* (who in stanza 15 and elsewhere is said to be a *kāru-*), has called the gods near, and expects the eulogist (*jaritar-*) to start his praise upon them. In all probability *Mānya,* the *kāru-,* and the *jaritar-* are the same person. Another relevant place is *ṚV.* 7, 68, 9, *eṣá syá kārúr jarate sūktaír* reference to which has already been made. As invokers the *kārávaḥ* appear also *ṚV.* 6, 46, 1 (*VS.* 27, 37) *tvā'm* (*=Indra*) *id dhi hávāmahe sātā' vajaśasya kārávaḥ* "we, *kārávaḥ,* invoke thee concerning (with a view to) the acquisition of *vāja*" and *AV.* 7, 73, 1 *vayáṃ hí vāṃ . . . aśvinā hávāmahe . . . kārávaḥ.* At *ṚV.* 7, 72, 4 they are accordingly said to offer their stanzas, charged with brahman, to the same gods, viz. the Aśvins (*prá vāṃ bráhmāṇi kārávo bharante*). See also *ṚV.* 6, 21, 1 *kārór hávyam.*

Special attention may be paid to *ṚV.* 7, 82, 4 because in this stanza a clear difference is made between the charioteers who invoke Indra and Varuṇa in the encounters on the battle-fleld and the *kārávaḥ* who call upon the same gods "in (during) the generation of peaceful possession of property"[11] (*yuvā'm id yutsú pṛ'tanāsu váhnayo yuvā'm kṣémaya prasavé...... / kārávaḥ......havāmahe*). Judging from this place the principal occupation of these eulogists was the invocation of the gods in time of peace, but *ṚV.* 10, 61, 23 royal patrons are described as resorting, during a military expedition or, rather, a raid, to a *kāru-* —who is said to be their dearest *vipra-* —, because the eulogist was believed to be able to help them and to bring their venture to a successful close. Geldner[12] may be right in identifying this eulogist with the royal purohita who indeed often accompanied his patron to the battlefield[13].

It is further worth noticing that the activity of the *kāru-* was an important and even indispensable element of a correct and

11. Cf. my article on "The meaning of the noun *utsava-* and its relatives" in *India antiqua,* a volume of Oriental studies presented to J. Ph. Vogel, Leyden 1947, p. 146 ff., and Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes,* Paris 1955–1967, VII, p. 82.

12. Geldner, o.c., III, p. 231.

13. See my article on "The purohita" in *Studia Indologica* (*Volume in honour of W. Kirfel*), Bonn 1955, p. 107 ff.

effective performance of the elaborate rites. The poet of *ṚV.* 1, 31, 8 requests Agni to make after being praised (by the *kāru-*), the latter honoured in order to enable him to gain wealth and expresses the wish that the new work[14] or production (*apas,* no doubt the *kāru-'s* eulogy) may be the means by which the sacrifice may be successful. Another interesting stanza is *ṚV.* 10, 92, 7 stating that the *kārávaḥ* have fashioned Indra's vajra in the assemblage of the men (Lords): this must mean that their activity during the sacrificial sessions has strengthened Indra and stimulated him into a display of courage and heroism. Hence also *ṚV.* 1, 53, 6 in which the same god is said to have extirpated, on behalf of the *kāru-* and of the owner of sacrificial grass, i.e. the sacrificer, ten thousand of enemies (*yát kāráve dáśa vṛtrā'ṇy..... barhiṣmate ni sahásrāṇī barháyaḥ*). For the *kāru-*'s relations to Indra see also 1, 102, 9; at 5, 33, 7 this god is implored to be his protector. The compound *kārudhāyas-* "nourishing. supporting the *kāru-*" is among Indra's epithets (*ṚV.* 6, 21, 8; 6, 24, 2 etc.). Notwithstanding the somewhat vague meaning of the noun *vṛjáneṣu*[15] at *ṚV.* 2, 2, 9 so much is clear that there also an allusion is made to the *kāru-*'s activity (and that a profitable one) in the sacrificial congregations: the *dhī-* ("poem based on inspiration") of men has become swollen among the immortal denizens of heaven so as to be a milk-yielding cow for the proclaimer in the sacrificial congregations. The poet of *ṚV.* 2, 34, 7 implores the Maruts to give such a proclaimer a reward (. . . *dāta* . . . *vṛjáneṣu kāráve sanim*). It is therefore not surprising that Agni, the god of inspiration (*ṚV.* 8, 39, 9), the first and the best *ṛṣi* (1, 31, 1; 3, 21, 3) and the great god of the sacrificial rite, is 1, 31, 9 invoked to be the *kāru-'s* "father" (the one who forms his person) and "providence" (*tanūkṛ'd bodhi prámatiś ca kāráve*).

That the functionary under discussion was employed on the sacrificial ground and that his voice was a valuable asset to a satisfactory performance of his task may be inferred also from the Āprī-hymn *ṚV.* 10, 110, (*AV.* 5, 12), st. 7: "the two divine hotars, well-voiced . . . fashioning the act of worship for man to wor-

14. I refer to my article on the significance of a new song, in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,* 48, p. 275 ff.

15. For which see Renou, o.c. (=E.V.P.) III, p. 20, with whom I cannot completely agree.

ship, *kārū'*, urging in (to) the sacrificial rites......"[16] If Sāyaṇa is right in supplying after "urging" (*pracodayántau*) *ṛtvijo yajamānāṃś ca* "the officiants and the sacrificers"[17]—for the construction see *ṚV*. 6, 75, 13; 9, 85, 2—, the *kāru-*'s appearance on the sacrificial grounds or the performance of his duties may in this context have been regarded as urging those present to execute their particular tasks. The poet of *ṚV*. 7, 2, 7 speaks with reference to the divine hotars of two inspired seers, speakers and proclaimers of praise present at man's acts of sacrificial worship (*víprā yajñéṣu má'nuṣeṣu kārū'*).

It is doubtful whether the *káru-* may on the strength of a single text, *ṚV*. 9, 112, 3, "I am a *kāru-*, my father is physician" be said to have been a professional man.[18]

There can be no doubt whatever that the etymological connection of the term under consideration with the Vedic verb *carkarti*[19] "to make mention of, to praise, speak highly of" has been rightly established and adopted by the authors of many dictionaries.[20] The meaning of this verb is indeed in perfect harmony with that of the noun: cf. e.g. *ṚV*. 4, 39, 1 *āśúṃ dadhikrā'm tám u nú ṣṭavāma diváś pṛthivyā' utá carkirāma.* "We will now praise the swift (race-horse) Dadhikrā, and we will speak highly of Heaven and Earth." Nor can any objection be taken to connecting with

16. I cannot follow W. D. Whitney-Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharva-veda Saṃhitā*, Cambridge Mass. 1905, p. 241 in translating: "The (two) invokers of the gods... well-voiced... urging forward at the councils the (two) singers...".

17. Uvaṭa on *VS*. 29, 32 explains *anyān ṛtvijaḥ*, Mahīdhara *ṛtvijaḥ;* R.T.H. Griffith, *The White Yajurveda*, Benares 1927, p. 297 translates: "as singers who inspire us in assemblies...".

18. Thus Macdonnell and Keith, o.c., p. 150.

19. The nouns *kārá-* "acclamation, chant of victory" and *kārin-* "praising, rejoicing" mentioned by the *Petrograd Dictionary;* H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda*, 323; Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary;* Mayrhofer, o.c., I, p. 201 do not exist; see (R. Pischel and) K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, I, Stuttgart 1889, p. 119 ff.; J. Wackernagel, in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* 59 (1932), p. 20 ff. (=Kleine Schriften, Göttingen 1953, p. 340 ff.); Renou, E.V.P. XII, p. 103 f.

20. See e.g. A. Walde-J. Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, I, Berlin-Leipzig 1930, p. 353; Mayrhofer, o.c., I, p. 202; 377. J. Charpentier's attempt at explaining *kārú-* as "conjurer, exorcist" and connecting it with *kṛṇoti* "in its magical sense" (*Brahman*, Uppsala 1911, p. 113, n. 1) is untenable.

these words also the noun *kīrti-* "mention, report, good report, fame, renown, glory etc."[21]

That does not however mean that the word bard, which was used not only by Thieme, but also by Renou[22] to render the Sanskrit term under discussion, is altogether felicitous. In normal English usage bard means "a Celtic tribal singer, minstrel and chronicler", but the term, although clearly of Celtic origin, has been applied also to recognized singers and reciters of other peoples. With the ancient Celts they were, according to some antique sources, distinct from the seers and the druids who specialized in a variety of intellectual, spiritual, sacerdotal, magical and prognostic activities. In Wales where the two other "learned" classes did no longer exist they developed into a close and honoured social group. In Ireland they ranked below the official court-poets who held a special place of honour as repositories of hero-sagas, national traditions, genealogies and juridical learning. However inventive a bard—in a more general sense—might be, he seems to have been regarded as a reciter or artist rather than as an author.[23] His chief concern was the maintenance of traditions, and he often claimed a divine power or the past as the source of his information. From Homer's times the often wandering and not rarely blind bard was more or less professionally employed at the courts of princes and noblemen, singing their praises and extolling their families, but his recitations were also enjoyed by the whole company present. The themes of these tales were often heroic and in time of war the bards would, in Asia and medieval Europe, accompany their patrons and inflame their soldiers against the enemy by reciting traditions of the great past. They were sometimes credited with particular, for instance

21. The etymology proposed by Mahīdhara on *VS.* 29, 32 (*kārū kurutas tau kārū*) should be rejected for semantic reasons. The choice offered, for the relationship of *kāru-*, by J. Wackernagel-A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik,* II, 2, Göttingen 1954, p. 475, between *carkarti* and the Gr. *karkairein* (which occurs only once) is either easy—namely, if the Greek verb means "to quake" (of the earth) or is an onomatopoeia—or, possibly, no real alternative—if it means "to resound" and is related to *carkarti.*

22. L. Renou, o.c., IX, p. 41 (*ṚV.* 9, 92, 5); XII, p. 55 (3, 6, 1) etc.; elsewhere he used "chanters": V, p. 61 (10, 92, 7) etc., and, for *viprāḥ*...*kārávaḥ* "inspired orators": VIII, p. 13 (9, 17, 6). The translation "singer" adopted by Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 241 (*AV.* 5, 12, 7) is better than "bard".

23. H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *The growth of literature,* III, Cambridge 1940, p. 751.

magical, properties and associated with peculiar liberties or privileges. Religious authorities not infrequently viewed them with suspicion and hostility.[24]

It is clear that even if the Vedic *kāru-* normally made a living by passing from one patron to another and even if he praised the wealthy and powerful as often as he glorified the gods we had, notwithstanding a certain partial resemblance between his activities and those of the bard, better avoid translating the appellation conferred upon him by the Celtic term, whether we take this in its original sense or in the sense attached to it by the students of the history of literature.

Let us finally turn to the Greek noun *kērux* which, being translated by "herald, messenger", was quoted by Schmitt to persuade his readers into accepting his conclusion that there was in the original Indo-European period a term for "the poet". In Homeric times the *kērux* was an important aid of a king employed for a multiplicity of tasks such as convening meetings (*Iliad,* 2, 50 " (king) Agamemnon bade the clear-voiced heralds summon to the place of gathering the long-haired Achaeans") ; maintaining order in a meeting (2, 97 "the place of gathering was in a turmoil . . .; nine heralds shouting sought to restrain them"; 18, 503 "heralds held back the folk"); acting as officials (7, 183 f.) or as masters of the ceremonies (*Od.* 8, 62 ff.) ; giving attendance as seconds in a duel (Il. 7, 274, one of the Trojans and one of the Greeks, "both of them men of prudence") ; taking measures with regard to sacrifices (3, 116 ff.) ; preparing banquets and the animals to be offered as a sacrifice (18, 558) . When king Priam went to the Greeks to ransom his son who had been killed he was alone, but a herald attended him, "an elder man, to guide mules and waggon and to carry back the dead body" (24, 149 ff.) . The *kērux* was also employed as a messenger or ambassador (1, 320 ff.) and accompanied others, for instance persons of rank and authority, to important negotiations etc. (*Od.* 10, 59; 102) . Apparently there were then already not only private heralds, but also public officials (heralds "who work for the people"; *Od.* 19, 135) . They were inviolable, and carried as their badge a staff. In later Greece they retained much of their importance, assisting magistrates (making procla-

24. For many details see C. M. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry, London* 1952, chapter XI, p. 404 ff.

mations and keeping order) in law courts and assemblies and fulfilling a variety of other public (political, military, commercia and diplomatic) functions. In the last mentioned capacity they bore messages to other states but were not entitled to *negotiate.* According to antique sources they acted as such especially in time of war. Mention is also made of "heralds" in the employ of societies or corporations.[25] The epithets applied to the Homeric *kérux* are interesting: he is "loud-voiced" and "sounds through the air", he is "a crier" and "calls through the city", but as far as I am able to see he was never an eulogist or expected to compose hymns or poems. That he was under the protection of the god Hermes and "dear to Zeus" (Il. 8, 517) was not adduced by Schmitt as a parallel to Indra's relations to the *kāru-*. From the texts themselves, the above epithets and some derivative verbs ("to proclaim, announce, summon, declare, notify, tell") and nouns ("proc amation, announcement") it appears that the use this functionary made of his voice was (or had been) his most striking characteristic.[26] So no objection can probably be made to connecting this Greek word also, with many etymologists,[27] with the Vedic *carkarti* (see above), which is also related to German words for "informing, reporting; renown, praise, fame", and a Lithuanian word for "proclaiming".[28]

Summarizing the above disquisition I would contend that the Vedic *kārú-* and the Greek *kérux,* although their appellations were etymologically related, were, it is true, both of them "spokesmen", speaking, on behalf of patrons or others, in public obviously being the most conspicuous part of their task. In detail their functions were widely different, those of the *kérux* being more like the task of the *sūta* as represented by the authors of the *brāhmaṇas.*[29]

25. For many details see J. Oehler, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft,* Stuttgart 1893 ff., XI, 349 ff..

26. It may be observed in passing that the English *herald* also is apparently related, not to words for "wandering" but to words for "proclaiming, praising", viz. Old High German *harēn* "to proclaim, cry aloud" and Old English *herian* "to praise".

27. See e.g. Walde-Pokorny, o.c., I, p. 353; Hj. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch,* I, Heidelberg 1954—1060, p. 845.

28. I refer to J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch,* I, Bern 1948—1959, p. 530 f.

29. I refer to W. Rau, *Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien,* Wiesbaden 1957, p. 108 f.

Granting that in olden times no clear distinction was made between the man who composed poems, hymns or tales and the man who delivered them, the Vedic term *kāru-* alone— for Greek *kérux* does not support Schmitt's argument—, denoting the "proclaimer of praise", cannot, in my opinion, prove the existence, in the common father-land of all Indo-Europeans, of a poet, known by the name of **kāru-*, and mainly characterized by his wanderings.

À propos d'un sens magico-religieux de skt. *guru-*

DANS un livre, écrit en langue néerlandaise et qui a paru pendant la guerre,[1] M. H. Wagenvoort, étudiant les traces du concept " primitif " de mana chez les Romains, a fait des observations intéressantes sur l'usage du mot latin *gravitas*. L'expression *gravis auctor*, qui se trouve fréquemment, n'a pas seulement la signification de " auteur ou informateur important ou compétent ", mais aussi celle de " homme d'influence et qui prend l'initiative ". La qualité la plus saillante de l'*auctor*, mot qui à l'origine a dû signifier " celui qui augmente ", est celle que nous désignons par le terme " prestige ". Et comme *auctor* est un mot " mana ", c.à.d. un mot exprimant un concept relatif à l'ensemble des idées primitives et sémi-primitives qui se groupent autour du " mana ", M. Wagenvoort cherche à démontrer qu'il y a aussi des traces de " mana " dans l'usage du mot *gravis*. En préparant son exposé sur *gravis* etc. il m'a demandé quelques renseignements sur le mot sanskrit *guru-* " lourd, etc.", et sa question a attiré mon attention sur la signification primitive de *guru-* " maître " et sur la croyance, répandue dans l'antiquité classique, que les dieux et les êtres surhumains en général ont, en vertu de leur mana, un poids extraordinaire.

Quand, dans le Rāmāyaṇa, 5, 18, Hanumat aperçoit Rāvaṇa au milieu de ses femmes, il éprouve une sensation peu ordinaire : le *tejas* supérieur du roi des démons traverse ses projets et le contraint à descendre quand il veut sauter plus haut : vs. 29 sqq. *taṃ dadarśa mahātejās tejovantaṃ mahākapiḥ* || . . . *avapluto mahātejā hanumān mārutātmajaḥ* || *sa tathāpy ugratejāḥ sa nirdhūtas tasya tejasā* | *patre guhyāntare sakto matimān saṃvṛto 'bhavat* || *sa tām asitakeśāntāṃ* . . . | *didṛkṣuḥ* . . . *upāvartata rāvaṇaḥ*. Malgré son grand tejas (la répétition de *tejas-* n'est pas une chose accidentelle), le tejas supérieur de Rāvaṇa l'empêcha de sauter plus haut et le repoussa.

Qu'on compare le commentaire de Rāma : . . . *avaplutaḥ svāśritaśākhāyā atyūrdhvaśākhāntara iti śeṣaḥ. yadyapi sa samudralaṅghanakartā sa mārutātmajo hanumān ugratejās tathāpi tasya rāvaṇasya tejasā nirdhūtas tasya puro 'vasthātum aśaknuvan patre patrabahule ata eva guhyāntare śākhāntare saktaḥ sthitaḥ* . . . Dans la même épopée le verbe *nirdhū-* se trouve plus souvent accompagné de l'instrumental *tejasā* : 5, 2, 26 *tejasārkasya nirdhūto na viṣādaṃ gataḥ* " vexé par le tejas du soleil ".

Le mot *tejas-* exprime l'essence divine qui habite dans un roi, un brahmane ou dans une autre personne importante (le Bouddha p.e.), il exprime les

[1] H. Wagenvoort, *Imperium, Studie over het " Mana " -begrip in zede en taal der Romeinen*, Amsterdam, 1941 ; voir en particulier les pp. 103 sqq. (Une édition anglais est en préparation : *Roman Dynamism*, Blackwell, Oxford.)

concepts que nous désignons par les mots " energie ", " prestige ", etc., c.à.d. la puissance mystérieuse par laquelle certaines personnes se distinguent.[1] On peut perdre son tejas, il peut quitter l'homme chez lequel il a demeuré jusqu'ici et s'installer dans un autre. Mbh. 2, 45, 26 ff., le tejas du roi de Cedi tué par Kṛṣṇa entre dans le corps du vainqueur, et les princes qui ont assisté au combat sont témoins du changement de demeure : 26 *tataś cedipater dehāt tejo 'gryaṃ dadṛśur nṛpāḥ . . . 27 tataḥ . . . kṛṣṇaṃ . . . vavande tat tadā tejo viveśa ca.* Or, ce tejas, qui est une substance qu'on peut voir et qui peut entrer dans un corps, qui constitue donc une substance matérielle pourvue de dimensions, est de nature à faire baisser ou tomber des choses qui se trouvent près de lui. Dans le récit de la naissance surnaturelle du Bouddha, qui se rencontre dans le Lalitavistara, l'arbre auquel la reine Māyā tendait le bras se baissa par la puissance du tejas du Bouddha : *atha sa plakṣavṛkṣo bodhisattvasya tejo-'nubhāvenāvanamya praṇamati sma.* (I, p. 83 L.)

L'influence exercée par une personne importante peut se manifester aussi d'une autre manière : quand un homme plus âgé ou plus savant s'approche d'un jeune homme, les esprits animaux de celui-ci s'élèvent pour abandonner le corps : Manu 2, 120, *ūrdhvaṃ prāṇā hy utkrāmanti yūnaḥ sthavira āyati* [2] (cf. le commentaire de Kullūka). Aux approches de personnes ou de choses qui sont douées d'un pouvoir extraordinaire, de choses saintes ou redoutées, de personnes puissantes, dans les circonstances peu ordinaires nous avons tous des sensations physiques et psychiques d'oppression, de crainte, d'embarras, de confusion et d'angoisse, et ce sont sans doute ces sensations qui constituent la base des conceptions et des " théories ", qui se rattachent aux idées et aux croyances que nous venons d'étudier. Les Indiens ne sont pas seulement oppressés (*pīḍita-*) et vexés par la faim, la douleur, les flèches de l'amour, mais aussi par la crainte : (Rām. 3, 52, 44) *bhayabhārapīḍita-*, et nous autres Européens possédons dans nos langues mainte expression qui révèle que nous aussi (ou du moins nos ancêtres) avons subi les mêmes impressions à l'égard des personnes et des choses puissantes, saintes et surnaturelles : *le cœur lui manque, le cœur serré*, néerl. *met loden schoenen* (" à pas comptés, en traînant les pieds ", litt. " aux souliers de plomb "), *met bezwaard hart*, angl. *with a heavy foot.*

Mais à côté de la conception qu'en vertu du tejas de personnes puissantes des hommes ou des choses qui se trouvent à leur proximité tombent et s'abaissent, nous constatons que chez les Indiens, tout comme chez d'autres peuples,[3] les personnes puissantes, divines, saintes etc. sont représentées comme plus lourdes que les hommes ordinaires. Kālidāsa, Ragh. 10, 51, p.e., un vase d'or contenant le riz d'offrande, dans lequel l'Être primordial était entré, était pesante à porter même pour un être divin : *anupraveśād ādyasya puṃsas tenāpi durvaham.* Quoique le commentateur Mallinātha

[1] Voir J. Ph. Vogel, Het sanskrit woord *tejas* (= gloed, vuur) in de beteekenis van magische kracht. Med. Kon. Akad. v. Wet., Amsterdam, Lett. 70 B 4, 1930.

[2] = Mbh. 13, 104, 64 II.

[3] Voir Wagenvoort, o.c., pp. 103 ff.

explique : *caturdaśabhuvanodarasya bhagavato harer atigarīyastvād voḍhum aśakyam*, je crois que c'est l'essence divine de l'Être primordial qui fait que le vase est lourde et difficile à porter.

Harivaṃśa, Bh., 34, 15, la terre, écrasée par le tejas de Viṣṇu, ne peut pas le soutenir.

D'après le Māratajjaniya Sutta (= Majjhima Nikāya 50), i, p. 332, Trenckner, Māra, le Mauvais, le Mal personnifié, est entré dans le corps d'un des disciples du Bouddha, Moggallāna, et le tourmente. Alors Moggallāna sentait que son corps était plus lourd que d'ordinaire et il s'imaginait qu'il était rempli de haricots [1] : *kin-nu kho me kucchi garugaru viya* [2] *māsācitaṁ maññe iti.*

Dans le premier acte du Bālacarita, une des pièces de théâtre attribuées à Bhāsa, il y a plusieurs passages intéressants. Quand Vasudeva, père de Kṛṣṇa nouveau-né, accepte son fils des mains de sa femme Devakī, il s'écrie : " comme cet enfant est lourd ! " : *aho gurutvaṃ bālasya* (1, 11 +), et dans le vers qui suit le poète ajoute cette exagération : *vindhyamandarasāro 'yaṃ bālaḥ padmadalekṣaṇaḥ garbhe yayā dhṛtaḥ śrīmān aho dhairyaṃ hi yoṣitaḥ* " cet enfant est robuste comme la Montagne Vindhya ou comme le Mandara ". Quand il porte l'enfant, Vasudeva se dit (14) . . . *girim iva mandaram udvahan bhujābhyām* " . . . comme si je portais le mont Mandara dans mes bras ". Le petit Kṛṣṇa est donné à Nanda, qui veut l'adopter : à peine celui-ci le tient dans les bras qu'il s'écrie : *adidubbalā me bāhā mandaḷasadiṣaṃ bāḷaaṃ gaṇhiduṃ ṇa ṣamatthā* " mes bras sont trop faibles, ils ne peuvent pas porter un enfant comme le Mandara " (c.à.d. " lourd comme le M.") (20 +) ; et, plus loin (27 +), quand il est évident que l'enfant est Viṣṇu lui-même qui est descendu dans le monde des mortels, Nanda, en rendant hommage au bébé divin, le prie de réduire sa pesanteur. Parmi les miracles effectués par le jeune Kṛṣṇa pendant ce voyage (il a fait jaillir de l'eau de la terre etc.) il y en a un qui nous intéresse ici : la petite fille de Nanda qui est mort-née revit, et, quand Vasudeva la soulève, elle est extrêmement lourde (29 +) : *etad api kumārāt kiṃcid antaraṃ mahad bhūtam* " c'est là une autre chose remarquable qui provient du garçon ".

Aśv. Buddhac. 5, 37, *atha merugurur guruṃ babhāṣe* : quoiqu'on ait traduit ces mots par " ma egli che era fermo come il monte Meru . . ." (Formichi) etc., l'interprétation de R. Schmidt [3] (" nun sprach der Meru-Gewichtige "), prise au pied de la lettre, a des chances d'être correcte.

Le Bouddha, quand il avait atteint son but, était devenu encore plus lourd qu'auparavant : d'après Jātaka 4, p. 229, F. " aucun autre lieu que l'arbre sous lequel il parvenait à son but, l'entente de la vérité et la délivrance, ne peut soutenir la pesanteur du Bouddha en cette circonstance " : *mayi Mahā-*

[1] Le texte a été traduit par E. Windisch, *Māra und Buddha*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 150 ; K. E. Neumann, *Die Reden Gotamo Buddho's*, i (1896), p. 518.

[2] v.l. *garubhāro viya.*

[3] Richard Schmidt, *Buddha's Leben*, 1923, p. 42.

bodhimaṇḍe samāpannasamāpattiṁ samāpajjitvā nisīdante añño padeso dhāretuṁ na sakkoti etc.

L'embryon des êtres divins ou un embryon chargé de parcelles divines ont part au poids extraordinaire de ces êtres eux-mêmes : quand la mère de Raghu, l'illustre ancêtre de Rāma, Sudakṣiṇā, était enceinte, " l'embryon, qui était chargé de parcelles divines, était si lourd que la reine avait de la peine à se lever . . ." : Kālidāsa, Ragh. 3, 11, *surendramātrāśritagarbhagauravāt prayatnamuktāsanayā . . . tayā* etc. (*surendrāṇāṃ lokapālānāṃ* (Mall.). Car, comme le poète l'a dit plus haut (2, 75), l'embryon que la reine avait reçu pour le bien de la race royale " avait été imprégné des lourdes essences des célestes souverains " : *atha . . . | narapatikulabhūtyai garbham ādhatta rājñī gurubhir abhiniviṣṭaṃ lokapālānubhāvaiḥ.* Selon Mallinātha les trois derniers mots veulent dire *mahadbhir lokapālānām . . . tejobhir . . . anupraviṣṭam.* " Duidelijk uit zich hier de gedachte, dat het zaad der goden (en zaad is mana . . .) zwaarder van gehalte is dan dat der menschen " [1] (" Ici s'exprime clairement l'idée que la semence des dieux (et semence c'est mana) est d'essence plus lourde que celle des hommes.")

Dans le Viṣṇupurāṇa, 1, 12, 8, la terre ne peut pas soutenir l'homme dans lequel se trouve le Dieu des dieux : *manasy avasthite tasya viṣṇau . . . | na śaśāka dharā bhāram udvoḍhuṃ bhūtadhāriṇī.*

Dans le Kālikāpurāṇa Naraka, le fils de la Terre, qui est élevé chez Janaka, est nommé *dīpta(ṃ) pradīpta(m) iva pāvaka(m) . . . tejobhir bhāskaropama(m)* (38, 51), mais aussi *guru(m)* (39, 41).

Jātaka I, n° 7, une femme enceinte du Bouddha, portait, pour ainsi dire, la foudre d'Indra : *tāvad eva tassā vajirapūritā viya garukā kucchi ahosi.*

Je ne veux pas citer ici de parallèles ethnographiques que l'on trouvera dans le livre de M. Wagenvoort. Mais je me permettrai une exception : il s'agit d'une coutume des Woguls et des Ostjaks, communiquée par Karjalainen [2] et citée par M. Ruben [3] : " Bei ihnen muss das Neugeborene den Namen des in ihm wiedergeborenen Ahnen erhalten ; die Hebamme muss also feststellen, welcher Ahn in ihm wiedergeboren ist. Sie hebt deshalb unter Nennung der verschiedenen Ahnennamen das Kind auf, bis es sich bei dem richtigen Namen schwer anfühlt."

Dans l'Ādiparva javanais, qui constitue la forme brève ou raccourcie du premier livre du Mahābhārata rédigé en vieux-javanais vers l'an 1000 de notre ère, il se rencontre un passage intéressant. A la page 103 l'auteur donne le récit de l'amour de Bṛhaspati, homme de tejas supérieur (Mbh. 1, 104, 10, *bṛhaspatir bṛhattejās*), pour Mamatā, la femme de son frère aîné, Utathya. Le fils d'Utathya qui, quoiqu'il se trouvât encore dans le sein de sa mère, était un grand connaisseur du Veda, protesta. Quand Bṛhaspati ne pouvait

[1] Wagenvoort, o.c., p. 107.

[2] Karjalainen, *Die Religion der Jugra-Völker, Finn. Folkl. Comm.*, 41 et 44, t. i, p. 64.

[3] W. Ruben, *Schamanismus im alten Indien*, Acta Or. 18, p. 187.

pas maîtriser sa passion, selon le texte sanskrit (édition de Calcutta) : *bhos tāta mā gamaḥ kāmaṃ dvayor nāstīha saṃbhavaḥ | alpāvakāśo bhagavan pūrvaṃ cāham ihāgataḥ* (16) || *amogharetāś ca bhavān na pīḍāṃ kartum arhasi* [1] " ne faites pas l'amour, il n'y a pas assez de place ici ; vous êtes un homme dont la semence n'est pas infertile . . .".[2] Or, dans le texte javanais l'embryon termine son allocution en disant : *bharātyantas tava retaḥ*, mots qui doivent constituer une citation originaire du texte sanskrit, mais qui ne se trouvent pas dans la vulgate, et qui sont répétés en javanais : *atyanta bhāra niṅ retanta* " votre semence est extrêmement lourde (ou : importante) ".

Dans un autre texte originaire de l'île de Java, le Calon Arang, nous trouvons quelques passages que je ne veux pas passer sous silence. Le Calon Arang, œuvre de date incertaine, mais postérieure au Mahābhārata javanais, et qui provient d'un milieu beaucoup moins hindouisé que celui dans lequel a vécu l'auteur ou le traducteur de l'Ādiparva, est, malgré son étendue restreinte, d'une importance spéciale pour ceux qui s'appliquent à l'étude de la science comparée des religions et des usages religieux. Voici les épisodes qui nous intéressent en particulier. Un soldat, qu'on a chargé de tuer une veuve qui s'occupe de sorcellerie, sent au moment qu'il saisit pour la poignarder les cheveux de la femme, qui dort, que sa main devient lourde ; la veuve s'éveille et le feu qui sort de ses yeux, de ses narines et de sa bouche consume le soldat.[3] Le texte javanais est parfaitement clair : *abwat pwa taṅan saṅ bṛtya.* Bharaḍah, intitulé mahāmuni, yativara et yogīśvara, ascète qui a la puissance de suspendre la loi de la gravitation, traverse la mer pour se rendre à l'île de Bali sur la feuille d'un arbre à pain. Mais quand il veut retourner la feuille s'enfonce dans l'eau, parce qu'il n'a pas encore pris congé de son collègue, le munīndra et yogīśvara Kuturan. C'est sans doute la force magique de Kuturan ou le péché, c.à.d. le fait que Bh. a omis de prendre congé, qui ont rétabli l'effet des lois naturelles.[4]

Comme la lourdeur magique se trouve dans les régions de l'archipel indien qui n'ont pas subi l'influence de l'Hindouisme au même degré que l'île de Java, il n'y a pas lieu de supposer que l'auteur du Calon Arang ait emprunté ces motifs à la littérature sanskrite ou à la tradition indienne. En malais le mot *berat* " lourd, pesanteur " et ses dérivés sont parfois employés d'une manière qui nous rappelle le sens magique des mots *guru-* etc. : *pemberat* est en usage pour désigner " a preventive talisman "; cf. *tuan puteri K. membubuhkan tuan puteri S.U. pemberat supaya jangan jadi bersuamikan K.M.* " the princess K. laid a preventive charm on the princess S.U. so as to stop her marriage to

[1] Il y a plusieurs variantes : voir l'édition de Sukthankar (*The Mahābhārata,* for the first time critically edited by V. S. S., Poona, 1931), p. 446. Dans le texte de S. on lit (1, 98, 13) : *bhos tāta . . . | amoghaśukraś ca bhavān pūrvaṃ cāham ihāgataḥ.*

[2] Pour le sens de *amogha,* cf. Kāl., Kum. 3, 5, *yad amogham apām antar uptaṃ bījam aja tvayā.*

[3] " Calon-Arang," ed. R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, dans *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië,* 82 (1926), p. 110 s., spéc. p. 119 s.

[4] Ibidem, pp. 138 et 140.

K.M." (Hik. Koris).[1] Les sens divers du mot *berat* (*bröt*) en langue gajo (Sumatra du Nord) se retrouvent en grande partie en sanskrit (*guru-*) : *reta berat* sont des objets de valeur (p.e. des ornements et des parures d'or ou d'argent, des armes et des souvenirs de famille auxquels on attribue une force magique, c.à.d. des pusaka) ; *berat* exprime aussi la notion de " important, digne de respect ", un *tòn berat* (*bröt*) est une personne digne de respect (*ton* " la place qui peut contenir quelque chose, la personne qui est l'objet d'une notion, c.à.d. à laquelle on attribue la notion exprimée par le mot suivant "), les *tòn berat* sont le père, la mère, le beau-père et tous les parents masculins et féminins des beaux-parents, qui appartiennent à la même génération que ceux-ci. Le verbe *berati* exprime la notion de " traiter avec respect ".

En ce qui concerne l'adjectif *guru-* en sanskrit il peut être attribué à un grand nombre de concepts : *guru-* n'a pas seulement le sens de " lourd ", mais aussi celui de " grand, important, considérable, etc." On considère ces autres significations comme métaphores, sens dérivés, etc. Mais quand nous étudions le mot plus attentivement, nous ne manquons pas de remarquer qu'il se joint souvent à un substantif qui exprime une notion magico-religieuse ou qui se range dans un des catégories psychiques ou appartient à un des domaines auxquels des concepts magico-religieux se rapportent. RV. 1, 147, 4, *mantro guruḥ punar astu so asmai* : le mot *mantra-*, qui a le sens de mot puissant, sentence ou parole chargée de force surnaturelle, est ici presque " malédiction " ; *guru-*, qui a été traduit par " schwer drückend, heftig, hart ", veut peut-être dire que le mantra est chargé de force magique à un plus haute degré que d'ordinaire. RV. 4, 5, 6, c'est un *manman-*, texte religieux, que le poète compare avec un fardeau lourd : *gurum bhāraṃ na manma* | *bṛhad dadhātha.* RV. 7, 56, 19, il est question de *guru dveṣaḥ* " une inimitié lourde, c.à.d. violente ". RV. 10, 37, 12, *yad vo devāś cakṛma jihvayā guru manaso vā prayutī devaheḷanam* | *arāvā yo no abhi duchunāyate tasmin tad eno vasavo ni dhetana,* " l'insulte atroce que nous vous avons faite avec la langue ou par étourderie, veuillez imposer cette souillure de péché à celui qui . . ." Cette souillure, *enas-*, est *suguru-* : Manu 11, 256, *sugurv apy apahanty enaḥ* ; cf. aussi Mbh. 12, 165, 43, . . . *śeṣaṃ prāpnoti pāpmanaḥ* | . . . *spṛṣṭvā gurutaraṃ bhavet* (Nīlakaṇṭha : *gurutaraṃ śeṣād apy adhikaṃ pātakaṃ tasya phalam*). Atharvav. pariś. 69, 6, 3, le mot *guru-* se trouve en connexion avec *ābharaṇa-* " amulette " [2] : *gurvābharaṇasaṃyutām* ; Mbh. 1, 158, 6, un *gurur dharmaḥ* est une obligation importante. Les offrandes *guru-* dont il est question Yājñ. 3, 328 (*yathā gurukratuphalaṃ prāpnoti*) sont sans doute des offrandes importantes et dont les résultats sont considérables : *gurukratūnāṃ rājasūyādīnām* . . . (Mitākṣarā). Dans la théophanie de la Bhagavadgītā (11, 37) Arjuna dit au Dieu des dieux, Kṛṣṇa, *kasmāc ca te na nameran . . . garīyase brahmaṇo 'pi* " . . . thou art greater even than Brahman " (Edgerton). Pañc. 1, 161 + (Nirṇ. 6, 1925, p. 27, 1) . . . *raudrasattvaniṣevitaṃ vanaṃ gurūṇām api sattvānām āsevyam, kutaḥ śaṣpabhojinām,* ici *guru-* a le

[1] R. J. Wilkinson, *A Malay-English Dictionary*, i (1932), p. 126.

[2] Voir J. Gonda, Ābharaṇa, dans *New Indian Antiquary*, 2, p. 69 ss.

sens de " puissant, fort " (un animal *guru-*). Un *kāryaṃ guru* est une affaire importante : Rām. 1, 24, 22 ; Budh. Bṛhatk.saṃgr. 14, 41, *gurukāryakriyāvyagram* " occupé au règlement d'affaires importantes ". Une passion est dite *guru-* : Harṣa, Ratn. 2, 0 + (Sus.) *garuāṇurāākhittahiaā* " absorbée par sa violente passion ", la même expression se rencontre 3, 48 + (Vid.), de même la honte : vs. 26 *lajjā garuī.* Une grâce, une faveur d'importance c'est un *garuo pasādo* : 2, 38 + (Sus.) ; cf. en vieux-javanais, Ādip. p. 214, *bhāra dahat anugrahanta* " votre faveur est très ' lourde ', c.à.d. insigne ". Peur ou danger, *bhaya-*, peut être *guru-* : Mbh. 7, 130, 14, de même *duḥkha-* " douleur " : Bh. gītā 6, 22, *na duḥkhena guruṇāpi vicālyate,* cf. Kālid. Megh. 86, *gurutaraśucam.* On peut naturellement prendre *guru-* comme lourd, pesant à porter ou à endurer, mais n'est-il pas possible que les notions " lourdes " comportent un élément de lourdeur inhérente et qui leur soit propre : Kālid, Megh. 1, *kāntāvirahaguruṇā . . . śāpena* " par une malédiction sévère qui consiste à être séparé de sa bien-aimée ", ou qu'ils (c.à.d. le *bhaya-*, la *lajjā-* etc.) produisent des sentiments de lourdeur et d'inhibition ? L'histoire entière de son ennemi, qu'il venait de tuer, racontée par des ascètes divins conférait un prestige particulier, une majesté (Renou) aux exploits de Rāma : Kāl. Ragh. 14, 18, *gauravam ādadhānam.*

Un homme *guru-* est un homme digne de respect : Manu 2, 133, *mātā tābhyo garīyasī,* et notre *garīyān* est quelqu'un qui nous est supérieur en ce qui concerne le savoir etc. : *garīyasas* : *vidyādyadhikasya* (Kullūka ad Manu 11, 204), mais le respect repose sur la possession réelle ou supposée de qualités spéciales, et le savoir (*vidyā-*) permet à l'homme " qui sait " d'accomplir des actes extraordinaires. Un être *guru-* est un être qui se distingue par des qualités exceptionnelles : Bhag.gītā 11, 37 (*Kṛṣṇa*) *garīyase brahmaṇaḥ* " qui êtes plus puissant, plus grand que Brahman ". Parmi les personnes qui sont *guru-* il y a le père, la mère, le frère aîné ; le brahmane est le *guru-* parmi les membres de toutes les classes de la société, le mari est le *guru-* de la femme, un hôte est toujours un homme *guru-*. À toutes ces personnes on témoigne d'un certain respect parce qu'elles se distinguent par des qualités qui ressemblent aux qualités " mana " dont traitent les livres des ethnologues. Un homme *guru-* est aussi une " autorité ", un homme dont la parole et la conduite servent de modèle aux autres : Mbh. 13, 1, 21, *ko hy ātmānaṃ guruṃ kuryāt.* Mais parmi tous ceux qui sont *guru-* il y en a un qui est *guru-* par excellence : *gurur garīyasāṃ śreṣṭhaḥ* (Mbh. 1, 74, 57), c'est le guide spirituel, le précepteur, le guru tout court : Manu 2, 149, *alpaṃ vā bahu vā yasya śrutasyopakaroti yaḥ* | *tam apīha guruṃ vidyāc chrutopakriyayā tayā* ; Yājñ. 1, 34, *sa gurur yaḥ kriyāḥ kṛtvā vedam asmai prayacchati.* Celui qui pour les enfants exécute les rites et qui les initie à la science du Veda (*vidyāguru-* Manu 2, 206 : *ācāryavyatiriktā upādhyāyāḥ,* Kullūka) est nommé le *guru-* (Manu 2, 142). Parce que l'essence de la classe brahmanique, et par conséquent des brahmanes qui font fonction de guide spirituel, fait un avec le fond ultime et premier de l'être, avec le " sacré " lui-même, l'hypothèse n'est pas inadmissible que le guru indien, dont

la vénération donnait, à la longue, naissance à un vrai culte, doive son titre au fait qu'il était, au point de vue " mana ", plus " lourd " que les autres hommes.

Je veux pour finir rappeler que l'homme primitif, l'homme naïf et simple aime à prêter sans examen préalable aux personnes qui remplissent de hautes dignités, ou qui se distinguent par leur haute position, des qualités qui, à son sens, sont inhérentes à cette dignité ou qui accompagnent la fonction et la position de ces hommes. La poésie primitive idéalise. Les personnages d'une narration populaire, d'un conte de fées sont parfaits dans leur genre : un prince, un chevalier est brave et vaillant, un roi et un général sont des hommes comme des tigres (*puruṣavyāghra-*) aux bras longs ou forts (*dīrghabāhu-*), et des épithètes comme *mahāyaśas-*, *dhīmant-*, *gajendravikrama-* etc., sont bien connues. Une princesse est toujours belle, aimable, charmante, de taille mince et de sourire ravissant. Cet idéalisme se trouve encore bien des fois dans les anciennes littératures : Zoroastre, dans l'Avesta (Yt. 17, 22), est appelé beau, bien fait, aux jambes belles et aux bras forts, sur son corps la gloire de la félicité a élu domicile. Et dans l'Inde, Kṛṣṇa, qui est le Dieu des dieux, n'est pas seulement *mahābāhu-* (Bhag. G. 11, 23) et *bahubāhu-* (la puissance supranormale est désignée par le multiple du nombre normal des parties du corps), mais *anantabāhu-* (19). Dans nos romans populaires encore le héros est très riche, noble, très heureux, ou bien il est un fripon sans pareil. Et même nos contemporains intellectuels ne peuvent pas supprimer un sentiment de déception en apprenant qu'un " grand homme " est de petite taille. On comprend sans peine que des hommes en qui une puissance supranormale se localise et se manifeste soient caractérisés aussi par un poids extraordinaire.

DEVAYÁNT- AND DEVAYÚ

As is well known the meanings of the many religious and philosophical terms occurring in Vedic texts as given in our dictionaries are often inexact or no longer abreast of the times. It would for instance appear to me that the sense of the participle *devayant-* is not exactly " religious, loving or serving the gods " (Monier—Williams), " den Göttern dienend, sie verehrend " (Grassmann), " sich and die Götter haltend, den Göttern dienend, fromm " (Petr. Dict.), " fromm, gottergeben, gottverlangend " (Geldner)—translations which suggest a more or less permanent quality or trait of character—, but rather " approaching, turning to, applying to, the gods by ritual means, whilst executing the rites, in order to come into contact with them, to make an appeal to them, to influence them, to invoke their help or co-operation ". The difference may appear to be slight and the more or less traditional translations hardly worth disputing, —semantic accuracy however is a *conditio sine qua non* for a right understanding of the texts, and from the religious point of view this difference is not to be neglected.

The word occurs 50 times in the Ṛgveda, in 12 cases in an opening stanza. There is one occurrence of the negated *adevayant-* (translated by " godless " Geldner), in opposition to *devayant-* (2, 26, 1).

In injunctions and adhortations to start the performance of the rites a shade of meaning " pious, devout " is in itself less acceptable than " making an appeal to the gods " : 3, 6, 1 stimulates the reciters to fetch, *devayantaḥ*, the indispensable sacrificial ladle (Sāyaṇa explains by *devakāmāḥ* which means " longing for the gods " rather than " pious "). In 1, 40, 1 *út tiṣṭha brahmaṇas pate devayántas tvemahe*, lit. " rise, O Brahmaṇaspati, applying (to thee) we approach to thee with prayers " the participle and the principal verb reinforce each other, the former indicating the particular nature of the approach. The poet continues (st. 2) *tvā́m íd dhí. . . .mártya upabrūté dháne hité* " for thou art invoked by the mortal man when a prospect of valuable objects is held out ". These valuables are, of course, to be obtained through the rites. The preparation and erection of the sacrificial stake which is, in 3, 8, 1, said to be anointed by the *devayantaḥ* (*devān kāmayamānā adhvaryādayaḥ*, Sāyaṇa) in order to provide those speaking with valuable objects, is likewise a ritual act. In 7, 43, 1 the term cannot but apply to the singers, reciters or inspired poets (*viprāḥ*, Sāyaṇa), whose task it is to praise, on the occasion of the sacrifice, heaven and

earth, that these divine powers may come: *prá vo yajñéṣu devayánto arcan...* An unambiguous place is also 1, 36, 1 *prá vo...viśā́'ṃ devayantī́nām* । *agníṃ sūktébhir vácobhir īmahe yáṃ sīm íd anyá ī'ḷate* "we (*i. e.* the eulogists) approach on your (their patrons') behalf, with well recited words, Agni ... (the lord) of the clans who turn to the gods, (Agni) who is also implored by others": the *devayantaḥ* obviously are engaged in praising and invoking as well as preparing the sacrifice.

The *devayantaḥ* who are said in 5, 1, 4 to turn to the gods like the eyes of men to the sun are no doubt sacrificers and (or) officiants: cf. st. 1 and 2 mentioning the awakening of the god and the approaching morning rites. The tradition (Anukramaṇikā) that ṚV. 10, 13 is devoted to the two 'oblation receptacles' (*i. e.* the vehicles in which the soma plants are conveyed to be pressed) is in all probability correct; in st. 2 those who desire to praise and to worship the gods (*mā́'nuṣā devayántaḥ: devakāmāḥ ... yajamānāḥ*, Sāyaṇa) are said to bring them forward in order to serve as a seat for soma. In the Agni hymn 10, 91, 9 it reads: "those who worship thee choose just thee, O Agni, as the sacrificial priest, ... when the *devayantaḥ* (or, perhaps, they being *devayantaḥ*) dish up pleasant food for thee, men who offer oblations and have spread the sacrificial grass (to receive the gods)"; here Sāyaṇa is no doubt right: *devān yaṣṭuṃ stotum icchantaḥ.* His explication of 10, 17, 7 is similar; here the goddess Sarasvatī is invoked while the ceremonies are performed on the sacrificial place (*adhvaré tāyámāne*). These words are followed by the prayer that the goddess may grant valuable objects to the man who is disposed to give to the gods (*dāśuṣe*[1]). The same person is also indicated by the term *sukṛt-* "performing one's religious (ritual) duties well and gaining merit by doing so"[2]. According to Kauśika 81, 39 the stanzas 7-9, which also belong to the funeral texts of the Atharvaveda (18, 1, 41-43), are to be recited when the pyre is burning. The sūkta ṚV. 10, 30, the so-called *aponaptrīyam*, is to accompany the ceremony of fetching the water needed for the preparation of the soma. In the final stanza (15), describing the arrival of the waters at the sacrificial place, the poet says that they have sat down, being *devayantīḥ*. Following Sāyaṇa Geldner translates "gottverlangend". Anyhow, the waters turn to the god, whilst attending the rites. There can be no doubt whatever that the "gottergeben" (*devayantīḥ*) human clans which whilst offering libations (*prayasvatīḥ*) invoke Agni's flames (ṚV. 3, 6, 3) are, in point of fact, described as sacrificing or performing ritual work, not as being, in a general sense, pious or devout. That these mortal beings attempted to win over the same god who removes hostility to their side by means of their inspired hymns and eulogies appears from 4, 11,

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[1] Cf. L. Renou, Ètudes Védiques et pāṇinéennes, III, Paris 1957, p. 16.

[2] I refer to my treatise 'World and heaven in the Veda', which is to be published by the Amsterdam Academy, Ch. XI.

5: *tvā'm agne prathamám devayánto devám mártā ... ā' vivāsanti dhībhíḥ* (*devān icchantaḥ*, Sāyaṇa).

In 4, 2, 17 those who kindle and fan the flames of the sacrificial fire are described as *sukármāṇaḥ surúco devayántaḥ* "expert performers of rites, 'shining brightly' and making an appeal to the divine powers". As the second adjective is as a rule used to characterize gods (Agni, *cf.* 1, 112, 1; Bṛhaspati, 1, 190, 1) Geldner's[3] opinion that the poet refers to the eulogists who are identified with the Aṅgirases might be modified: the poet describes the Aṅgirases, the mythical divine ancestors of the priests who reiterate, nowadays, the activity of these prototypical officiants, an activity which, belonging to the mythical past, is exemplary and replete with power. The Aṅgirases[4] are Indra's and Agni's friends (3, 31, 3; 4, 1, 12 etc.); being sons of the gods or sons of heaven, they were also, in ancient times, seers and sacrificers. Accompanied by Indra they opened the stall and drove out the cows (Vala myth). A translation "pious" or "devout" would be out of tune here. In 9, 97, 46 the pressed soma juices are said to have streamed forth like the desire of the *devayantaḥ kā'mo ná yó devayantā'm ásarji*): it is true that this effusion may in itself be attributed to any devout worshipper,[5] but in this soma hymn and especially in the group of stanzas to which the above words belong this interpretation is hardly worth considering. That the *devayantaḥ* are actively occupied with the performance of the rites appears also from 1, 173, 4 *prá cyautnā'ni devayántaḥ bharante* "the d. 'bring forward' their enterprises (*devān ātmana icchanto yajamānāḥ*, Sāyaṇa). In 9, 74, 8 the soma juices are said to have entered the pitcher while those who in their heart turn to the gods are hurrying along (*ā hinvire manasā devayantaḥ*, Sāyaṇa). Geldner[6] rightly compared 1, 77, 3 cd *tam* (Agni) *médheṣu prathamám devayántīr víśa úpa bruvate dasmám árīḥ* with 8, 6, 27 *tám* (Indra) *tvā havíṣmatīr víśa úpa bruvata ūtáye*. In both cases the (Aryan) clans invoke the god, in the middle of a sūkta, or entreat him to assist them. The clans are respectivelv characterized as "offering oblations" and "turning to the gods" (*devān ātmana icchantyaḥ*, Sāyaṇa).

The assumption seems to be warranted that the *devayan* and *adevayan* in 2, 26, 1 are the man who worshipping and sacrificing actually applies to the gods and the man who does not. The former will, according to the text (pāda b), surpass the latter. Nay, he will, now denoted by the term *yajvā* "worshipper, sacrificer" (pāda d), distribute the objects of enjoyment of him who does not worship. Truthfulness, speaking in accordance with the essence of things is characteristic of a worshipper: he who states facts in the right way will pre-

[3] K. F. Geldner, Der Rig-veda, I², Cambridge Mass. 1951, p. 418.

[4] See e.g. A. A. Macdonell, Vedic mythology, Strassburg 1897, p. 142 f.

[5] Thus also Renou, o.c., IX, Paris 1961, p. 50.

[6] Geldner, o.c., 1, p. 100.

vail over those who attack him (pāda a); he who is very attentive will overcome his enemy (pāda c). Compare 2, 25, 1: the man who kindles the sacrificial fire is said to prevail over those who plot against him; who cultivates the brahman and offers oblations will prosper. The same sense may therefore be adopted in 1, 41, 8 *mā' vo ghnántam mā' śápantam práti voce devayántam,* the more so as in 1, 40, 7 the devayant- who is protected against animosity is followed by a reference to the man who has spread the sacrificial grass. These two persons may very well be identical. ṚV. 7, 69, 4 the Aśvins, "whose chariot must approach" the *víśo devayántīḥ* (st. 1 and 2), are said to assist and favour the sacrificers who again are referred to by the same term. The *víśaḥ* of st. 2 no doubt are clans engaged in the performance of sacrificial ceremonies (*yajamānān prati,* Sāyaṇa); *cf.* st. 3 inviting the gods to partake of the food and st. 5 imploring them to bring welfare and happiness on the occasion of "this sacrifice" (*yajñe*). From the context it appears that those who in 6, 1, 7 approach, well-possessed of vision (*sudhyaḥ*) Agni in order to establish between the god and themselves a friendly relation (*sumnāyavaḥ*) are also engaged in the performance of rites: in st. 6 the god is said to have taken his seat on the sacrificial place. Stanza 2 admits of the same interpretation: Agni sat down at the place of refreshment and the *náraḥ... devayántaḥ* approached him, attentive and desirous of the great treasure.

A sidelight is also thrown on the relation between the *devayantaḥ* and the god or gods to whom they turn by the Aśvin hymn 4, 44, 5 *mā' vām anyé ní yaman devayántaḥ śaṃ yád dadé nā'bhiḥ pūrvyā' vām.* After st. 4, which is an urgent request to partake of the sacrificial meal offered by those on behalf of whom the eulogist is speaking, and preceding st. 6 in which the god, who has always been proclaimed by these eulogists, is besought to give them many sons, st. 5 expresses the wish that no other worshippers may detain him because those speaking have first claim on his friendship. For a similar invitation see 7, 69, 6. From Geldner's translation of 1, 190, 2 it is not perfectly clear that the words which come to Bṛhaspati are the ritual formulas and eulogies (*cf.* st. 1; 3) of which this god is the lord and generator (2, 23, 1; 2) Bṛhaspati, moreover, favours and protects the sacrifice (10, 35, 11; 128, 7) as he also promotes man's invitations to the gods (6, 73, 2). Sāyaṇa: *yajamāna-*.

Interestingly enough, the participle may also accompany words for the eulogies (*gíro matáyaḥ*) which go to the god (*agníṃ yanti*) and ask for wealth (7, 10, 3); they approach the god as rivals (7, 18, 3). Sāyaṇa (on 7, 10, 3) not incorrectly gives *devān icchantyaḥ.* Here also the meaning obviously is "turning to the god(s) and attempting to come into contact with him (them)". The eulogies, songs and recitations mentioned in these texts were, as far as we know, recited or executed as an element of the rites, not to voice the pious feelings of individuals outside the sacrificial sphere. The *devayantaḥ* who are in 1, 6, 6 alluded to in connection with the recitation of ritual stanzas which invite

the god Indra must therefore be active participants in the ritual activities. When therefore Agni is (10, 69, 7) expected to radiate among the Sumitras, this family, being described as *devayantaḥ*, is in this context also represented as sacrificing: cf. st. 1; 3; 4. A considerable part of the final stanzas of the sūktas attributed to Medhātithi (1, 12-23) are characterized by an appeal to the gods to accept the eulogies (1, 12, 12), an invitation (1, 13, 12), a prayer to comply with the wishes of the eulogists (1, 16, 9), a request to protect them (1, 21, 6) and other addresses of a decidedly ritual character. When therefore Agni is (1, 15, 12) asked to worship the gods (*devā'n. . . . yaja*) on behalf of the *devayant*—this word seems, here also, to refer to those actually engaged on the sacrificial ground. Similarly 3, 10, 7; 3, 29, 12. In 5, 21, 1 the *devayant*—(*devakāmāya yajamānāya*, Sāyaṇa) is compared to Manu, who is repeatedly mentioned, not as a pattern of devotion or godliness, but as an ancient and exemplary sacrificer: 1, 31, 10; 1, 26, 4; cf. 8, 23, 13; 8, 10, 2 the sacrifice is said to have been prepared for him, and in 10, 100, 5 he is even identified with it. Agni who, as is well known, is frequently described as a priest is (10, 46, 10) not only addressed as the bearer of the oblations and requested to grant the eulogist strength, but also, as a *devayant*, given precedence. Sāyaṇa is not wrong in identifying the *devayantaḥ* who 1, 9, 19 accord precedence to the Aśvins when the soma stalks are milked like cows and the songs are chanted, with the *ṛtvijaḥ* (sacrificial priests). Likewise occupied in the ritual sphere are those mentioned in 7, 2, 5 who being *devayantaḥ* (*devakāmā yajamānāḥ*, Sāyaṇa) open the doors for the divine powers. In 3, 8, 4 the inspired sages are said to set up the sacrificial stake. While being in their minds full of inspired thoughts (*dhīrāsaḥ*) and being occupied with sacrificial work for the gods (*devayantaḥ*). The adjective *dhīrāsaḥ* characterizes the sages as having received the vision and inspiration needed for a successful performance of the rites. The same sages are in st. 5 described as performing (ritual) work (*apasaḥ*) and the *vipraḥ* ("inspired priestly eulogist") raises his voice while being *devayāḥ* "turning to the gods". Geldner[7] may be right in assuming a case of hypallage (the voice goes to the gods)[8]. In st. 6 those who dig in the stake or fashion it with the axe are again qualified as *devayantaḥ*.

In explaining 1, 115, 2 *yátrā náro devayánto yugā'ni vitanvaté* Sāyaṇa wavers between three possibilities. These words, he argues, mean, either: when the sun rises the sacrificers who wish to worship this luminary (*devam ... sūryaṃ yaṣṭum icchantaḥ*) "spread" the oblations to Agni etc., *yuga-* being a word for "time" and for "the (ritual) work to be performed at a definite time", or the (future) sacrificers are going to plough in order to earn 'money' for the rites, or *yugāni* means *yugmāni*, sc. *bhūtvā*, *i. e. patnībhiḥ sahitāḥ*. The second inter-

[7] Geldner, o.c., 1, p. 346.

[8] Compare, in connection with *devayu-*, ṚV. 8, 12, 11 (see also my book 'The vision of the Vedic poets', The Hague 1963, p. 186 f.).

pretation was in substance followed by Geldner[9] whose explication was: "every morning the pious ones begin a new day's work". As, however, this explication conflicts with the above usage of the participle, Windisch[10] and Oldenberg[11] may be followed in taking *yugāni* 'metaphorically'. The sacrifice is indeed often described as a vehicle (see *e.g.* 7, 34, 5)[12]. Then the *devayantaḥ* are said to be engaged, in the early morning, with "putting the horses" before the vehicle, that is the daily rites. When the poet of 1, 121 puts, in stanza 1[a], the 'rhetorical' question whether Indra is the worthy and competent recipient for the *devayantaḥ*, he no doubt intends to say: the right recipient of the eulogies and oblations: compare st. 1[b] "will he hear the praise of the Aṅgirases?" and 1[d] mentioning the sacrificial session. Those who describe themselves as starting a eulogy are in 7, 73, 1 at the same time *devayantaḥ*. As such they praise the Aśvins: *práti stómaṃ devayánto dádhānāḥ*. The term may also apply to those who formerly or for the first time introduced new ritual methods: thus 7, 47, 1 to the officiants (*adhvaryavaḥ*, Sāyaṇa) who had, for the first time, made the water a draught for Indra. In stanza 2 those who *hic et nunc*, *i. e.* under the circumstances described, on the actual sacrificial place, are desirous of water call themselves likewise *devayantaḥ*. Interestingly enough, the term under discussion is in 1, 139, 3 used to qualify the *āyavaḥ* who are "ritual officiants, eloquent *viprāḥ* (*i.e.* inspired priestly seers), makers of mantras, preparing the soma and the fire for the yajña-ceremony"[13]: these officiants are, in this stanza, said to invite the Aśvins with their hymns of praise.

In the Atharvaveda the word applies (12, 3, 18) to the rice which is ceremoniously prepared during the sava rites[14]: the pestle with which the rice is pounded is requested not to crush to pieces the rice-grain which turns to, or is to come into contact with, the gods: *mā' taṇḍuláṃ ví śárair devayántam.* This sacrificial substance is by the ritual acts to be transubstantiated and divinized and made the means by which the sacrificer is enabled to transcend the limitations of the finite human condition; it has by the Creator-god himself been transformed into the heavenly abodes in which the sacrificer is to enjoy the fruits of his ritual merits.[15] The author of AV. 7, 27, 1 uses the participle in the usual way: the *devayantaḥ* purify themselves in Iḍā's footsteps: the Vaitānasūtra (3, 15) has this stanza accompany a libation to Iḍā in the parvan ceremonies.

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9 Geldner, o.c., I, p. 152.

10 E. Windisch, in Festgruß an O. Böhtlingk, 1888, p. 118.

11 H. Oldenberg, Ṛgveda, Textkritische und exegetische Noten, I, Berlin 1909, p. 107.

12 I refer to my paper 'Adhvara-', Vishveshvaranand Indol, Journal, 3. p. 163 ff.

13 H. W. Bailey, in Bull. School Or. and Afr. Studies 20 (London 1957), p. 41 ff.

14 See my book The Savayajñas, Amsterdam Academy 1965, esp. p. 81; 148.

15 The Savayajñas, p. 31 ff.; 38.

The words *agne préhi prathamó devayatā'm* (VS. 17, 69 a; TS. 4, 6, 5, 2 a; ŚB. 9, 2, 3, 28 etc.) were far from incorrectly translated by Griffith[16]): "Foremost of those who seek the gods......" and by Eggeling[17] : "first of the godward-going"; Keith[18] preferred: "first of worshippers".

The adjective *devayú-*[19], which occurs beside the participle, expresses the same sense. Thus it combines with *yajamāna-* and *sunvāna-* "the one who presses soma" (ṚV. 8, 31, 16). In 10, 51, 5 mention is made of the mánur devayūḥ who wishes to sacrifice (*yajñákāmuḥ*). From ṚV. 6, 3, 1 f. it appears that the *devayu-* is the man who has sacrificed and exerted himself in matters of ritual interest. For the sense of the term in 5, 48, 2 which is at first sight vague and general, compare st. 3 showing that here again a sacrificer is meant. So he is in 1, 83, 2 *prācaír devā'saḥ prá ṇayanti devayúm.* In 5, 34, 5 d the *devayu-* is clearly contrasted with the man who does not press soma in pāda b. Cf. also ṚV. 4, 2, 7; 4, 9, 1; 6, 28, 2; 7, 93, 4; 8, 103, 7; 9, 11, 2; 9, 96, 24; 10, 106, 3. From 1, 154, 5 it appears that the successful sacrificers who revel in the presence of the god are likewise qualified as *devayávaḥ.* Cf. 7, 97, 1 and AV. 8, 9, 13. This is not to contend that the word must always apply to the officiants who perform the manipulative part of the ritual acts. Whereas, in 10, 32, 5, *devayu-* refers, according to Sāyaṇa, to the hotar (*devān kāmayamāno hotā*) and in Baunack's view[20] to Agni, Geldner[21] may be right in regarding it as pointing to the poet who with his inner eye penetrates the world of the gods.[22] For Agni as a *devayu-* see ṚV. 10, 176, 3. Remarkably enough the adjective accompanies the noun *śocīṃsi,* the flames and glow of the sacrificial fire, which may be described as "turning to the gods" rather than "pious". The adjective may also qualify the soma which being pressed out is said to be intent on going to the gods or desirous of coming into contact with them[23]: 9, 6, 1; 9, 17, 3 ("longing for the gods"[24]); 9, 37, 1; 9, 43, 5; 9, 56, 1; 9, 97, 4 etc.

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16 R. T. H. Griffith, The texts of the White Yajurveda, Banares 1927, p. 187.

17 J. Eggeling, in The Sacred Books of the East. 43, Oxford 1897, p. 199.

18 A. B. Keith, The Veda of the Black Yajus School, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 371.

19 See J. Wackernagel—A. Debrunner, Altindische Grammatik, II, 2, Göttingen, 1954, p. 469 f.

20 Th. Baunack, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, 34, p. 560

21 Geldner, o.c., III, p. 181.

22 See The vision of the Vedic poets, p. 202.

23 Rather than "loving the gods" (Renou, o.c., VIII, Paris 1961, p. 5).

24 S. S. Bhawe, The Soma-hymns of the Ṛgveda, II, Baroda, p. 960, p. 5.

THE MEANING OF SKT. *NAND-*

In the dictionaries the Sanskrit root *nand-* is rendered by "befriedigt sein von, vergnügt sein, sich freuen über; rejoice, be satisfied with". The translations are, of course, correct, but I ask myself whether they are complete. Let us first consider the substantive *nāndī-* "the introductory blessing of a stage-play." As to the meaning of this word Sylvain Lévi [1] argued: "La bénédiction (*nāndī-*) est une prière adressée à un dieu et qui exprime un souhait en faveur des brahmanes, des rois, des vaches, etc. ...; son nom vient de la racine *nad-*, qui signifie à la fois: célébrer à haute voix, et: se réjouir, être en joie; c'est qu'en effet par les souhaits de bonheur qu'elle contient elle rapporte la joie ici-bas, et que de plus elle réjouit les dieux auxquels elle s'adresse." Konow only says that the *nāndī* is „ein Preis- oder Segensspruch." [2]. A well-known modern Indian commentator, Kale [3], remarks: "*n.* is the benedictory stanza because the deities are said to delight by it; it serves as a *maṅgala-* which is necessary for the safe completion of a poetic composition." As early an author as Bharata expressed his opinion in the following way [4]: 1, 23 *nāndī kṛtā ... pūrvam āśīrvacanasaṃyutā*; 5, 25 *āśīrvacanasaṃyuktā ... yasmāt ... devadvijanṛpādīnām ... tasmān nāndīti ...* [5]; 5, 98 ff. *namo 'stu sarvadevebhyo dvijātibhyaḥ śubhaṃ tathā / jitaṃ sāmena vai rājñā śivaṃ gobrāhmaṇāya ca // brahmottaraṃ tathaivāstu hatā brahmadviṣas tathā /*

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[1] S. Lévi, Le théatre indien (Paris, 1890), p. 131.

[2] S. Konow, Das indische Drama (1920), p. 24. See also A. B. Keith, The sanskrit drama (1924), p. 339; 342 sqq.

[3] M. P. Kāle, The Abhijñānaśākuntalam of Kālidāsa[7] (Bombay, 1934), Notes p. 4.

[4] The Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata Muni, edited by Paṇḍit Śivadatta and K. P. Parab (Bombay, 1894) = (with some variants) 5, 106 ff. in the edition of J. Grosset, in Annales de l'Université de Lyon 40 (1898), p. 73.

[5] Cf. Sāhityad. 6, 24.

praśāsvemāṃ mahārāja pṛthivīṃ ca sasāgarām // rāṣṭraṃ pravardhatāṃ caiva raṅgasyāśā samṛddhyatu / prekṣākartur mahān dharmo bhavatu brahmabhāvitaḥ // kāvyakartur yaśaś cāstu dharmaś cāpi pravardhatām / ijyayā cānayā nityaṃ prīyantāṃ devatā iti [1].

Consequently, authorities agree in ascribing to *nāndī-* the sense of a benedictory stanza (which is therefore auspicious), expressing the wishes the author formulated on behalf of the king, the kingdom, the man who takes the initiative to have the spectacle performed and on behalf of himself, and relying only on the dramas themselves [2] and on the quotations from Bharata and letting alone the meaning "to rejoice" ascribed to the root *nand-*, we should rather emphasize the notion of "blessing": the *nāndī-* formulates the blessing desired by means of the performançe of the play. A *nāndī-* may also be performed *vighnopaśāntaye* "to expiate obstacles" (Sāhityad. 281). In his Uttararāmacarita (1, 2 +) Bhavabhūti writes *abhiṣekasamayo rātriṃdivam asaṃhṛtanāndīkas*; these words have correctly been understood by Miss Stchoupak: "de nuit ni de jour les cérémonies propitiatoires ne devraient être interrompues". And Mahāv. 2, 4 the same poet refers to the auspicious character of a *nāndī*: *nāndīnādaprabhṛti hi kṛtaṃ maṅgalaṃ tais tadānīm*. Mbh. 4, 68, 28 *nāndīvādyāḥ* means *maṅgalavādyāni* (Nīlakaṇṭha) "auspicious acclamations" (to welcome a conquerer). Bāṇa, Harṣacarita, ch. 7 (p. 275 F.) mentions *nāndīs* (*maṅgalapaṭaha-* "a drum which is beaten for a good omen" commentary) ranging out joyously and ch. 4 (p. 180) the same text mentions *pratyūṣanāndī* (*bherī* "kettle-drum" comm.) and "the voices of minstrels which recited auspicious (words or verses) that rouse from sleep". Raṅgarāja in his commentary on the Uttararāmacarita explains *nāndī* as "sound of twelve drums beaten simultaneously" (*ekadā dvādaśamṛdaṅgaghoṣe nāndī*). In Pali, a *nandi* is a *vijayabheri* (Vin. 3, 108). As to the sense "ceremonial and auspicious musical performances" I refer to my former publication [3].

Now, there are, in my opinion, some arguments in favour of

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[1] I have translated these stanzas in my treatise Ursprung und Wesen des indischen Dramas, p. 371 (= Acta Orientalia 19, p. 329 ff.).
[2] See Ursprung und Wesen...., p. 370 ff.
[3] Ursprung und Wesen, p. 372.

the view that the root *nand-* in general not only means "to rejoice", but also "to be refreshed, to be strengthened, especially by blessing or praising", and, besides, that this shade of meaning appears to be the original one.

RV. 1, 34, 4 *trir nāndyaṃ vahatam aśvinā yuvam* has been translated by Geldner[1] "dreimal bringt ihr Aśvin Freude mit" (Grassmann[2] too rendered by „Freude"), the following words *triḥ pṛkṣo asme ... pinvatam* he translated: „dreimal schwellt unsere Lebenskräfte an", which is quite correct; the verse 1, 34, 4c is repeated 5a, but instead of *nāndyam* the word *rayim* is used: *trir no rayiṃ v. a. y.* „dreimal bringet ihr A. Reichtum mit", in c we meet with *saubhagatvam* "condition of happiness" and *śravāṃsi* "fame and glory" in 6a with *divyāni bheṣajā* "divine remedies"; therefore, I prefer to translate *nāndyam* by "refreshment, strengthening, bliss (which causes joy)" which, in my opinion, is a little more on a par with the other notions. Compare also 1, 47, 6 *sudāse dasrā vasu bibhratā rathe pṛkṣo vahatam aśvinā / rayiṃ samudrād ... asme dhattam*; elsewhere (1, 92, 17; 157, 4) *ūrj-* "vigour, strength" is the object of the verb *vahatam*. — ṚV. 1, 145, 4 *nāndī-* seems to be almost synonymous with *ānanda-* (see below): *abhi śvāntam mṛśate nāndye mude* „sie berührt den schwellenden zur Lust, zur Freude"[3].

Ath. V. 4, 38 is used in a ceremony (Kauś. 41, 13) for luck in gambling by the aid of an apsaras who is called (vs. 1; 2) "all conquering, successfully-playing and winning." Stanza 4, *ānandinīṃ pramodinīm apsarāṃ tām iha huva*, may be translated "the rejoicing, the delighting apsaras I call on here", but, of course, she is rejoicing because she brings winnings and profit to the gambler.

I must admit, however, that these instances are not quite evident. Another stanza in the Atharvaveda is more convincing: 4, 15, 16, which forms part of a hymn for procuring rain: "let there be lightnings, let the wind blow, let them extend the sacrifice ..", *ānandinīr oṣadhayo bhavantu* "let the herbs become invigorated,

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[1] K. F. Geldner, Der Rigveda I (1923), p. 37.
[2] H. Grassmann, Rig-veda II, p. 443; cp. his Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda, 722 „Freude, Lust".
[3] Geldner, o.c., p. 184.

refreshed, blessed, let them share in bliss" (Whitney-Lanman[1]: "become full of delight"). 11, 7, 26 (= 8, 24), however, is not very convincing, nor is 10, 2, 9.

The verb *prati-nand-* means, in the Atharvaveda, "to accept, to receive the action of invigorating, the blessing", hence "to accept joyfully, to welcome with pleasure". 9, 1, 1 *tāṃ prajāḥ prati nandanti sarvāḥ* "all creatures accept, receive it (the 'honey-whip' of the Aśvins[2])" or "... rejoice to meet it ..." (Whitney-Lanman), but the notion of blessing is apparent from 2: "whence the granting honey-whip comes, thither breath and immortality have entered"; in 4 the honey-whip is called "navel of immortality ..., dripping with ghee"; the gods created it (5), it possesses two unexhausted breasts, that milk out refreshment (*ūrj-*) (7), it bestows vigour (*vayodhā-*) (8); in the following stanzas the author mentions rain (9), *varcas-* ("splendour") (11 ff.), progeny, (a long) life (15), *tejas-*, *bala-*, *ojas-* ("energy, strength, might"), etc. as, moreover, the mythic or realistic background of the 'honey-whip' may possibly be the honey (the heavenly water) that whips the clouds and produces rain, it is quite certain that the creatures, mentioned in the first stanza, receive blessings.—A. V. 3, 10 is addressed to Ekāṣṭakā, a lunar day near the beginning of the year, looked upon as its wife; she is implored to make the year prosperous. Now, 2d it reads *sā no astu sumaṅgalī* "let her be very auspicious to us"; 5d "may we be lords of wealths"; 7f "bring to us refreshment (*ūrj-*)", etc. Stanza 2 I *yāṃ devāḥ pratinandanti rātriṃ dhenum upāyatīm* has been rendered by Whitney-Lanman "the night which the gods rejoice to meet (as) a milch-cow coming unto (them)", but it is perfectly clear that they rejoice because they receive the blessings enumerated in the hymn, and so it seems reasonable to discount this idea in the translation. — AV. 7, 38 is used, according to Kauś. 36, 12, in a rite concerning women to win and fix the love of a man; stanza 1 it reads *parāyato nivartanam āyataḥ pratinandanam* "(this plant) a returner of one going away, a means to *prati-nand-* one coming". Although Whitney rather correctly rendered *pratinandanam* by "greeter", I should

[1] W. D. Whitney-Ch. R. Lanman, Atharva-Veda Saṁhitā (1905), p. 176.

[2] See A. A. Macdonell, Vedic Mythology (1897), p. 49; 54; M. Bloomfield, The Atharva-Veda and the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa, p. 90.

like to remind the reader of the connection of greeting and blessing in primitive culture; greeting is a religious act to which an appeasing influence is attached: now it intercepts a hostile power, now it confers a blessing, or gives proof of reverence [1]. The word *pratinand-* may therefore point at "the strengthening, the blessing which is present in the greeting and which annihilates evil power." We may compare also ŚBr. 12, 9, 3, 7, where *pratinandati* means "to greet" in the sense this conception had in those times: *asureṣu vā eṣo 'gre yajña āsīt sautrāmaṇī sa devān upaprait so 'pa āgacchat tam āpaḥ pratyanandaṃs tasmād u śreyāṃsam āgataṃ praty eva nandanti* ".... the waters welcomed him, whence people welcome a better man when he comes to them" (Eggeling).

Mahābhārata, 13, 45 ff. the author speaks in high terms of the man who gives away land: he is illustrious like the sun who presents a Veda-knowing brahman with a fertile allotment of land; as the products of the field grow, so his wishes will be fulfilled; all the gods *pratinandanti bhūmidam* (48) "bless him who gives away land." Cp. also Kālidāsa, Śak., 4, 3 +, where Kāśyapa *abhinandati* Śakuntalā with auspicious words: "to dismiss with blessings". 4, 4 the same text has: (Śakuntalā) *pratīṣṭanīvārahastābhiḥ svastivācanikābhis tāpasībhir abhinandyamānā* "who is being congratulated (blessed) by the female ascetics which are invoking blessing with grains of wild rice in their hands" (*anugṛhyamāṇā*, Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary).

The compounds *prati-nand-* and *abhi-nand-* are often accompanied by *āśirbhiḥ* "with wishes, benedictions, prayers". E.g.: Mbh. 1, 145, 16 *bhavantaḥ suhṛdo 'smākam asmān kṛtvā pradakṣiṇam / pratinandya tathāśīrbhir nivartadhvaṃ yathāgṛham*, in taking leave: "turn your right side (as a token of reverence) towards us, 'bid us farewell' with your benedictions and return, every one to his own home." Originally, the *pradakṣiṇa-* was not a profane token of respect, but a rite which was performed for the purpose

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[1] See G. A. Barton, in Hastings' Encycl. of Religion and Ethics 11, 107; Bächtold-Stäubli, in Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens 3, 1197; Thurnwald, in Ebert, Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte, 4, 572; Schrader-Nehring, Reallexikon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde 1, 412; G. van der Leeuw, Religion in essence and manifestation (1938), p. 44.

of furthering, prospering and purification [1]. The magical effect on objects repeatedly circumambulated is exemplified in the sacred tradition, but to go round a person in the opposite direction (i.e. anti-sunwise) is an evil incantation. In the same way vs. 18 *kṛtvā cāpi pradakṣiṇam / āśīrbhiś cābhinandya*; Yājñ. 1, 331 *ṛtvikpurohitācāryair āśīrbhir abhinanditaḥ* "... mit Segenswünschen begrüszt" (Stenzler); cf. also Kālid. Śak. 6, 29 + *svāgatenābhinandyate*; Bhāg. Pur. 9, 10, 45. Mbh. 11, 16, 32 princes are *abhinanditāḥ* by praising bards (praisers) who, as is well known, had to confirm and to consolidate their power [2]. Mbh. 12, 43, 17 Kṛṣṇa *abhyanandat* Yudhiṣṭhira (who had praised him) in return. Elsewhere *abhinandati* means "to congratulate": see, e.g., Kālidāsa, Śak. 3, 10 +; 5, 29 + the meaning shifts from "congratulating" to "being satisfied, rejoicing"; "if the child (which will be born) possesses signs indicative of royalty, you will *abhinandya* admit her (the mother) into your house".

Kālid. Ragh. 1, 57 is also a good instance: *tau gurur gurupatnī ca prītyā pratinanandatuḥ* "(the king and the queen touched the feet of Vaśiṣṭha and his wife, and they) the spiritual guide and his spouse blessed them with affection (in return)". According to Mallinātha *p.* means *āśīrvādādibhiḥ saṃbhāvayāṃ cakratuḥ*, which means "strengthened, honoured, saluted them with blessings" [3]. Kālid. Kum. 7, 87 *vadhūr vidhātrā pratinandyate sma kalyāṇi vīraprasavā bhaveti* (*āśiṣam uktvety arthaḥ*) has been correctly translated by Walter [4]: „Der Schöpfer aber gab der jungen Frau ... seinen Segen: Mögest du, o Schöne, einen Helden gebären!" Compare also Mbh. 13, 9, 22 *sa* (*brāhmaṇaḥ*) ... *yadā tuṣṭo vacasā pratinandati / bhavaty agadasaṃkāśo viṣaye tasya*; 15, 36, 45.

A curious text is Mān. dh. ś. 2, 54; 51 ff. the author prescribes that one must eat facing the east: then his meal will procure him long life, etc.; moreover, that people must always worship their food and eat it without contempt (54 I), a precept which is explained by the native commentators in various ways: "he has to

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[1] See W. Caland, Een Indogermaansch lustratiegebruik, Versl. en Med. Kon. Akad. v. Wet., Amsterdam 4, 2 (1898), p. 275 ff.; Tawney-Penser, The Ocean of Story I, p. 190 ff.
[2] See my treatise on the Indian drama, p. 421 ff.
[3] See my treatise The meaning of vedic *bhūṣati* (Wageningen, 1939), p. 23 ff.
[4] O. Walter, Der Kumārasambhava ... des Kālidāsa (München-Leipzig, 1913), p. 72.

consider it as a deity", "he has to meditate on its being required to sustain life", or "he has to praise it with ṚV. 1, 187, 1". From stanza 55 we learn that food which is always worshipped gives strength and manly vigour (*balam ūrjaṃ ca yacchati*). Now 54 II it reads *dṛṣṭvā* (viz. *annam*) *hṛṣyet prasīdec ca pratinandec ca sarvaśaḥ*. Here the word *pratinandet* is explained by Kullūka by *nityam asmākam etad astv ity abhidhāya vandanaṃ pratinandanam* "*p.* means 'praise' or worship uttering the words 'that we shall always have this' ". To corroborate his interpretation this commentator quotes from the Ādipurāṇa: *annaṃ dṛṣṭvā praṇamyādau prāñjaliḥ kathayet tataḥ / asmākaṃ nityam astv etad iti bhaktyā stuvan namet*. Although Bühler [1] has rendered the word by "pray that he may always obtain it", the meaning of the verb must be something like "to bestow blessings upon, to strengthen, to bring about the imperishableness of food, its everlasting existence and presence." According to other texts *annam* must be eaten '*akutsayan*' (Baudh. dh. ś. 2, 12, 7) "without reviling or blaming the food", *satkṛtyānnam akutsayan* (Yājñ. 1, 31, where *satkṛtya* = *saṃpūjya* according to the Mitākṣarā); the Vās. dh. ś., 3, 69, has *rocata iti sāyaṃprātar aśanāny abhipūjayet*. Viṣṇusmṛti 68 has *abhipūjyānnaṃ sumanās sragvy anuliptaḥ*. The verbs *pratinandati* and *abhipūjayati* therefore are almost synonyms. As to the double sense of *pratinandati* ("to accept blessings" in Vedic literature and "to bless, to greet" etc.) we may compare *pratipūjayati*: "honour, salute respectfully" and "accept with approbation, praise".

According to native authorities [2] the adjective *nandaka-* is not only identical with *harṣaka-* "delighting", but also with *kulapālaka-* "protecting the family" [3]. This meaning must be associated with the well-known sense of the word *nandana-* "son." The usual explanation of this word is „den als Vater —, die als Mutter erfreuend" [4], but we have to penetrate into the views of primitive man in order to elucidate the original sense of this gladdening. Man wishes for a son to keep up the race, he wishes for life which surpasses himself and his own age, which is more powerful than he is himself. The life of the son continues the life of the father, the

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[1] G. Bühler, The Laws of Manu, SBE. 25 (1886), p. 40.
[2] See Petersb. Dict. IV, 29.
[3] The point of exclamation put after this word by Boehtlingk and Roth is superfluous.
[4] Petersb. Dict. IV, 30.

life of the whole family. The son, too, brings the offerings to the ancestors, to his father, when he will be dead and thus prolongs their life in the realm of the deceased. The son, therefore, brings salvation. He is not only the hope and the continuation of the living, but also the consolidation of the dead. The potency of the family and the tribe is preserved by a son [1]. "How beautiful is it to see, how blissful to regard and view Horus when he gives life to his father, when he imparts strength to Osiris" [2]. Every good son, indeed, imparts salvation to his family and invigorates it. Cp. also Manu, 9, 109 *jyeṣṭhaḥ kulaṃ vardhayati vināśayati vā punaḥ* "the eldest son makes the family prosperous or brings it to ruin". And this idea is, in my opinion, exactly expressed by the well-known expression *kulanandana-* [3]. *nandana-* has become a word for "son" on the basis of this belief, which is 'primitive', but also peculiar to man in general. The same sense has to be attributed to *nandana-* as an attribute for the gods Viṣṇu and Śiva. Another word expressing the same notion, is *nandikara-* [4]: Mbh. 5, 50, 33 *mādrīnandikara-* "son of Mādrī"; 2, 18, 12a son (*suta-*) is called *mātāpitror nandikaraḥ.* In the Uttararāmacarita (3, 14) Rāma says: *prasāda iva mūrtis te* (= *Sītāyāḥ*) *sparśaḥ* ... *adyāpi ānandayati māṃ tvaṃ punaḥ kvāsi nandini* ("ton contact ... me comble de félicité ... mais toi, où es-tu, ô source de joie?" Stchoupak). Another meaning of *nandi-*, which may also easily be explained from the starting-point I assumed, is *vṛddhi-* "thriving, prosperity" [5]. At times, *nāndī-* has the same sense: *nāndī samṛddhir iti kathyate* (Brahma Pur.) [6].

According to the lexicographers *nandaka-* and *nandana-* also mean "frog". As frogs awaken rains and as they are considered to have magical powers (see e.g. ṚV. 7, 103 [7]), here, too, the notion

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[1] Compare also G. van der Leeuw, Religion, ch. 12.

[2] K. Sethe, Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte, Leipzig, 1908-1922, no. 1980, quoted by van der Leeuw, o.c., p. 106.

[3] Cp. e.g. Kāl. Śak. 7, 28 + *ubhayakulanandano bhavatu*; Bhav., Uttarar., 7, 13 *vaṃśanandinī.* Compare also *kuruvardhana-* and *kurunan-dana-* in Mbh. 1, 42 etc., Lat. *augeri liberis*; *filiolo auctus* etc.

[4] As to *nandi-* see also Ursprung und Wesen, p. 371.

[5] See Petersb. Dict. IV, 32, s.v. 5.

[6] See Petersb. Dict. IV, 106, s.v. In Dutch *in iets groeien* (*cf.* "to grow") means "revel in ...", cf. Eng. *to thrive on other people's misfortunes.*

[7] See my paper on the Secular, humorous and satirical hymns of the Ṛgveda, which has appeared in Orientalia Neerlandica, Leyden 1948, p. 312 ff.

of invigorating etc. may have been the starting-point. Pitchers gave water too, they refresh the soil and cause the plants to grow: *nandā-* and *nandikā-*, therefore, are proper denominations.

Let us finally consider the word *ānanda-* which is translated in the dictionaries by "Lust, Wonne, Wollust; joy, pleasure, bliss" [1]. Now "joy" and "pleasure" are, in my view, not the original shades of meaning. Deussen [2], who has dedicated to this word which is often to be found in the Upaniṣads, a detailed discussion, admits as it original meaning "sexual pleasure" [3]. But, although this meaning is met with in the texts, I do not know arguments for its being original. In the Ṛgveda the word occurs twice: 9, 113, 6 and 11. The second part of this 'hymn' is a 'prayer' to soma, the divine juice pressed out by men, to impart immortality in heaven (8), to bring the man who speaks to that world where is unextinguishable light, to the world that is immortal and imperishable (7), where reside bliss, delight and gladness, where every wish is fulfilled: *yatrānandāś ca modāś ca mudaḥ pramuda āsate / kāmasya yatrāptāḥ kāmās tatra mām amṛtaṃ kṛdhi*, "make me immortal there." Stanza 6 it reads ... *somenānandaṃ janayan* "producing, by means of soma, *ānanda-* "bliss"." Bliss, the ultimate endowment with power, is, as is well-known, often sought in heaven. 'Bliss' resides with a man who is perfectly happy and possesses all things he has wished for. BĀrUp. 4, 3, 33 *sa yo manuṣyāṇaṃ rāddhaḥ samṛddho bhavati, anyeṣām adhipatiḥ, sarvair mānuṣyakair bhogaiḥ sampannatamaḥ, sa manuṣyāṇām parama ānandaḥ* "he who among men is 'accomplished' (successful, happy), prosperous, a sovereign lord of others and who has the fullness of all human enjoyments—such is the highest bliss of men." In the same Upaniṣad (4, 3, 9) *ānanda-* is a contrast of *pāpman-*, which means the evil from which the man who knows is delivered [4]. Taitt. Up. 2, 8 describes the man who possesses *ānanda-* in the following way: "let there be a youth who is 'accomplished' (*sādhu-* "walks over the way which leads to the correct aim"), who has studied the Vedas, who is very 'quick' (active), very firm, very strong, let for him the

[1] As to *ānandin-* in the Atharvaveda see above.
[2] P. Deussen, Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie I, 2[4] (1920), p. 127 ff.
[3] Deussen, o.c., p. 130; 131.
[4] See S. Rodhe, Deliver us from evil (Lund-Copenhagen, 1946), p. 34.

whole world be full of wealth—this (bliss which he enjoys) is one bliss of man." This bliss however, the text explains, is only one-hundreth part of the bliss acquired by the man who has attained the state of a Gandharva etc. etc. The highest bliss is the bliss of Brahman (cp. also BĀrUp. 4, 3, 33). Elsewhere (1, 6, 2) the same text has *ākāśaśarīraṃ brahma, satyātma prāṇārāmaṃ mana-ānandam* "Brahma, of which the body is space, of which reality is the essence, of which life is the pleasure-garden, of which the mind is bliss". BĀrUp. 3, 9, 28 *brahma* and *ānanda-* are identified [1]: *vijñānam ānandaṃ brahma* "brahma is wisdom, bliss", ... *pa-rāyaṇam* ... *tadvidaḥ* "final aim of him who knows it". [2] KauṣBr. Up. 3, 8 the *prāṇa-* of which the essence is *brahma*, is *ānanda-*, undecaying, immortal. Bliss is the son who is born to a man, like himself after he has had a desire for a woman (BĀrUp. 4, 1, 6), 'bliss' is 'die Freude der Freuden', sexual pleasure (id. 2, 4, 4 [3]) [4]. The gods are *ānandātmānaḥ* (ŚBr. 10, 3, 5, 13); a prince, a great king or a great brahman rest enjoying excessive *ānanda-* "prosperity, felicity". (BĀrUp. 2, 1, 19); hence *ānanda-* also expresses our "happiness": Rām. 1, 1, 17 *kausalyānandavardhanaḥ* (viz. Rāmaḥ), etc. "The path of 'devotion' is easy, because it fills the miṇd of the devote with peace and high ecstasy", the author of the Nārada-Bhaktisūtra, 60 says (*śāntirūpāt paramānandarūpāc ca*). So *ānanda-* originally meant the state of being *nandita-*, as *to bless* is "to make *blithe,* to bestow *bliss.*"

A plausible Indo-European etymology of this Skt. root has not been found. Burrow's suggestion [5] (identity with Tamil *nantu* "to prosper, flourish, be luxuriant, to be proud, glow with pride or splendour") is worth considering and fits in with my above remarks.

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[1] See also Taitt. Upan. ch. 2 and 3, 6, 1. Cp. also the Vedāntasiddhāntamuktāvalī 78; 80; 84; 147; Brahma is *ānanda-*, the good per se, an ocean of goodness, the realization of which fulfils all desires, etc.

[2] In more recent texts *ānanda-* is also an epithet of Viṣṇu (e.g. Mbh. 13, 149, 69).

[3] Compare BārUp. 4, 3, 21.

[4] Cp. also ŚBr. 6, 2, 2, 6 *tasya (prajāpateḥ) atyānandena retaḥ parāpatat.*

[5] T. Burrow, Loanwords in Sanskrit, Transactions of the Philological Society 1946, p. 9.

Purohita

Unsere Überlieferung läßt bekanntlich den vom altindischen König ernannten und in seinem Dienst stehenden Purohita als den eigentlichen Träger dieses Titels hervortreten [1]. Der König seinerseits sah sich nach den Berichten unserer Quellen nahezu gezwungen, einen solchen Funktionär zu ernennen, denn „die Götter essen nicht die Speise eines Fürsten, der keinen Purohita hat" (AitBr. 8, 24, 2). König und „Hauspriester" gehören zusammen. Sie sind, zum Heil des Reiches, eine Art Zweieinheit (Mbh. 12, 73, 1 ff.). Ein König, der die Erde zu beherrschen und den Himmel zu gewinnen hofft, soll immer einen Purohita haben (Mbh. 3, 26, 11 ff.). Das Verhältnis zwischen ihnen wird sogar als eine Ehe betrachtet: vgl. AitBr. 8, 27, 4, wo die bekannten Hochzeitssprüche bei der Ernennung eines Purohita vorgeschrieben werden, in welchen die Zusammengehörigkeit beider Personen ausgesprochen wird [2]. Der Purohita ist die halbe Person des Fürsten (AitBr. 7, 26, 4) oder dessen Komplement. Diese Zusammengehörigkeit zeigt sich nicht nur aus den in der Erzählungsliteratur überlieferten Szenen des Alltagslebens (vgl. dazu auch Mbh. 1, 70, 35), sondern auch aus solchen Vorschriften wie Kauṭilya, Aś. 1, 9 (5): „Er (d. h. der König) soll ihm (dem P.) folgen wie dem Lehrer der Schüler, dem Vater der Sohn, der Diener dem Herrn", oder aus VāsDhŚ. 19, 40 f. und Mbh.

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1) Vergleiche im Allgemeinen: H. OLDENBERG, Die Religion des Veda[4], S. 375 ff.; R. PISCHEL und K. F. GELDNER, Vedische Studien II (1897), S. 143 ff., P. V. KANE, History of Dharmaśāstra II, 1 (Poona 1941), S. 39 ff., S. 363 f.; A. A. MACDONELL - A. B. KEITH, Vedic Index of Names and Subjects II, S. 5 ff.; R. FICK, Die sociale Gliederung im nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zeit (Kiel 1897), Index S. 230, s. v. (ältere Literatur: S. 107, Fn. 1); E. W. HOPKINS, The social and military position of the ruling caste in ancient India, as represented by the Sanskrit Epic, JAOS. XIII, S. 151 ff.; JAGDISH CHANDRA JAIN, Life in ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canon (Bombay 1947), S. 58; D. R. PATIL, Cultural history from the Vāyu Purāṇa (Poona 1946), Register, s. v.

2) Vgl. auch A. B. KEITH, Rigveda Brahmanas (Harvard 1920), S. 341, n. 1.

12, 36, 17 nach welchen Texten ein König, der einem Missetäter die Strafe nachsieht und ihn freiläßt, einen Tag fasten soll, sein Purohita aber drei Tage. Er war somit der eigentlich Hauptverantwortliche. Eine der zur Königssalbung gehörigen Formeln lautet: „Gemeinsam sei uns, was wir Gutes, gemeinsam, was wir Übles tun" (Kauś. 17, 6). Von dem Hauspriester sollen die obersten Anordnungen für alle königlichen Kulthandlungen ausgehen; Götter und Könige der Vorzeit baten ihre Purohitas eben um Belehrung über neue Opferhandlungen, um damit den Sieg über Dämonen und Unglück zu gewinnen. In gewissen religiösen Riten sollen der König und der Purohita zusammen die Götter verehren (PBr. 19, 17, 4) oder sie werden zusammen gebadet und in neuen Kleidern gekleidet werden, sich zusammen asketischer Begehung hingeben, zusammen fasten und opfern (Kauś. 140; AthVPar. 19). Unter Umständen kann der Fürst ein Teil seiner richterlichen Gewalt dem Hofprälat übergeben [3]). In anderen Quellen wird gelehrt [4]), daß unter Umständen die Ahnen dieses Funktionärs die Stelle der Vorfahren des Opferherrn einnehmen könnten. Wenn die öffentliche Meinung gegen die Weisheit und Tugenden des Fürsten und des Hauspriesters etwas sagen kann, soll kein Opfer stattfinden (Dīgha Nikāya 5, 10 ff.; I, S. 136 ff. Rh. D.-C.).

Worauf beruht nun diese oft betonte Zusammengehörigkeit (oder mitunter sogar Unzertrennlichkeit) dieser Funktionäre? Man hat den Priester „something like an Archbishop and also a counsellor of the king" genannt [5]). Aber eine priesterliche Hierarchie und eine Zweieinheit Kirche und Staat waren doch dem alten Indier ganz fremd. Hatte seine hochwichtige Priesterfunktion, der von ihm seinem Herrn erteilte Unterricht und seine politische Bedeutung ihn zum alterego des Fürsten gemacht [6]) oder auch seine Stelle als dessen „spiritual adviser"? [7]) Wie hat man ihn „the active Providence ruling the kingdom als well as the king" nennen können? [8])

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3) Vgl. dazu W. GAMPERT, Die Sühnezeremonien in der altindischen Rechtsliteratur (Prag 1939), S. 215; 220.

4) Ich verweise auf A. WEBER, Indische Studien, X, S. 79; vgl. AitBr. 7,25; Āśv. ŚrS. 1, 3, 3; 12, 15, 4.

5) V. M. APTE, in R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker, The History and Culture of the Indian People, I (London 1951), S. 431.

6) Vgl. A. B. KEITH, in „The Cambridge History of India" I, S. 96 ff.

7) F. W. THOMAS, ebenda, S. 484.

8) U. N. GHOSHAL, History of Hindu political Theory (1923), S. 50.

Die Wichtigkeit seiner Würde, seine intimen Beziehungen zur Person des Königs [9]) scheinen mir zusammenzuhängen mit der sehr wesentlichen Seite seines Wesens, welche durch seinen Titel selbst wird ausgedrückt.

Die buchstäbliche Bedeutung des Wortes p u r o h i t a - ist ganz klar. Er ist der „Vorangestellte" [10]). Und OLDENBERG [11]) hatte gewiß recht, als er in ṚV. 4, 50, 8 einen deutlichen Hinblick auf diesen Funktionär sah: „Der König wohnt behaglich in eigenem Heim, dem schwellt immerdar Nahrungsfülle an, vor ihm beugen sich von selbst die Untertanen, bei dem der brahman vorangeht". Ich möchte dieser Übersetzung des p ū' r v a é t i im Texte den Vorzug geben vor Geldner's [12]): „den Vortritt hat". Wir besitzen indessen eine kurze Bemerkung in demselben Buche des letztgenannten Gelehrten über die ursprüngliche, nicht spezialisierte Bedeutung des Wortes und insbesondere des damit zusammenhängenden Verbs p u r ó - d h ā - [13]): „Dieses ist ganz das spätere p u r a s - k ṛ - und bedeutet: a) an die Spitze stellen, zum Führer bestellen bei irgend einem Unternehmen . . .; b) den Agni als Priester oder Boten an die Spitze stellen, bestellen, beauftragen, bevollmächtigen (dazu p u r ó - h i t a ḥ in der Bedeutung „Bevollmächtigter, bestellter Vormund, Anwalt", z. B. ṚV. 1, 1, 1); c; bei der Verehrung den Vorrang lassen; d) überhaupt 'bevorzugen'; e) zum Purohita bestellen". Und anderswo [14]) erklärte derselbe Gelehrte den Terminus gleichfalls ausdrücklich als „der Bevollmächtigte".

Es will mir aber scheinen, daß sich über die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des uns beschäftigenden Namens und damit über das Wesen der Funktion seines Trägers mehr sagen läßt [15]).

Verweilen wir zunächst bei einigen Stellen im Atharvaveda, wo der erste Bestandteil des Wortes p u r o h i t a -, p u r a s (oder p u r a s t ā t) begegnet. Wenn wir z. B. AV. 6, 40, 3 lesen,

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9) OLDENBERG, a. a. O., S. 377.

10) Diese Bedeutung war selbstverständlich auch dem Autor des JaimBr. klar: I, 286 f. (§ 101 CALAND).

11) OLDENBERG, a. a. O., S. 377.

12) K. F. GELDNER, Der Rigveda übersetzt I (1951), S. 481.

13) GELDNER, ebenda, S. 1.

14) GELDNER, Der Rigveda in Auswahl, I (1907), S. 91; 112.

15) Merkwürdigerweise wird die Bedeutung des Titels in mehreren Büchern (e. g. KEITH und THOMAS im Cambridge History; MACDONELL - KEITH; KANE; L. RENOU, L'Inde classique I (Paris 1947, S. 375) nicht berücksichtigt.

daß der Dichter um Sicherheit unten und oben, hinten und vorn fragt, können wir zwar zweifeln, ob, wie der Kommentator glaubt, die südliche, nördliche, westliche und östliche Richtung gemeint sei — 12, 3, 24 ist diese Interpretation natürlich notwendig —; die Bedeutung aber des Verses ist ganz klar und im Einklang mit den begleitenden Riten (Kauś. 59, 26). Nun kommt dieselbe Bitte um Schutz und Sicherheit in vielen anderen Texten vor, aber nicht selten in dieser Weise, daß die Vorderseite entweder eine spezielle Stellung einnimmt oder allein, ohne die anderen Richtungen, erwähnt wird [16]). Vgl. z. B. 7, 5, 1 wo Bṛhaspati gebeten wird, in drei anderen Richtungen zu schützen, Indra um Sicherheit von vorn (im Osten) gefleht wird [17]).

Es ist nicht zu bezweifeln, daß Agni, der Rakṣastöter (8, 3, 1), der Schützer gegen Übel und Dämonen, der die Zauberer mit seiner Flamme sengt (vgl. 8, 3, 2) und böse Geister abwehrt, immer wieder gebeten wurde, durch Verbrennung dieser Feinde mit seinen Gluten die Menschen an verschiedenen Seiten und besonders von vorn in Schutz zu nehmen. In AV. 5, 29, 1, ein Sūkta zur Vernichtung der Dämonen, soll Agni, der Arzt, von vorn angespannt sein (p u r á s t ā d y u k t á ḥ): cf. also HirGS. 1, 2, 18. 1, 7, 5 ist deutlicher: t v á y ā s á r v e p á r i - t a p t ā ḥ p u r á s t ā t t á ā' y a n t u „alle Zauber sollen, von dir (Agni) von vorn verbrannt, hierher kommen". In 8, 3, 18 wird derselbe Gott gebeten, die Zauberer zu töten, in den nächsten Versen (19; 20; ṚV. 10, 87, 20 f.) die Personen, in deren Namen der Dichter spricht, zu schirmen: wiederum hinten, vorn, oben, unten, d. h. die Missetäter überall zu verbrennen. Vgl. dazu 4, 40 (Kauś. 2, 11); TB. 3, 11, 5; ĀpŚS. 6, 18, 3. In dem Leichenverbrennungstext AV. 18, 4 wird das östliche Feuer gebeten, den Toten von vorn, die zwei anderen Feuer ihn an anderen Seiten zu verbrennen (und damit zu schützen); Agni soll ihn von verschiedenen Himmelsgegenden gegen Schreckliches beschützen (18, 4, 9 d i ś ó d i ś o a g n e p á r i p ā h i g h o r ā' t ; vgl. 11). Im Ṛgveda, 3, 27, 7 wird gesagt, daß Agni,

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16) Ein Pendant ist die Rudra erwiesene Ehrenbezeugung, „von vorne, oben und unten": AV. 11, 2, 4. Das abstrakte ü b e r a l l ist in diesen Texten selbstverständlich oft in seine ‚Komponenten' auseinandergelegt; vgl. z. B. auch AV. 11, 6, 18; 12, 32 (55); 19, 15, 3; 5. Vgl. auch ṚV. 2, 41, 11 und 12.

17) Die östliche Richtung, gleichfalls mit p u r u s t ā t usw. bezeichnet, hat eine besondere Bedeutung, weil sie die Gegend der Götter ist (insbesondere des Agni). Außerdem „geht die Sonne im Osten auf, die Unsichtbaren tötend" (ṚV. 1, 191, 8). Die Göttin Uṣas, im Osten der Finsternis entsteigend, bereitet den Menschen den Weg (4, 51, 1).

der unsterbliche Gott, als Hotar mit māyā vorangeht: vgl. auch AiBr. 1, 30, 8 f., wo der vorangehende Agni Soma gegen die Angriffe der dämonischen Mächte verteidigt, und vermutlich auch ṚV. 4, 15, 4. ṚV. 1, 73, 3 wird das Epitheton p u r a ḥ s a d - von GELDNER in glücklicher Weise mit „Wacht haltend" übersetzt.

Neben dem dämonenvernichtenden Feuergott wird auch Indra gefleht, die Menschen unten und oben, hinten und vorn von Feinden zu befreien: AV. 8, 5, 17. Vgl. auch ṚV. 6, 19, 9 und besonders 8, 61, 15 f. „Indra . . . ist unser vorzüglichster Schützer in der Ferne (p a r a s p ā ḥ); er schütze uns hinten und vorn; schütze uns hinten, unten, oben, vorn usw. Halte fern von uns die Gefahr von seiten der Götter usw." ṚV. 2, 41, 11: „Wenn sich Indra unser erbarmen sollte, dann erreicht uns von hinten kein Übel, von vorn wird uns Glück zuteil". Aber AV. 19, 16, 2 sind es Indra und Agni, die Götter der östlichen Himmelsgegenden, von welchen der Mensch Sicherheit „von vorn" (p u r a s t ā t) erwartet; anderen Göttern liegt die Sorge um Schutz in anderen Gegenden ob („die Ādityas sollen mich vom Firmament her beschützen"). Nach dem Kommentar fand dieser Text Verwendung in einer vom Purohita zu begehenden Zeremonie.

ṚV. 10, 36, 14 ist es der Sonnengott Savitar, der, hinten, vorn, oben, unten, den Betenden Vollkommenheit (s a r v a t ā - t i m) und ein langes Leben gönnen soll. Aber AV. 6, 52, 1, hören wir, daß die Sonne (s ū r y a -), wenn sie „von vorne" (p u - r a ḥ), aufgeht, die Dämonen verbrennt: vgl. 5, 23, 6. Beachtenswert ist auch ṚV. 10, 42, 11. Bṛhaspati soll uns von hinten und von oben, von unten vor demjenigen schützen, der Böses im Schilde führt. Indra soll uns von vorn und in der Mitte (m a d h y a t a ḥ) als Freund den Freunden Lebensraum (und gute Umstände) [18]) schaffen. ṚV. 7, 72, 5 werden die Aśvins angeredet: „Kommet von West, von Ost, von Süd und von Nord, von allen Seiten mit dem Reichtum der fünf Völker! Behütet ihr uns immer mit eurem Segen!" Das Sūkta 8, 48, das besonders die heilsame Wirkung des Soma hervorhebt, endet mit der Bitte (V. 15): „Sei du, o Soma, uns von allen Seiten ein Kraftverleiher; . . . schütze du uns in Verein mit deinen helfenden Mächten (ū t i -) von hinten oder auch von vorn!" RV. 8, 28, 3 wird ganz einfach festgestellt, daß die Götter im allge-

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18) Für v a r i v a ḥ und andere Wörter der Gruppe u r u - „breit" usw. vgl. mein ‚Aspects of early Viṣṇuism', Utrecht 1954, S. 61 ff.; 68 ff.

meinen im Westen, Norden, dort unten (südlich) und ostwärts die Hüter der Menschen sind. Aber ṚV. 1, 41, 3 zerstreuen die Könige, d. h. Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, die Fährlichkeiten und Anfeindungen vor (p u r a ḥ) den Sterblichen, die ihnen opfern (Sāyaṇa).

So kann der Mann, der auf seiner Hut ist, sagen, daß er seine Nachsteller[19]) „von vorne" kennt: AV. 9, 56, 6. Und so kann ein Dichter behaupten, daß seine Gebete vorangehen wie ein Hirt in eigener Person (vor seiner Herde): ṚV. 10, 142, 2.

Ein interessanter Brauch gehört zu den zeremoniellen Handlungen des Agniṣṭoma. Wenn der Soma auf den Karren gelegt ist, wird vorne (am Karren: p u r a s t ā t) mit einem an Sūrya gerichteten Verse (TS. 1, 2, 8 g) ein schwarzes Antilopenfell — bekanntlich ein wichtiger Machtträger[20]) — mit dem Nackenteile nach oben und der Fleischseite nach außen gebunden. Mit diesem Felle wird die vordere Öffnung des Karrens zugedeckt. Die Handlung bezweckt — beachte auch den an die Sonne gerichteten Vers! — die unheilbringenden Mächte zu vertreiben (vgl. z. B. ĀpŚrS. 10, 27, 10)[21]).

Ich schließe diesen Überblick mit der Bemerkung, daß auch andere Wörter für „vor" in ähnlichen Zusammenhängen vorkommen: ṚV. 1, 24, 4 „vor Tadel geschützt": ś a ś a m ā n á ḥ p u r ā' n i d á ḥ ; 10, 39, 6 (an die Aśvin) „Bewahret mich vor diesem Makel" (t á s y ā a b h í ś a s t e r á v a s p ṛ t a m); 8, 44, 30 „In Sicherheit vor Mißerfolgen . . ., o Agni, verlängere unser Leben" (p u r ā' g n e d u r i t é b h y a ḥ . . .); 4, 3, 1. Vgl. auch: ŚB. 3, 9, 1, 12 der Brahmane hat am meisten Macht in Bezug auf Tiere, denn sie werden von ihm „vorangestellt": p u r ā h i t ā h y a s y a b h a v a n t i. Das kann bedeuten: „sie schützen ihn", nicht „they are protected by him" (EGGELING).

Wenn nun mehrere Texte, auf welche wir nun hinweisen werden, ausdrücklich erwähnen, daß Indra, Pūṣan, Bhaga, Bṛhaspati schützend vorangehen sollen, so darf man annehmen, daß sie nach den Ansichten der Dichter an dieser wichtigen Stelle durch ihre persönliche Anwesenheit eine schützende

19) Vgl. den Kommentar.

20) Der Kürze halber sei auf OLDENBERG, Die Religion des Veda, S. 398 Fn. 3 (usw.); M. WINTERNITZ, General Index Sacred Books of the East (vol. L), S. 54 verwiesen.

21) Vgl. auch W. CALAND, Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba II (1924), S. 183.

Wirkung ausüben sollten. AV. 1, 21, 1 (= ṚV. 10, 152, 2), eine Strophe, welche zu einer Gruppe von feindevernichtenden und sicherheitverleihenden Texten gerechnet wird[22]), wendet sich in folgender Weise an Indra: „Der heilspendende (s v a s t i d ā) Herr des Volkes, der Vṛtratöter . . . der Bulle Indra soll uns vorhangehen (p u r á e t u n a ḥ) . . . der Sicherheit schafft (a b h a y a ṃ k a r a h". Daß wir das Vorangehen nicht buchstäblich aufzufassen brauchen, geht z. B. aus AV. 3, 15, 1 hervor: in diesem Gebet um kaufmännischen Erfolg (cf. Kauś. 50, 12; 59, 6) wird Indra gebeten, zu kommen und voranzugehen (s á n a é t u p u r a e t ā' n o a s t u ; die Übersetzungen „Führer, Wegweiser", welche im Pet. Wtb. gegeben werden, könnten uns irreführen); „den Feind (die Mißgunst) vertreibend, . . . soll er mir Reichtümer schenken". Vgl. auch ṚV. 6, 21, 12; 47, 7; 8, 17, 9. In dem Hochzeitstext 14, 1 ist es Bhaga, der Stifter des Ehebündnisses, der sich zurechtfindend (den Weg kennend) oder einen Ausweg erdenkend vorangehen soll (V. 59): b h á g o r ā' j ā p u r á e t u p r a j ā n á n ; im Anfang dieser Strophe, die nach Kauś. 76, 32 bei der Abreise der Braut vom Elternhaus rezitiert werden soll, wird gebeten, die dämonische Macht zu erschlagen. Derselbe Gott des Glückes wird im Morgenlied AV. 3, 16 (= ṚV. 7, 41 usw.)[23]) angerufen, damit die Beter glücklich (b h a g a v a n t a ḥ) seien und er selbst ihnen vorangehen soll (p u r a e t ā' b h a v e h á)[24]). D. h. der Gott soll vorangehen und durch seine Anwesenheit das Unglück vertreiben. In einem anderen Text, AV. 7, 9, 2 (= ṚV. 10, 17, 5) liegt diese Aufgabe Pūṣan[25]) ob, dem Gott, der die Wege kennt und zeigt, der vor Verirren und Verlorengehen bewahrt und Verlorenes wiederfindet, der Geleitsmann auf Reisen, der den Menschen Gedeihen und reichliche Nahrung (p u ṣ ṭ i -) gewährt: „Pūṣan ist mit all diesen Gegenden bekannt; er soll uns führen auf dem sichersten Weg; heilverleihend . . . soll er vorangehen, aufmerksam und einen Ausweg erdenkend"[26]). ṚV. 10, 17, 4 I (= AV. 18, 2, 55 I): „Āyus soll dich lebenslänglich

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22) Ich verweise auf W. D. WHITNEY, CH. R. LANMAN, Atharvaveda Saṃhitā (1905), S. 22 und K. F. GELDNER, Der Rigveda übersetzt III (1951), S. 383.

23) Vgl. WHITNEY - LANMAN, o. c., S. 113.

24) GELDNER'S Übersetzung (o. c., II, S. 223) „Anführer" ist m. E. weniger glücklich.

25) Vgl. S. D. ATKINS, Pūṣan in the Rigveda (Princeton 1941), S. 86, J. GONDA, Aspects of early Viṣṇuism (Utrecht 1954), S. 110 f.

26) Vgl. auch GELDNER, o. c., III, S. 150.

schützen, Pūṣan soll dich auf der weiten Reise von vorne" behüten (pātu prápathe purástāt)"; vgl. AV. 18, 3, 49. Vgl. ṚV. 1, 42, 1. AV. 19, 13, 9 (= ṚV. 10, 103, 8) äußert den Gedanken, daß Indra als Führer (n e t ā) auftreten, und Bṛhaspati, die Dakṣiṇā, das Opfer und Soma vorangehen (p u r á e t u) sollen. Dieser Sūkta ist ein Schlachtlied, rezitiert im Hinblick auf Erfolg im Krieg, und dieselben Gottheiten werden 1, 18, 5 angerufen, um den Sterblichen vor Not zu schützen.

Diese Strophe führt uns zu AV. 7, 8, 1, wo Bṛhaspati als puraetṛ- betrachtet und die Bitte ausgesprochen wird, daß dieser Mann — der nach Kauś. 42, 1 ein Reisender sein soll — fern von Feinden auf der Erde leben soll. Es verdient Beachtung, daß Bṛhaspati der Purohita der Götter war. Andrerseits wird die Kriegstrommel, der der Text AV. 5, 20 gewidmet ist, ein puraetṛ- genannt: V. 12: „das Unerschütterliche erschütternd, unbesiegbar, von Indra geschützt, das Herz der Feinde in Glut setzend". Zweifelsohne wurde die Trommel in der Frontlinie, vor den Kämpfern, aufgestellt oder mitgeführt, „Benachteiliger (Feinde) überwindend, vorangehend". Sie war bekanntlich ein magisch wichtiges und kräftiges Instrument[27]). In dieser Hinsicht kann sie einem Amulett gleichgestellt werden, das AV. 10, 3, 2 tatsächlich ein puraetṛ- genannt wird. Dieses Amulett ist ein varaṇa-, d. h. „ein Abwehrmittel" oder „Schutzwall". Es wird angebunden (Kauś. 19, 22), für einen puraetā' purástāt (der von vorn vorangeht) gehalten, und gebeten, die Feinde zu vernichten. Der Autor fügt hinzu, daß die Götter mit diesem varaṇa- die feindlichen Praktiken der Asuras abwehrten. — Agni als puraetṛ-: ṚV. 1, 76, 2: er ist ja unverletzlich (adabdhaḥ: rākṣasādibhir ahiṃsyaḥ); vgl. 3, 11, 5. Dem Worte puraetṛ- mag auch an anderen Stellen, wo wir eher zu der Übersetzung „Führer" greifen wollen, die Bedeutung des schützenden Vorgängers anhaften, also etwa „Hirt" bedeuten: z. B. ṚV. 7, 33, 6 wo dieser Titel dem meisterlichen Priester Vasiṣṭha beigelegt wird (: purohitaḥ Sāyaṇa!). Darf man ṚV. 1, 129, 9 „Komm, Indra . . . geh voran auf dem Wege, der frei von Fehlern und frei von Unholden ist (d. h. durch Ihre Gegenwart frei davon wird)", auch in dieser Weise interpretieren? (Sāyaṇa: yajñagamanamārgasya stuticoditatvād anehastvam, yad vā naḥ asmākam uddiśya yāhi).

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27) Ich verweise auf M. BLOOMFIELD, The Atharvaveda and the Gopathabrāhmaṇa (1899), S. 75; V. HENRY, La magie dans L'Inde antique (1904), S. 155.

Neben p u r a e t ṛ - finden wir auch p u r o g ā - Ṛ V. 1, 188, 11; 10, 110, 11. AV. 5, 12, 11 wird Agni ein p u r o g ā' .... d e - v ā' n ā m genannt: es will mir scheinen, daß die Übersetzungen „Anführer" (GELDNER) und „foremost" (WHITNEY-LANMAN) die Bedeutung des Wortes nicht richtig ausdrücken.

Wir begegnen nun aber auch dem Verb p u r o d h ā - „voranstellen". In AV. 5, 30, das in eine Zeremonie zur Verlängerung des Lebens verwendet wurde (Kauś. 58, 3; 11), sagt ein Dichter, daß er den Agni, der sich auf Befreiung versteht, voranstelle, damit sein Klient unverletzt bleibe (V. 12 u t p ā' r a - n a s y a y ó v é d a t á m a g n i ṃ p u r ó d a d h e 's m ā' a r i ṣ - ṭ á t ā t a y e). AV. 4, 27, 2 werden die Maruts „vorangestellt", damit sie die Leute, im Auftrage derer der Dichter spricht, von Not befreien. Auch AV. 4, 7, 7 (= 5, 6, 2) ist die Rede vom Voranstellen einer mächtigen Wesenheit um Unversehrtheit zu bewirken; 19, 4, 2 wird die himmlische, glückliche Absicht (ā k ū - t i -) vorangestellt. Beide Verse sind schwer verständlich. Vgl. auch 5, 7, 2. In einem anderen Atharvantext, 5, 8, 5, ist es eine brahman genannte Person, daß heißt wohl ein Beschwörer, den die Widersacher vorangestellt haben, um Mißerfolg herbeizuführen (p u r o d a d h i r é . . . á p a b h ū t a y e).

Das Wort p u r o d h ā - begegnet auch als Substantiv: AV. 5, 24, 1—17 werden Savitar, Agni, Himmel und Erde, Varuṇa und viele andere Götter angerufen[28]), und jede Invokation wird von der gleichen Bitte gefolgt: er soll mir beistehen in dieser mächtigen Äußerung höherer Kraft, in diesem Ritus, in dieser p u r o d h ā - , d. h. meiner Ansicht nach: „Voranstellung, Vorausschickung einer Macht zur Schutz, in diesem Fundament[29]), in diesem Gedanken, in dieser Absicht, in diesem Gebet, in dieser Anrufung der Götter" (a s m í n b r á h m a ṇ y a s m í n k á r m a ṇ y a s y ā' ṃ p u r o d h ā' y ā m a s y ā' ṃ p r a t i ṣ ṭ h ā' - y ā m a s y ā' ṃ c i t t y ā m a s y ā' ṃ ā k ū t y ā' m a s y ā' m ā ś í ṣ y a s y ā' ṃ d e v á h u t y ā m). Diese Formeln beabsichtigen ohne Zweifel Schutz, Stärkung, Abwehr von Übel und Gefahr.

Dasselbe Verb und die Idee des Voranstellens war auch den Dichtern des Ṛgveda keineswegs fremd: Ṛ V. 1, 131, 1 „Den Indra stellten alle Götter voran" („an ihre Spitze", GELDNER: d a d h i r e p u r á ḥ), wozu Sāyaṇa bemerkt: p u r a t a ḥ s t h ā -

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28) Gleichartige Passagen sind verzeichnet von WHITNEY und LANMAN, o. c., S. 263.

29) Vgl. eine noch nicht gedruckte Abhandlung von mir, ‚Pratiṣṭhā'.

pitavantaḥ, indramukhenaivāsurān jitavantaḥ ity arthaḥ. Vgl. 6, 17, 8; 8, 12, 22; 25; und 1, 55, 3: víśvasmā ugrā́ḥ kármaṇe puróhitaḥ (devaiḥ purastād avasthāpitaḥ Sāyaṇa). Es will mir scheinen, daß in ṚV. 5, 86, 5 eine Übersetzung: „Die beiden Götter (Indra und Agni), die dazu qualifiziert sind, stelle ich voran", möglich sei (árhantā cit puró dadhé: cid iti pūjāyām Sāyaṇa).

Während in den eben erwähnten Indratexten die Vorstellung des dem Vorfechter oder Champion anvertrauten Widerstehens des schwersten Angriffes vorzuherrschen scheint — gerade dieser Parallelismus zwischen 'überwiegend kriegerischen" und 'überwiegend magischen' Prozessen ist bezeichnend —, gibt es andere Stellen, wo die oben erörterte Bedeutung des Verbs wahrscheinlicher ist. ṚV. 6, 25, 7 „Indra, sei Schützer und Schirmer unserer . . . Herren, die als Patrone uns vorangestellt haben"; uns d. h. den Dichter, der sich selbst somit als einen purohita- bezeichnet. Das Verb purodhā- konnte bekanntlich „einen Purohita ernennen" bedeuten (e. g. JBr. § 115 C.). ṚV. 3, 2, 5a = 10, 140, 6b agníṃ sumnā́ya dadhire purójānāḥ mag m. E. bedeuten: „Die Menschen haben Agni, zur Befriedigung (zum Wohlergehen; sukhārtham Sāyaṇa) vorangestellt".

Das Sūkta 4, 50, das Bṛhaspati als den Helden des Valakampfes verherrlicht und auch auf sein menschliches Abbild, den Brahmanpriester, aufmerksam macht (V. 7—9), sagt in V. 1, daß die vormaligen Ṛṣi's diesen Gott vorangestellt haben, und fügt in 2 eine Bitte um Schutz derjenigen zu, die jubelnd unter guten Vorzeichen „für uns" ausgezogen sind. Wurde diese Stelle dem Dichter eingegeben durch die unten zu erörternde Gewohnheit im irdischen Leben, dem Heere einen Priester vorangehen zu lassen? Vgl. auch 2, 24, 9 und 13. Beachtenswert ist auch ṚV. 7, 53, 1: . . . auch die früheren Seher haben Himmel und Erde vorangestellt; gibt ihnen die vorderste Stelle (prakṛṇudhvam: puraskuruta Sāyaṇa), „groß ist euer beider Schutz . . ." 3 „. . . behütet uns immerdar mit eurem Segen". Das Voranstellen kann schwerlich etwas andres bedeuten als auf irgend eine Weise abwehren und beschirmen. Es ist jedenfalls nicht notwendig, aus dem Vorkommen der Wörter „lobpreisen" und „neueste Lobreden" in diesem Sūkta zu schließen, daß die Voranstellung sich auf einen ehrenhalberen

Vorrang beziehe: übt doch das Preisen bekanntlich eine magisch-religiöse Wirkung aus, indem es die Gottheit stärkt [30]). Vgl. auch die oben angeführte Strophe 8, 12, 22. Wir können aber keine Bedenken tragen gegen eine „übertragene" Voranstellung: vgl. z. B. ṚV. 5, 16, 1 und Sāyaṇa (ṚV. 4, 50, 1) purastāt sthāpitavantaḥ stutyādinā. Unzweideutig finden wir diesen Gedanken in einem das Vājaprasavīya begleitenden Spruche VS. 9, 23 (vgl. ŚB. 5, 2, 2, 5): „Vorangestellt möchten wir über das Reich wachen" (vayam rāṣṭre jāgṛyāma purohitāḥ).

GELDNER [31]) hat gewiß recht, wenn er zu ṚV. 1, 139, 1 ástu śraúṣat puró agním dhīyā' dadhe bemerkt, daß puró dadhe 'doppelsinnig' ist: „an die Spitze des Liedes wie des Opfers". Vgl. auch 5, 16, 1; 6, 10, 1, und die anderen von demselben Gelehrten angeführten Stellen. Man möchte jedoch auf Grund des Obigen vermuten, daß der verbreitete und an sich ganz natürliche Glauben Schutz und Schirm teilhaft zu werden, wenn man sich hinter einem mächtigen Vorgänger stellt, auch hier eine Rolle gespielt hat. Man soll doch nicht vergessen, daß der Feuergott immer wieder ein Abwehrer des Übels genannt wird, daß er schon unsterblich war, als die anderen Götter noch dem Tode unterworfen waren, daß er einem Hüter und Vater gleichgestellt wird, daß er ein Freund des Menschen, der sicherste und nächste der Götter heißt, daß er Reichtum und Gesundheit, Sieg und Beute und viele andere Güter gibt, daß er heilt und über richtige Pfade führt. Er wird ein guter Führer genannt und insbesondere ein Führer der Brahmanen oder der göttlichen Heerscharen. Der Gott wird ṚV. 1, 44, 10 in den 'Dörfern' (und) bei den Opfern ein Helfer oder Schützer, und ein Purohita genannt (ási grā'meṣv avitā' puróhito asi yajñéṣu ...; grāma- kann sich bekanntlich auch auf den Heerbann des Clans oder Dorfes beziehen). Vgl. auch 1, 128, 4. Man möchte sich also versucht fühlen, in „Agni dem Purohita (vgl. ṚV. 1, 1, 1), nicht in erster Linie einen 'Bevollmächtigten' zu sehen; vgl. 3, 3, 2; 11, 1 und das ganze Sūkta 3, 11; 10, 66, 13. Wenn Agni hier ein hótā puróhitaḥ genannt wird, so scheint das Wort, in Erwägung des Umstandes, daß der Hotar in dem ältesten Zeitalter der vor-

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30) Für die Bedeutung des Neuen, insbesondere des neuen Liedes, vgl. WZKM XLVIII, S. 275 ff.

31) GELDNER, Der Rigveda übersetzt, I (1951), S. 192 f.

nehmste Priester, also eine besonders mit göttlicher Macht gefüllte Person war, mehr zu besagen und zwar auch die von mir in Erwägung gezogene Bedeutung zu implizieren. — Vgl. auch 9, 66, 20.

Es soll hier nun versucht werden zu zeigen, daß der puro-hita- anfänglich derjenige war, der auf Grund der seiner Person anhaftenden Kräfte oder wegen seiner besonderen Bedeutung vorangestellt wurde [32]), zur Deckung derjenigen, welche sich hinter ihm befanden gegen Gefahren magisch-religiöser Art. Im Atharvaveda, 10, 1, 6 — der Text wurde in einer Zeremonie zur Abwehr von 'Zauberei' verwendet (Kauś. 39, 7) — heißt es: „(Den feindlichen Mächten) zugewandt ist der Āṅgirasa [33]), unter (zum Schutz) vorangestellter [34]) Aufseher" (pratīcī'na āṅgirasó 'dhyakṣo naḥ puróhitaḥ). In der zweiten Hälfte der Strophe gelangt der Wunsch zum Ausdruck, daß die zauberischen Mächte in die entgegengesetzte Richtung fortgetrieben und ihre Urheber getötet werden sollen. In ähnlicher Weise darf man die Götter (in erster Linie die uns schon bekannten Agni, Indra, Bṛhaspati, dazu Soma und Savitar), von denen AV. 8, 5, 5 und 6 verlangt wird, daß sie die magischen Mächte mit apotropäischen Mitteln [35]) zurücktreiben sollen, nicht nur als „Vertreter" „representatives" WHITNEY-LANMAN) desjenigen betrachten, dessen Gefühlen der Dichter Ausdruck verleiht. In V. 6 wird ganz deutlich gesagt, daß der Mensch die guten Mächte des Lichtes, Tag und Sonne, und dazu Himmel und Erde, zwischen das Böse und sich selbst stellt (antárdadhe). Das hier verwendete Verb impliziert das Verschwindenmachen des Bösen. Man (z. B. WHITNEY-LANMAN) hat an Stellen wie AV. 7, 62, 1 ayám agníḥ sátpatir . . . puróhitaḥ das letzte Wort unübersetzt gelassen. Es fragt sich aber, ob die ursprüngliche Bedeutung sich hier schon verwischt hat. In derselben Strophe heißt es, daß der Gott, auf den

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32) Im Pāli bedeutet devā Indapurohitā „die Götter, an deren Spitze Indra (steht)".

33) D. h. der magische Offiziant, Nachkomme des Aṅgiras (vgl. BLOOMFIELD, Atharvaveda, S. 107 f.); vgl. u. a. AV. 5, 19, 2.

34) „Appointed" (WHITNEY - LANMAN) drückt m. E. die implizierte Bedeutung des Wortes nicht genügend aus.

35) Im Texte: pratisaraiḥ; vgl. meine Bemerkungen in den ‚Acta Orientalia' XV, S. 311 ff. Amulette usw. vertreiben ja die dämonischen Mächte wie die aufgehende Sonne (V. 7).

Nabel der Erde [36]) gesetzt, die bösen Mächte vernichtet und unterwirft. AV. 3, 19, 1 und 4 kräftigt der Purohita die Macht und den Heldenmut seines Klienten.

Die schützende Funktion des Hofprälats wird ganz unzweideutig ausgesprochen in dem Abschnitt des AitBr. (8, 24 ff.), der die Bedeutung des Amtes eingehend erörtert. Hier wird der Purohita mit Agni Vaiśvānara, dem Besitzer von fünf Schleudergeschossen, identifiziert. Mit diesen feurigen Waffen schützt er den König, ihn umfassend wie der Ozean der Erde. „Die königliche Würde geht dem König nicht frühzeitig verlustig, seine Lebensgeister verlassen ihn nicht, bevor seine ideelle Lebensdauer verstrichen ist . . . ., der einen Brahmanen, der dieses weiß, zum Purohita hat, der das Reich hütet (r ā ṣ ṭ r a g o p a ḥ p u r o h i t a ḥ). Er vermehrt seine Macht und fürstliche Würde, der einen Purohita, einen Hüter des Reiches, hat. Seine Untertanen sind einträchtig, er überwindet alle gegnerischen Mächte, kräftige Speise wird ihm immer hinreichend zur Verfügung stehen usw. usw. Der König, der einen Hofpriester ernennt, wählt sich die Feuer, die zum Himmel führen (8, 24, 4), denn der Purohita ist Agni selber." Der Priester, sein Weib und sein Sohn verfügen über Wohl und Wehe des Reiches und des Fürsten. Ihr Zorn soll rechtzeitig beschwichtigt werden, sonst werden dem König Herrschaft und Himmel verlustig gehen [37]). Bei der Ernennung dieses hohen Funktionärs soll der König ihm auftragen, seinen Leib zu schützen (t a n v a m m e p ā h i) und ihn vor Gefahr zu bewahren [38]). Darauf die Kräuter anrufend, fordert der Fürst sie gleichfalls auf, ihm fortwährenden Schutz zu gewähren.

Noch einige Brāmaṇastellen dieser Art seien kurz erwähnt. Eine merkwürdige Seite der Purohitafunktion lernen wir kennen im JaimBr. 3, 94 (§ 180 Caland): „In früheren Zeiten pflegten die Purohitas ihren Fürsten als Wagenlenker zu dienen, um sie zu überwachen, damit die Fürsten nichts Böses verrichteten". Auch dieser Dienst ist eine Form des Schutzes — wie aus der kürzeren Parallelstelle PañcBr. 13, 3, 12 ziemlich deutlich hervorgeht, wo der König, als er einem etwas angetan hat, dem Priester vorwirft: „Während du Purohita bist, ist mir dieses („diese Schädigung" Komm.) zugestoßen" —, denn derjenige, der böse Handlungen verrichtet oder einem Mitmen-

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36) Vgl. mein ‚Aspects of early Viṣṇuism', S. 84 ff.

37) Vgl. D. J. HOENS, Śānti (Thesis Utrecht 1951), S. 168 f.

38) Die Form p u r ā ṇ i ist undeutlich.

schen etwas antut, wird dafür büßen müssen. An einer anderen Stelle (JaimBr. 3, 244, § 205 C) wird erzählt, daß Bharadvāja, der Purohita des Kṣatra, als dieser in der Zehnkönigsschlacht bedrängt wurde und zu seinem Hofprälat Zuflucht nahm, ihm mittels einer neuen Singweise den Sieg sichern sollte. Vgl. auch PañcBr. 15, 3, 7.

Über die schützende Bedeutung dieses Priesters geben auch einige Pariśiṣtas des Atharvaveda uns wertvolle Auskunft: 2, 1, 5 Ein König soll einen Purohita ernennen, der Omina kraftlos macht (vgl. 70c, 29, 1; 32, 35 usw.), die Opfer schützt usw. Widrigenfalls wird es nicht regnen, werden keine Helden geboren, die Götter die Opfergaben ablehnen, das Reich von Katastrophen heimgesucht werden (vgl. 4, 6, 1 ff.). Es wird denn auch zugleich mit dem Astrolog (s ā ṃ v a t s a r a -) erwähnt (2, 1, 4; 3, 1, 3) — vgl. auch Mbh. 2, 5, 40 f. —, und beschäftigt sich außerdem mit Riten, welche das Gedeihen des Reiches befördern, mit Sühne- und Totenzeremonien und Bezauberungen (3, 1, 10). Er segnet jeden Morgen Kleider, Sessel, Pferd, Schwert usw. des Fürsten, besprengt und bespricht dessen Ruhebett, Fahne, Sonnenschirm, Wagen, Bogen usw., und trifft andere derartige Vorkehrungen zum Besten seines Herrn (4, 1, 4 ff.). Auch spezielle Riten in Hinsicht auf dessen Sicherheit bei Nacht (4, 3, 1 ff.; 7, 1, 1 ff.) und Lustrationen (5, 1, 1 ff.) finden unter seiner Direktion statt. Vgl. auch AVPar. 8; 21, 6, 7; 29, 1, 5.

In einer langen Reihe von Strophen, welche nach Kauś. 16, 21 dazu dienten, Erfolge im Kriege herbeizuführen, wird eine Macht namens Triṣandhi — in welcher man (vgl. 11, 10, 3) den Donnerkeil hat sehen wollen — gebeten, mit dem Heere gegen den Feind anzurücken und zwar, indem sie den „Vorangestellten" mit dem fleischfressenden Feuer und dem Tode (hinter sich) nachfolgen läßt (AV. 11, 10, 18). Ist hier der priesterliche Funktionär, der Purohita, gemeint? Man möchte es, angesichts seines auch in anderen Quellen erwähnten Anteils an militärischen Expeditionen, glauben und in erster Linie auf AVPar. 1, 31, 6 hinweisen, wo zu den Zeremonien, welche ein König am Anfang eines Feldzuges zu begehen hat, auch gehört, daß er den Purohita nebst den Freunden und ‚Ministern' (m a n t r i - ṇ a s) vorangehen lassen soll (p u r o h i t a ṃ p u r a s k ṛ t y a): „Wenn er in dieser Weise aufgebrochen ist, wird er gewiß den Sieg erfechten". Man soll sich hier erinnern, daß in einer Gesellschaft von der Art der altindischen magische Riten auch im Kriege von größter Wichtigkeit waren. Der magische Priester

rezitiert u. a. Sprüche über Waffe und Schild und vollzieht Riten, um den glücklichen Ausgang zu sichern [39]).

Es sind jedoch nicht immer die Riten des Priesters, sondern auch seine eigene Person, welche die gewünschte Sicherheit verleihen. Der Glaube, daß gewisse Personen kraft ihrer Geburt oder auf Grund besonderer Umstände über eine ihnen speziell eigne Macht verfügen, ist bekanntlich sehr verbreitet [40]). Die heutigen Bewohner des Pendsjab, die Birhor in Chota Nagpur und andere Indier glauben z. B., daß die Mitglieder gewisser Familien spezielle Praktiken ausüben oder bestimmte Gefahren abwehren können, z. B. Einfluß haben auf das Wetter, auf gefürchtete Tiere oder auf sonstige feindliche Wesen [41]), wie auch nach vedischen Texten z. B. die Familie der Vasiṣṭhas besonders für das Purohitaamt geeignet war (vgl. TS. 3, 5, 2; PB. 15, 5, 24). Die persönliche Gegenwart des Herrschers, Priesters oder eines sonstigen „Machtträgers" bietet seinen Anhängern oder Untertanen oft hinreichenden Schutz. — Es verdient vielleicht auch Beachtung, daß in ṚV. 7, 83, 4 auf die Mitteilung, daß Indra und Varuṇa geholfen und den Ruf erhört haben, die Feststellung folgt: „Es bewährte sich das Purohitaamt" (vgl. auch 7, 60, 12).

Auch die älteren buddhistischen Texte, die uns unter anderm die Lebensweise, Funktionen und Machtstellung des Hauspriesters schildern [42]), erwähnen gleichfalls die hier hervorgehobenen Seiten seiner Tätigkeit. Im Mahāsupina Jātaka (I, S. 334 ff.) wird erzählt, daß der Purohita mit andern Brahmanen im Auftrage des Königs — der selbstverständlich selbst nicht imstande ist, die höheren Mächte für sich günstig zu stimmen — Opfer vollzieht, um das Unglück, das sich dem Fürsten durch böse Träume angekündigt hat, abzuwenden. In anderen Texten hat er den bösen Einfluß von unheimlichen Lauten [43]) oder ominösen Erscheinungen zu beschwichtigen (Jātaka III, S. 43 ff; V, S. 127)

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39) Ich verweise auf HENRY, o. c., S. 72 ff.; 150 ff.; H. WEBSTER, Magic (Stanford Cal. 1948), S. 331 ff.

40) WEBSTER, o. c., S. 144 ff.; 163 ff.; GONDA, Über Ursprung und Wesen des indischen Dramas, ActaOr. XIX, S. 411 ff.

41) Vgl. S. C. ROY, The Birhors (Ranchi 1925), S. 108 ff.; CH. S. BURNE in Folk-Lore XXI (1910), S. 313 ff., und A. J. ROSE in Folk-Lore XIII (1902), S. 278.

42) Vgl. insbesondere das oben (Fn. 1) angeführte Buch von FICK, S. 107 ff.

43) Vgl. auch FICK, o. c., S. 146 f.

oder die Sterne zu deuten. Im Jainakanon begegnet uns sogar die Figur eines Hofpriesters, der ein Menschenopfer vollzieht, um seinem Fürsten den Sieg zu sichern [44]). Es ist weiter seine Sache, die Waffen und Tiere des Fürsten zu weihen (vgl. z. B. Jātaka II, 46), damit ihr Gebrauch glückbringend werde. Er konnte somit die Gunst der göttlichen Mächte auf seinen Auftraggeber lenken. Wir lesen sogar, daß der Purohita, wenn der König ohne männliche Nachkommen oder Verwandte gestorben war, einen Nachfolger sucht und salbt [45]).

Wie in den einschlägigen vedischen, epischen und andern Quellen ist es meistens der Hofpriester, der den König weiht [46]). Ein Fürst soll, lehrt ja das Epos (Mbh. 12, 73, 29), erst einen Purohita ernennen und sich nachher von diesem weihen lassen. Ein zu der Königsweihe (Rājasūya) gehöriger Akt besteht darin, daß ein Brahman (d. h. der Adhvaryu oder der Purohita) den Fürsten von vorn und von hinten besprengt (z. B. ŚB. 5, 4, 2, 1) [47]). Die von Varāhamihira (BS. 48) beschriebenen, vom Purohita und Hofastrologen zu vollziehenden Salbuṇgszeremonien haben den gleichen unheilabwehrenden und segenbringenden Charakter (vgl. V. 3; 50; 52 f; 70). Der Prälat konnte die Vollziehung der Weihe verweigern [48]).

Nach dem Mahābhārata soll der Purohita, kraft seiner besonderen Intelligenz, den König in allen Angelegenheiten führen (12, 72, 15 ff.); dadurch wird es Fürst und Reich wohl gehen. Der Prälat aber hat Anteil am religiös-moralischen Verdienst seines Herrn und die Untertanen werden glücklich und gefahrlos leben. Andererseits kann er durch seine magisch-rituelle Macht das Reich völlig vernichten (vgl. 5, 40, 8).

Aus der übrigen Literatur seien schließlich einige Stellen angeführt, aus denen hervorgeht, daß der Purohita Omina beschwichtigt, Gefahren vom König abwendet und Sühnungsriten vollbringt. Nach Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (1, 9 [5]), soll

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44) JAGDISH CHANDRA JAIN, o. c., (Fn. 1), S. 58.
44) Jagdish Chandra Jain, o. c. (Fn. 1), S. 58.

45) Ich verweise auf FICK, o. c., S. 82 f.

46) Siehe auch BH. S. UPADHYAYA, India in Kalidāsa (Allahabad 1947), 129 f. Er war ein „Königsmacher" (rājakṛt-): PATIL, o. c. (Fn. 1), S. 131 f.

47) Für die Königsweihe vgl. A. WEBER, Rājasūya, Abh. Akad. Berlin 1893, S. 140 ff.

48) Vgl. FICK, o. c., S. 84 f.

er nicht nur gründlich geschult sein im Veda und in dessen sechs Hilfswissenschaften, sondern auch in den ominösen Zeichen und Vorbedeutungen, und imstande sein, von Göttern und Menschen kommender Not mit mächtigen Sprüchen und sonstigen Abwehrmitteln entgegenzuarbeiten (atharvabhir upāyaiś ca pratikartāram). In Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa (11, 58 ff.) befragte der durch Unheil verkündende Naturerscheinungen erschreckte König — der jedoch wußte, was er zu tun hatte — seinen Purohita, um Unglück abzuwehren (śāntim adhikṛtya).

Es will mir also vorkommen, daß der Purohita seinen Titel davon hergeleitet hat, daß er wie die genannten Gottheiten, kraft der seiner Person anhaftenden Potenzen, als ein Schild vor dem schützbedürftigen Menschen gestellt wurde. Es erübrigt sich, auf die vielen Fälle hinzuweisen, in welchen sich der Glaube an eine derartige dem Priester immanente Macht in anderen Kulturen zeigt [49]). Der Gedanke, daß seine leibhaftige Gegenwart genügt, war bekanntlich den Indern wohlbekannt: der Brahman, der Überwacher des ganzen Opfers, über das er schweigend, neben dem vornehmsten der drei Feuer auf dem Brahmansitz sitzend, waltet, war ein Träger der ‚heiligen Kraft' selber, „le dépositaire même de la force mise en mouvement dans le sacrifice" [50]). Jeder Brahmane repräsentiert das brahman [51]). Man darf in diesem Zusammenhang an die besondere und wichtige Stellung, welche der „Vorangestellte", der Erste im allgemeinen, innehat, erinnern. Der Erste, Erstgeborene, Häuptling, Vorgänger, Fahnenträger [52]) ist oft durch seine Sonderstellung nicht nur überlegen, sondern auch Inhaber wichtiger Kräfte. Im Volksglauben ist er Glücksträger, oder imstande, wichtige oder gefährliche Aufgaben zu erfüllen; oft ist

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49) Siehe z. B. G. VAN DER LEEUW, Religion in essence and manifestation (London 1938), ch. 26; R. R. MARETT, The primitive medicine-man, Hibbert Journal XVII (1918), S. 99 ff.; E. LEHMANN, in A. BERTHOLET - E. LEHMANN, Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte Tübingen 1925), I, S. 49 ff.; J. G. FRAZER, The Golden Bough I (1911), S. 231 ff.; III, S. 107 f. usw.; G. LANDTMAN, in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics X (1918), p. 278 ff.

50) G. DUMÉZIL, Flamen-brahman (Paris 1935), S. 16.

51) Für die Relation Brahman: Purohita vgl. MACDONELL-KEITH, a. a. O., S. 7 f.; WEBER, o. c. p. 23, Fn. 1.

52) Über Banner- und Fahnenträger beabsichtige ich in kurzem anderswo einige Bemerkungen zu machen.

er auch sicher vor Hexerei und zauberischen Angriffen [53]). Auch die ‚schutzzauberische' Nutzung des Erstlingsopfers, verstärkt durch die dem Gegenstand an sich anhaftende Kraft und das große Gewicht, welches auf Anfangsriten verschiedener Art gelegt wird, könnten, in weiterer Umschau, mit der uns beschäftigenden Anfangsstellung verglichen werden.

53) Ich verweise auf F. LÜERS, im Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens II, S. 975; vgl. auch K. BETH, ebenda, VII, S. 1389 f.

PRATIṢṬHĀ

In my 'Notes on Brahman' (¹) I had occasion to draw attention to the fact that the ancient Indians were deeply concerned about a firm and ultimate ground to rest upon, an imperishable and immovable support of existence, for sky and earth, for themselves, for the universe. Apart from other terms used to convey this idea, the word *pratiṣṭhā* "ground, basis, support" which is of high frequency in the Vedic texts was, in that connection, superficially touched upon. As the above idea may be considered one of the most important features of ancient Indian thought it seems worth while to study it more closely, the more so as parallel ideas of 'a firm or ultimate ground' are common in other civilisations. A firm ground, a rock, a base or bottom, are, to give only a very small and random collection of instances, often symbols of spiritual or religious firmness, or an image for the basis or principles upon which man should found his life (²). Mystics speak of the undifferentiated unnamed ground of the soul where God and human being are fused (³). Such metaphors as 'the foundations of belief', 'to establish' (from the Latin *stabilire* "to make firm") for "to found and place (e.g. institution, system or belief) on a firm and permanent basis," 'to base' arguments, conclusions, hopes upon facts and, ultimately, upon certainty — and their counterparts in other western languages —, show the same inclination to admit that there are sustaining principles, nay, that there is an ultimate support and certainty, underlying our beliefs, reasonings, and statements, that there is an entity sustaining our thought, the universe and our own existence.

In contradistinction to some other terms for related ideas the etymology and 'basic' meaning of the word *pratiṣṭhā* are perfectly clear, a fact which, by the way, may to some extent account for its being neglected

(¹) J. GONDA, *Notes on Brahman*, Utrecht 1950, p. 43.

(²) Cf. e. g. N. T. Ev. Math. 16, 18, and in a non-religious text Hom. Od. 17, 463.

(³) See, e. g., G. VAN DER LEEUW, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, London 1938, p. 497 ff.

by most scholars writing on Vedic religion [1]. Deriving from *prati–* "towards, near to, against, ...down upon, upon, on" and *sthā–* "to stand (firmly), to take up a position, to stand still, to stay, to abide", *pr.* must, theoretically, have been a very suitable term for any foot or base in a literal sense [2]. Yet, there is no sufficient evidence of those metaphorical applications which have developed in connection with words for similar ideas in other languages: "foot, bottom, or basis of almost any object, foot as a measure of length" etc. It had, from the beginning, other connotations. Even when it is translatable by "foot, feet" *pr.* is not always synonymous with *pāda,* although we come across AiB. 5, 3, 9 *dvipratiṣṭho vai puruṣaḥ catuṣpādāḥ paśavaḥ.* It is also an ability residing in the feet, in the same way as speed is found in the calves and breath in the nose (AV. 19, 60, 12). But it is also the "hold" one has of the object on which one is standing: AitĀ. 1, 2, 4 "let him not withdraw (*ucchindyāt*) from the earth one foot, lest he lose his hold (*pratiṣṭhāyā ucchidyai*) of it". The foot (*pāda–*) is a *pr.*, but the earth is also a *pr.* (ŚB. 6, 5, 3, 2; cf. 8, 7, 2, 17). Anatomically, the meaning is not always the same: in an enumeration of limbs etc. (AV. 10, 2, 1) the *pr.* = feet comes after the heels and the ankle-joints. Prajāpati creating various entities and beings 1) out of his mouth, 2) out of his breast and arms, 3) out of his middle etc., produced the 21-fold stoma out of 4) his foot (*pattaḥ*), his *pr.* (PB. 6, 1, 11) [3]. But in a description of the seven constituent parts of a body (ŚB. 6, 1, 1, 3) it reads: two above the navel, two below the navel, the two sides, and the *pr.* ("base, legs and feet"). Elsewhere (11, 1, 6, 33) the two arms (fore-legs) and the two thighs are called a *pr.* The word is however also used in connection with entities other than the limbs of the body: a heap of rubbish (*utkara–*) is called the *pr.* of what is redundant (*atirikta–*, ŚB, 8, 7, 2, 16); the water is above the sky, and the sky is its *pr.* (AitĀ. 2, 4, 1); the stomach is the *pr.* of food (1, 5, 1).

The verb is accordingly used for "standing firmly on, or being supported by one's feet": cf. e. g. ŚB. 5, 5, 3, 6; 7; 4, 2, 4, 16; 17 (standing on hooves). The horse was produced incomplete; hence it does not stand (*pr.*) on all its feet (ŚB. 5, 1, 4, 5); cf. PB. 19, 2, 6; ŚB. 5, 3, 5, 13 *padbhir vai nyagrodhaḥ pratiṣṭhitaḥ;* PB. 7, 7, 13 chariot on each spoke of the wheel successively; also 21, 1, 9 of 1000 cows put one above the other. The head

(1) St. SCHAYER, in *Zeitschrift für Buddhismus*, 6, p. 280 f. and H. de WILLMAN-GRABOWSKA, *Les composés nominaux dans le Śatapathabr.*, Krakow 1928, I, p. 53 f.. made some comment upon it.

(2) Cf. also B. DELBRÜCK, *Altindische Syntax*, Halle a. S. 1888, p. 462.

(3) Compare Sāyaṇa's explanation: ... *patta eva pratiṣṭhāyā iti parasparaṃ sāmānādhikaraṇyaṃ pādayoḥ pratiṣṭhā–hetutvaṃ spaṣṭam.*

is *pr.* on the shoulders (ŚB. 14, 1, 3, 10; cf. 10, 6, 1, 11: the chin is a *pr.*); cattle and plants on the earth (2, 1, 1, 6; 1, 3, 3, 9), plants with their roots (10); cf. also TS. 5, 2, 5, 5; 6, 3, 3, 5; food is *pr.* on the earth (1, 9, 3, 12), or in the stomach (3, 5, 3, 5) or navel (3, 3, 4, 28). The causative is not seldom used for putting or placing in a literal sense: ŚB. 10, 5, 5, 4; AiB. 8, 5, 4 etc.

Although we sometimes hear of two *pratiṣṭhe* (1) (the two feet, e.g. ŚB. 8, 3, 4, 5; 4, 3, 9; 10, 3, 2, 11; 5, 4, 15) a *pr.* constitutes a pair (*dvandvam*: ŚB. 8, 4, 4, 5; 6, 2, 17) because there are two feet. It may, however, also be called threefold (*trivṛt–* 8, 6, 2, 17), because the *pr.* being at the back of the body (ibidem) can also be regarded as being constituted by the two feet and the back part of the body, or, in a sitting bird, the tail, which forms, as it were, a third foot or support to the body. Cf. also PB. 5, 1, 17. For that reason the tail (*puccham*) may be called a *pr.* (ŚB. 10, 2, 2, 8; AiĀ. 1, 4, 2); it is also mentioned instead of the *pr.* as the 7th part of the body (ŚB. 10, 2, 2, 5; TU, 2, 1, 1 etc.; see above) (2). This *pr.* is behind (*paścāt*, ŚB. 8, 4, 4, 5); strength was laid in it (10, 2, 2, 5). The *pr.* or basis of the bird-shaped Agni therefore likewise includes the part of the body on which the bird stands or sits (cf. 7, 4, 2, 4). With this view we may associate the conception that the last part or constituent of an object, or the end, is a *pr.* On the 21–fold stoma, which is the last of the agniṣṭoma, the whole soma–feast rests; hence it is called the *pr.* (PB. 6, 1, 11). " As to their having the same finale (*nidhana–*), it is because there is only one *pr.*, only one *nidhana–* to the sacrifice, to wit heaven " (ŚB. 8, 7, 4, 6). Cf. also PB. 14, 7, 8; 15, 4, 2; 11, 14. GB. 2, 5, 7 and ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 23-28 comment upon the character of the *nidhana–*: there are 4 finales, for there are 4 quarters; the officiants thus establish the yajamāna in all the quarters (3); unless it be followed by an *uktha–* (" recitation ") a sāman is " imperfect " or " unsuccessful " (*vyṛddha–*); hence the questions: *kvaitasya sāmna uktham̥ kvā pratiṣṭhā.* Cf. also ŚāB. 15, 3; 25, 15; 27, 6. Discussing the praṇava or sacred syllable *om̥*, and especially the question whether it should be ' pure ' (i. e. not nasalized) or nasalized, the final *m̥* is (GB. 2, 3, 11) said to serve as a termination (*avasānārthe*), and *avasānam*, it is added, is *pr.*; so the nasal is *pratiṣṭhityā eva* (cf. also ŚāB. 11, 5; cf. 14, 3). The concluding verse is likewise a *pr.*: GB. 2, 31, 21. Cf. also ŚB. 7, 1, 2, 13.

(1) For the sense of the dual see my treatise *Reflections on the Numerals ' One ' and ' Two ' in Ancient Indo-European Languages*, Utrecht 1953.

(2) Elsewhere (cf. ŚB. 10, 4, 5, 2) tail and *pr.* are distinguished, forming two entities. — In this connection AV. 10, 2, 32 may also be mentioned in passing: " in this golden cask (vessel), three-spoked, having three supports (*tripr.*) ".

(3) See also J. EGGELING, in SBE. 44, p. 256 f.

Returning to the *pr.*'s being a pair we may recall such texts as ŚB. 8, 6, 2, 4 where *dvipada*- verses (verses consisting of two metrical units) are considered a *pr.* The idea of standing firmly on two, or on both, feet no doubt underlies such phrases as AiB. 5, 3, 9 *dvyakṣareṇaiva nyūṅkhayet pratiṣṭhāyā eva*; id. 6, 2, 6 f. *ardharcaśa evābhiṣṭuyāt, p. e.* (a half-verse consists of 2 pādas or feet); 6, 32, 22; 24 etc. Cf. also 4, 24, 6; GB. 2, 5, 10. The sacrifice is, on the other hand, firmly established (*pratitiṣṭhati*) on 4 feet (to wit the 4 Vedas and the priests representing them), in the 4 worlds, among the 4 gods: GB. 1, 2, 24; 3, 1. The relation between *pr.* in a different sense and the feet is also clear in such expositions as JB. n° 140 C.: who believes himself to have done evil with the feet must worship with the *agniṣṭut* as an *ekaviṃśa* because among the stomas the *ekaviṃśa* is the *pr.*; by doing so he expels the evil from his feet. Compare also ŚB. 3, 6, 3, 4 where the act of scattering round (the dust of) the foot-print of the soma-cow is sensed to bring about a *pr.* " for it is with the foot that one *pratitiṣṭhati* ", and AiB. 8, 9, 2 ff. *bhūmau pādau pratiṣṭhāpya pratyavaroham āha: pratitiṣṭhāmi dyāvāpṛthivyoḥ, pr. prāṇāpānayoḥ* etc.; *antataḥ sarveṇātmanā pratitiṣṭhati.*

We already know that the earth is, in a natural way, considered a *pr.* (ŚB. 1, 9, 1, 29; cf. also 1, 9, 3, 11; 6, 1, 1,15; 3, 7; 2, 1, 39; 7, 3, 4 etc. further, 3, 9, 3, 2; 8, 5, 2, 16; 11, 2, 7, 8); AV. 18, 4, 5 the ladle sustains (*dādhāra*) the earth, the *pr.*; ŚāBr. 4, 14; TĀ. 8, 2, 1 *pṛthivī puccham pr.* ŚB. 7, 4, 1, 12 the lotus leaf is a *pr.*, because it is the earth; 8, 3, 4, 9 the mythical example is added: " this earth is a *pr.* (" foothold " Eggeling); the gods came back to this *pr.*, and in like manner the sacrificer now comes back to this *pr* ". When identified with a divinity the earth can likewise be considered a *pr.*: ŚB. 3, 8, 5, 4 an offering is prescribed with the formula: " Go to Agni Vaiśvānara "; now A.V. is the earth, the earth is a *pr.*; so this act produces (creatures) on a *pr.* Id. 2, 2, 1, 19 Aditi is the earth, the earth a *pr.*; by offering to A. one takes one's stand on this *pr.* (cf. AiB. 1, 8, 12; 14; ŚāBr. 1, 5 Aditi is a *pr.*). Similar effects are produced when one offers with a metre, a *sāman*, or a sacrifice which is identical with the earth: the *gāyatrī* ŚB. 4, 3, 4, 9; the *rathantara* 5, 5, 3, 5; the *atirātra* 5, 5, 3, 5; cf. 7, 2, 1, 19. See further AiB. 1, 1, 9; JB. 3, 272, n. 210 C.

Thus an ' establishment ' in the ritual sphere can by means of the supposed parallelism between sacrificial acts and processes in nature or society automatically produce a desired ' establishment ' of a person or object. ŚB. 12, 1, 1, 1 the master of the house is this (terrestrial) world, and upon this world, everything here is established (*pr.*); and so, indeed, are his fellow-sacrificers established (*pr.*) in the master of the house. Thus it is after having been established on a firm foundation (*pr. pr.*) that they

are initiated [1]. Inasmuch as Agni's cake (which is the brahman class) and the low-voiced offering (which is nobility) come first, the brahman class and nobility are established upon the people (ŚB. 11, 2, 7, 16). Compare also such passages as PB. 5, 5, 8 (and the commentary): at the same time as the finale takes place the chanters put their feet on the ground and so reach a *pr.* in (or on) these worlds. ChU. 3, 12, 2: the gāyatrī and the earth are identical, for everything here has come to be founded on the gāyatrī. Cf. also GB. 2, 6, 2 in fine.

Elsewhere the parallelism between a phenomenon in nature and human activity is an element in the discussion or in the belief in the efficacy of a formula: MB. 2, 5, 16 *pratitiṣṭhantaṃ tvādityānu pratitiṣṭhāsam*: that is, the commentary explains, *astaṃ gacchantaṃ tvām ahaṃ pratiṣṭhitaḥ*, i.e. *karmasu virato bhūyāsam.*

It will be relevant to observe that the identity of the process denoted by the verb *pratiṣṭhā-* in common non-specialized usage and by the same in its technical use, in the writings of the speculative philosophers, which wrongly impresses modern man as metaphorical, is often expressly stated by means of more or less elaborate similes [2]. JB. 2, 419, n° 168 C. " just as the spokes are established in the nave of a chariot-wheel, so are deaths est. in the year "; therefore, *ṣaṭsu sma pratiṣṭhāsu pratitiṣṭhata*, the meaning of which is explained in the text [3]. Cf. also PB. 7, 7, 13 and PrU. 2, 6; 6, 6 where the same simile recurs in other applications. ŚB. 6, 7, 4, 5 one should conclude by performing the *vātsapra* rite, which is a *pr.*: it is as if one made a halt and unharnessed the team (*avasāyayet*). ChU. 4, 16, 5 " as a two-legged man walking, or a chariot proceeding on both wheels is well supported (*pr.*), so his sacrifice is w.s. The institutor of the s. is well s. with the s. which is w.s. He becomes to a higher degree possessed of *śrī-* (*śreyān*) by having sacrificed ". Chanting on gāyatrī verses, however, likewise leads to the possession of a *pr.* (PB. 12, 9, 23), because, Sāyaṇa's commentary observes, the gāyatrī has three pādas (" feet " in the metrical sense) and in the world three-footed objects appear to stand firmly; cf. also Sāyaṇa on PB. 13, 1, 13. See also AiB. 7, 31, 3 ff.; 8, 8, 6; GB. 2, 2, 10.

So it is not surprising to find that the verb is often used in a more or less ' figurative ' sense, or, rather, in a sense which is in harmony with the ritual, cosmological and other speculations of these ancient authors. Side by side with frequent passages in which the person concerned is said

(1) The master of the house is initiated first.

(2) For this value of similes see my *Remarks on Similes in Sanskrit Literature*, Leiden 1949, p. 88 ff. and elsewhere.

(3) I refer to W. Caland, *Das Jaminīya–Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl*, Amsterdam 1919, p. 219 f.

to *pratiṣṭhāpay–* the fire in its place (see e. g. SVB. 1, 3, 2; 7) we come across texts in which Agni (Fire) is *pr.* in this world by means of the hearths (ŚB. 6, 7, 2, 6). The place of worship is *samaṃ samūlam avidagdhaṃ pratiṣṭhitam* etc. (GB. 1, 2, 14). By means of its rays the sun is *pr.* on the earth (ŚB. 7, 4, 1, 12). In other passages priesthood and nobility are *pratiṣṭhita–* on the people (ŚB. 11, 2, 7, 16). The earth *pratitiṣṭhati* on fire (TĀ. 7, 6, 1), a certain *vidyā* (ritually or magically potent or effective wisdom or knowledge) on the sky (9, 6, 1). TĀ. 6, 1, 4 the organs of the deceased are addressed in order to return to their elements: *oṣadhīṣu pratitiṣṭha śarīraiḥ.* Such phrases as *brahmann* (or *amṛta*) *evainam pratiṣṭhāpayati* (TĀ. 5, 8, 7; 9, 6) are rather common. In TĀ. 10, 10, 3 *yo vedādau svaraḥ prokto vedānte ca pratiṣṭhitaḥ* Sāyaṇa explains *pr.* by *pratipāditaḥ* " established ", and ib. 10, 1, 8 the clay is invoked to give *puṣṭi–* " prosperity, a well-nourished condition ": *tvayi sarvam* (to wit *puṣṭisādhanaṃ yavagodhūmādidravyam* Sāyaṇa) *pratiṣṭhitam.* Sāyaṇa, on 10, 11, 2, explains *pr.* by *āśritam.*

Sometimes a *sāman* (a metrical hymn of praise intended to be chanted) owes its being a *pr.* to its name which is nothing but an indication of its character: the *pṛṣṭha–* " back-bone " sāman (PB. 15, 3, 19); the *devasthāna–* " gods-stand " sāman (15, 3, 28). Cf. also ŚB. 13, 3, 7, 12. By chanting, in the sāman, the words *ihā, ihā* " here, here " one obtains a *pr.* (PB. 13, 10, 9). Likewise by chanting a *gāyatra* with a response (7, 1, 5) (1). Similar considerations led the Vedic ritual experts to regard a two days' rite as a *pr.*; man being, the commentary observes, two-footed (PB. 18, 11, 5). A finale consisting of 2 syllables serves to provide a man with a *pr.* (11, 5, 4). Four syllables are the quadrupeds or the 4 teats of Virāj (who is food), or the *pr.* owing to which cattle do not leave a man (JB. 1, 243). By using hoof-cups (*śaphagrahāḥ*) of gravy one obtains a *pr.*, for cattle support themselves on hooves (ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 13). The metres called *dvipadas* (" consisting of two feet ") are, quite naturally, considered a *pratiṣṭhānīyaṃ chandaḥ* " das einen festen Halt gewährende Metrum " (ŚāĀ. 2, 12; cf. ŚB. 8, 6, 2, 4 etc. (2)). In the same context Indra and Agni, and an insertion in the recitation are likewise called *pr.*, bringing about a support (ŚāĀ. 2, 13 f.).

In this connection attention may be drawn to some terms which in passages of this description are often used to elucidate the idea of *pr.* The term is not unfrequently applied to the house, place, or region where one is received as a member of the family or of the community, to one's home or

(1) See CALAND, *Pañcaviṃśa–brāhmaṇa,* Calcutta 1931, p. 132.

(2) See W. FRIEDLAENDER, *Der Mahāvrata–Abschnitt des Śāṅkhāyana–Āraṇyaka,* Berlin, 1900, p. 64.

native country: here the idea of a settled, established, reliable place or residence prevails, of a place where one is free from danger, which is one's own, where one is a native, and to which one always, and naturally, resorts. Cf. KāŚB. 1, 4, 2, 3 ff. ŚB. 1, 1, 1, 18 f.: he who takes up a thunderbolt cannot do so unless he is *pratiṣṭhita-* "firmly placed", for otherwise it destroys him. Therefore he places it near the gārhapatya fire; the g. fire is the house, that is to say: a *pr.*; so that he thereby *pratiṣṭhāyāṃ pratitiṣṭhati* (the often recurring characteristic phrase); in this way that thunderbolt does not harm him. Cf. also 1, 8, 2, 14; 4, 6, 9, 2 and 4 "they thereby secured (*nyayacchan*) them in the house, and thus that food, gained by them, did not go away from them"; 1, 9, 3, 18. 3, 3, 1, 10 the house is called the *pr.* of the wife (*patnī*). 9, 3, 4, 13 one is *pratiṣṭhita-* in one's own region. Cf. KāŚB. 1, 6, 2, 7 where the husband is considered a woman's *pr.* Other relevant texts are: GB. 2, 3, 22 *gṛhā hi paśūnāṃ pr.* AiB. 3, 24, 13 the *sūkta* is a house, a *pr.*; therefore it should be recited in the most firm (*pr.*) tone. Therefore a man wants to bring cattle to his house, for a house is a *pr.* of cattle.

Another meaning of *pr.* worth noting is the womb: ŚB. 4, 4, 4,14 he thereby establishes the sacrifice, thus established in its own womb, that is to say in the place to which it belongs. By the next act he finally establishes the sacrifice in the sacrificer. Cf. also 4, 2, 2, 5. ŚB. 11, 5, 2, 4 the belly is considered a *pr.* Water is likewise called a *pr.*: ŚB. 4, 5, 2, 14 it is the *pr.* of everything 'here': one can therefore dispose of an object by throwing it into the water. 6, 8, 2, 2 it is regarded as the *pr.* of the universe; in taking down ashes to the water one believes oneself able to reproduce from the water what there is of Agni's nature in the ashes. Cf. 12, 5, 2, 14. 6, 7, 1, 17 the water is regarded as Agni's *pr.* Fire is a *pr.* of the sacrificial food ŚB. 3, 7, 3, 4; cf. also 4, 2, 5, 1; 10, 5, 4, 17; the gārhapatya fire: 7, 1, 2, 14; 19; cf. 2, 1, 19; the āhavanīya fire GB. 2, 2, 12.

Rites, solemn acts, formulas, the use of definite texts, metres etc. enable man to exercise influence on nature and natural phenomena. This influence often consists in establishing or stabilizing a power for good. For the ancient Indians and many other peoples the maintenance of the powers in a state of balance in order to prevent them from operating in an abnormal and unfavourable way was indeed a matter of life and death. By sacrificial texts the sun is established (*pr.*) in this world (ŚB. 14, 2, 2, 18). By touching the earth which is a safe standing-place (*pr.*) one stands on a *pr.* (1, 9, 1, 29). A *dakṣiṇā* which has been refused by another priest, if given to a wretched kinsman, will not destroy the man who owes it; one thus achieves the settling (*pr.*) of that dakṣiṇā (3, 5, 1, 25). By performing definite ritual acts one is able to establish the sacrifice in its *pr.* (1, 9, 2, 27). 4, 4, 4, 14 "the sacrifice, thus established, bestowing

a complete number of heroes... he thereby finally establishes in the sacrificer". Cf. also 7, 5, 1, 27. The 'vital airs' (*prāṇās*) *pratitiṣṭhanti* "are established", i. e. "subsist" by eating food with *vāc*– ("speech, the tongue, the mouth"; 7, 1, 2, 13). Cf. also 11, 2, 1, 2: having caused man to be born by the sacrificial act, the priest establishes him (*pratiṣṭhāpayati*) by reciting the kindling verses which are the vital airs and after which comes the *pratiṣṭhā*.

In tracing the history of ancient religious and philosophical terminology we always do well to study also those words with which the term under discussion is connected in a characteristic way. Now, the adjectives *sthira*– "firm, strong, solid, fixed, immovable, steady, lasting, constant, trustworthy, sure" and *dhruva*– "firm, immovable, constant, lasting, unchangeable" are repeatedly mentioned together with *pratiṣṭhita*–: ŚB. 8, 2, 1, 4 and 14 *yad vai sth. yad pr. tad dhr.*; 6, 1, 2, 28; 5, 2, 3 likewise explain *dhr.* by *sth.* and *pr.* The earth when fastened became a *dhruvāśithilā pr.* "a firm and steady resting place" (Eggeling; 2, 1, 1, 10). Cf. 11, 8, 1, 2 *katham nv ime lokā dhruvā pr. syur iti* and AV. 3, 12, 2, HGS. 1, 27, 3 *ihaiva dhruvā prati tiṣṭha śāle*; ChU. 7, 4, 3; 5, 3 *sa lokān dhruvān dhruvaḥ pratiṣṭhitān pratiṣṭhito 'vyathamānān avyathamāno 'bhisidhyati*. AvyU. 6 *pratiṣṭhita*– and *śithila*– "loose, feeble, not compact or rigid" are opposite concepts. AVPar. 1, 31, 2 *supratiṣṭhitam* and *avibhrāntam* form a couple of adjectives.

ŚB. 7, 2, 1, 12 the term *sādanam* "settlement" is identified with *pr.*: one does not "settle" (*sādayati*) certain bricks, lest one give a firm footing to evil, the bricks representing evil. In 5, 3, 5, 20 the term *sadhastham* "place of meeting, abode, home", used in VS. 10, 7, is explained by *pr.*

For fastening or steadying the earth so that it became a *pr.* the gods used the verb *dṛṃhayati* (ŚB. 2, 1, 1, 9; cf. 10; 11; 11, 8, 1, 2). AiB. 6, 16 reads: *tad dṛḷhatāyai dṛḷhe pratiṣṭhāsyāmaḥ*. ŚB. 7, 4, 2, 5 the word *dharuṇā* "holding, supporting", occurring in VS. 13, 16, is explained by *pratiṣṭhā*; the same interpretation is given 8, 4, 1, 12 where the text expatiates upon the identity of the sun and that hymn-form which is called the 21-fold: when the sun sets everything here *dhriyate* "stops, holds its peace", and the 21-fold is a *pr.* ŚB. 8, 4, 1, 26 *dhartram* "stay, prop, support" is explained by *pr.* Pañcat. 1, 81 *pratiṣṭhita*– and *samdhṛ*– are used in the same context; Sāyaṇa on TĀ. 4, 12, 1 explains *pr.* by *ādhāra*–; 3, 7, 1 reads: *sarvaprāṇyādhāratvena pratiṣṭhātvam*. PB. 3, 1, 3 the verbs *vidhā*– and *pratiṣṭhā*– are used in the same context. ŚB. 7, 5, 1, 27 the verb *pratiṣṭhāpayati* is followed by an expatiation: *etasmād evainam etat sarvasmād anantarhitaṃ dadhāti*. Cf. also GB. 2, 3, 2 *ādhā*– and *pr.* caus. ŚB. 14, 2, 2, 17 the phrase *hito divi* "placed in the sky (heaven)", used in connection with an

offering which is identical with the sun, is followed by *divi pratiṣṭhitaḥ*; in the mantra discussed in this paragraph *dhāḥ* is used twice. Cf. also AiB. 3, 35, 7. AV. 12, 1, 6 *pr.*, used in connection with the earth, is preceded by " all-bearing, treasure-holding " (*viśvaṃbharā vasudhānī*).

A remarkable parallelism occurring VS. 15, 14 (1) is cited and explained ŚB. 8, 6, 1, 9: " may two definite stomas secure thee on earth (*pṛthivyāṃ śrayatām*), two others *avyathāyai stabhnītām* " support thee for steadiness' sake " (2), two others again *pratiṣṭhityā antarikṣe* " are intended for thy standing firmly in the atmosphere " (cf. also ibid. 5-8). See PB. 8, 8, 13. In contradistinction to the *satobṛhatī* metre which is, PB. 14, 10, 3, called " loose as it were " (*śithila-*), the *bṛhatī* is, according to the same text, *pratiṣṭhita-*: the former consists of 12 + 8 + 12 + 8 syllables, the latter of 8 + 8 + 12 + 8 (here two quarters of 8 syllables each follow immediately). ŚB. 3, 8, 1, 14 the phrase *nāmuyā bhavati* " does not get lost " is opposed to *pratitiṣṭhati*. PrU. 6, 3 *utkrānta-* " departed " and *pr.* are opposed. — The word *pr.* is sometimes accompanied by *caritram* " going, moving-place ": VS. 13, 19; ŚB. 7, 4, 2, 8; 8, 3, 1, 10 etc.; *caritra-* can likewise mean " foot, leg " (as an instrument of going or moving); 8, 7, 3, 19 these wolds are the *pr.* and the *c.*

In this respect the rare Ṛgvedic passages are instructive. ṚV. 5, 47, 7 (= AV. 19, 11, 6), after invoking Mitra-Varuṇa and Agni, asks for *gādham uta pr.* " a place for a foothold in water, a ford and a *pr.* " (*sthitim* and *sthiter avicchittim* Sāyaṇa); 10, 106, 9 (addressing the Aśvins) " like two big-and-firm (3) men contrive, in the deep, a *pr.*, like two feet for (a man) who passes across a ford " (*pr.*: *avasthitim āsadam* Sāyaṇa) (4). Here *pr.* is associated with the idea of " crossing or passing over " which was to become a very frequent ' metaphor ' for " getting through, surpassing, overcoming, being rescued or liberated ". (It may, incidentally, be noted that it is not the *pr.* that is likened to feet, but the two Aśvins who manage to effect the *pr.*). The word *gādha-* is used in a similar sense ṚV. 6, 48, 9 etc. It may be added that ŚB. 12, 2, 1, 2 ff. the caturviṃśa day, the abhijit etc. are regarded as *gādham eva pratiṣṭhā*, that is to say: they are of the form of a *pr.*, a shallow place. Eggeling (5) is right in remarking that this phrase reminds us of the way in which Indian

(1) Cf. also TS. 4, 4, 2 e.

(2) It may be recalled that in the ṚV. *stambh- stabh-* " to fix firmly, sustain, prop " is especially used in connection with sky or heaven (*dyām*), the vault of heaven (*nākam*), heaven and earth.

(3) For the meaning of *bṛhant-* see *Notes on Brahman*, p. 31 ff.

(4) For the Aśvins as succouring deities see A.A. MACDONELL, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 51.

(5) EGGELING, in SBE, 44, p. 146.

grammarians analyze an appositional compound; in § 9 *gādhapratiṣṭhā* occurs: "the fording-footholds (of the year)". Cf. also GB. 1, 5, 2.

In the Atharvaveda *pr.* is associated with *āyatana–* which does not occur in the Ṛgveda: 11, 3, 49 "without *pr.*, without support (*āy.* = one's own resort) shalt thou die" [1]. In the same corpus 15, 12, 7 and 11 *āy.* means "support" (for a person who makes an oblation). The sacrificer, being consecrated, must be anointed "whilst seated and established (*āyattaṃ pratiṣṭhitam*) in his own region (i.e., at the north-eastern side), for he who is established in his own seat or resort (*sva āyatane pratiṣṭhitaḥ*) suffers no harm (ŚB. 9, 3, 4, 13). Cf. also ŚB. 13, 4, 2, 15; GB. 2, 4, 15 *tad etat svasminn ā–e s. pr–āyāṃ pratiṣṭhāpayati*; 16; 17. ŚB. 11, 5, 2, 10 the priest makes the sacrificer reach the heavenly world (*svarge loka āyātayati*) and establishes him therein (*pr.* caus.). In discussing the nature of brahman Yājñavalkya, BU. 4, 1, 2 inquires into its *āy. pr.*, being himself of the opinion that speech (*vāc–*) is its *āy.* and space (*ākāśa–*) its *pr.*; one should regard and worship it as *prajñā* "intelligence". The brahman as explained by Jitvā Śailini (*br.* = *vāc–*) is, he observes, a one-legged (*ekapāt*) *brahma*, because J. Ś. did not mention the *āy.* and *pr.* In the following paragraphs (3-7) *prāṇa–* "breath of life", *cakṣus* "sight", *śrotra–* "hearing", *manas* "mind", and *hṛdaya–* "heart" are, successively, regarded as the *āy.*; space is constantly sensed to be the *pr.* The substance of this text seems to be that brahman, the universal fundamental power, can only be conceived as resting in "space", i. e. in the infinite hypostasis of the universal principle which gives room to all that exists [2], whereas the said sense-organs or psychical abilities are the various places in which it "abides" or "is at the disposal" of man (*āyat–*). The aspects of brahman corresponding to these āyatanas are, according to Yājñavalkya, *prajñā* (see above), *priya–* "what is dear", *satya–* "truth, reality", *ananta–* "the endless", *ānanda–* "the blissful", and *sthiti–* "the steadfast". When he is asked what steadfastness is, the same philosopher answers: just the heart; the heart is the *āy.* and the *pr.* of all beings or objects existing (*bhutānām*); they are all *pratiṣṭhita–* in the heart. The highest brahman is the heart [3].— In this connection a passing reference may be made to the phrase GB. 1, 3, 13 *gārhapatyasyāyatane pratiṣṭhāpya.* — "Of this (mystic doctrine or upaniṣad)", the KeU. 33 (4, 8) says, *tapas* "austerity, asceticism", *damaḥ* "restraint", *karma* "work", are the *pr.*, the Vedas all its limbs, *satyam* "truth" its *āy.*, i.e. its "abode" (see above). The

(1) For *pratiṣṭhā* and *āyatana–* see also SCHAYER, *o. c.*, p. 279 f.

(2) For the concept of space in the Vedānta see O. LACOMBE, *L'absolu selon le Vedânta*, Paris, 1937, p. 55; 149; 190.

(3) See also W. RUBEN, *Die Philosophen der Upanishaden*, Bern 1947, p. 195 f.

deities, having been created, asked for an *āy.* wherein they might be *pr.* and might eat food (AiU. 2, 1). It is also worth mentioning that ŚB. 11, 5, 2, 10 the verbs *āyātayati* and *pratiṣṭhāpayati* are used in the same context: the officiant makes the sacrificer reach (*āy.*) heaven and establishes (*pr.*) him therein. Cf. also 12, 8, 3, 25 and GB. 2, 5, 7: p. 233, 10 f.

Schayer (1) at the time was right in drawing attention to a parallel use of the concepts of *pr.* and *śānti–*. The term *śānti–* " being appeased and freed from evil " expresses the idea of " immunity from magically dangerous powers obtained by certain ritual acts etc. " (2). Thus we find AiB. 3, 8, 2 = GB. 2, 3, 5 *tasya haitasya na sarva iva śāntiṃ veda na pratiṣṭhām* " hardly anyone knows the appeasing or the foundation thereof (sc. of the *vaṣaṭ* call) "; the texts then proceed to explain that when appeased (*śāntaḥ*) the vaṣaṭ call does no harm. KB. 13, 6: 59 mentions a second vaṣaṭ *śāntyā āhutīnāṃ pratiṣṭhityai* (3): that is to say: a strong resting-point is given to the powerful sacrificial gifts so as not to enable them to exert influence arbitrarily. AiĀ. 1, 1, 3 the *praüga* (the second śastra or hymn at the morning libation) is *śānti–*, *ś.* (atonement) is *pr.*; *ekāhaḥśāntyām eva tat pratiṣṭhāyām antataḥ pratitiṣṭhati* (4); 1, 2, 1; 2. etc. ṢB. 3, 1, 2: 97 water is called the " appeasing (*ś.*) and the support (*pr.*) of all deeds ".

It is also worthy of attention that the verb *pratiṣṭhā–* is sometimes associated with a form of the root *kḷp–* " to be well ordered or regulated, arranged, well-prepared, etc. ". In a number of passages the concepts of *kḷpti–* and *pratiṣṭhā* go together. AiB. 8, 1, 2 the morning–pressing and the third pressing are called *śānte kḷpte pratiṣṭhite,* " they serve for appeasing, ordering, support " (*śāntyai kḷptyai pratiṣṭhityai*); in addition to this " they are able to prevent falling " (*apracyutyai*, viz. of the sacrifice). " The pressings are *śānta–*; this means: the powers which may cause dangers are soothed, their blaze has been extinguished. They are *kḷpta–*; this means that the relation between the powers has been balanced. They are *pr.*: this means that their powers have a well-known magical foundation; one knows where they belong " (5). JB. 3, 113 holds the *vāmadevya*-sāman to be " the right ordering, the appeasing, the foundation " (*kḷpti–*, *śānti–*, *pr.*), i. e. it is considered able to bring about the right relation between the powers, because it is the firm ground on which they rest. AiB. 3, 6, 2 says that by uttering, in the exclamation *vaṣaṭ*, the word

(1) SCHAYER, *o. c.*, p. 281.

(2) For a detailed discussion of this important conception see now D. J. HOENS, *Śānti*, I, Thesis, Utrecht 1951.

(3) See HOENS, *o. c.*, p. 93.

(4) See A. B. KEITH, *The Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, Oxford 1909, p. 168.

(5) HOENS, *o, c.*, p. 146.

"six", one arranges (*kalpayati*) and establishes (*pratiṣṭhāpayati*) the seasons, because there are six seasons. After the seasons, when these are established, all existing things are established. The man who knows it obtains a firm standing. The term *kḷpti–* implies that disorder and disharmony, which are abnormal and dangerous, have been done away with, that everything that is relevant is regular and in harmony with good order. Cf. also 3, 8, 2, and 12, 7 f.: the man who establishes metre on metre *kalpayati devaviśaḥ*. In 8, 4 the hotṛ offices are stated to be *śāntyai kḷptyai pratiṣṭhityā apracyutyai*, the last term meaning "to prevent falling away". We further learn (ŚB. 2, 5, 2, 48) that the full-moon offering was called a *kḷptaḥ pratiṣṭhito yajñaḥ* "a right or regular, established sacrifice"; 2, 6, 2, 19. AiB. 6, 32, 23 by reciting verses which are offspring, the person concerned having put in order the quarters (cf. *diśāṃ kḷptīḥ śaṃsati*, 19) establishes offspring in these. JB. 2, 292, n. 155 C. *yāṃ kāṃ cana diśaṃ paśumān ayati, sarvām eva jitāṃ kḷptāṃ pratiṣṭhitām anveti* (by means of the quadrupeds the gods kept the four quarters of the sky from the asuras), therefore an owner of cattle reaches any region to which he goes as "besiegt, sich ihm fügend und feststehend" (Caland). Cf. also BU. 6, 4, 2 *asmai pratiṣṭhāṃ kalpayāmi* and KāŚB. 1, 5, 1, 38.

In contradistinction to a definite sacrifice which is held to be *pratiṣṭhita-*, other acts of offering are called *utsanna–* "decayed, suspended, interrupted, detached" (ŚB. 2, 5, 2, 48; 6, 2, 19). Another opposite term is *aparuddha–* "driven out (of one's possessions or dominions)"; "N. lived a long time 'ohne festen Bestand zu haben' (Caland); he wished: *pratitiṣṭheyam*" (JB. 1, 147); thereupon he obtained a *pr.* by praising with the essence of brahman. — JB. 2, n. 168 C. *mā cyāvayata* "do not move from..., do not keep at a distance" is mentioned in explanation of *pratitiṣṭhata*. Ib. 1, 165 the idea of *pr.* is opposed to that of drifting about on the sea which is *anārambhaṇa–* ("giving no support").

Another word which is used in association with *pratiṣṭhita–* is *addhā* "manifestly, definitely": ŚB. 3, 1, 4, 11 Agni is *a.*, Agni in *pr.*; when he offers in the fire, those (libations) are thereby made *a.* and *pr.*

It is convenient here to say a few words about the connection between the term *pr.* and those powers or divinities which are sometimes associated with it. ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 24 the sun is said to be established on the bṛhatī metre as his *śrī–* and *pr.* Śrī, translated by "excellence" (Eggeling), is the divinity presiding over, residing in, representing, fundamental welfare, (plenty of) corn and food etc. (1). The bṛhatī metre is a very powerful entity,

(1) See GERDA HARTMANN, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Göttin Lakṣmī*, Thesis Kiel, and a treatise by myself on Viṣṇu and Śrī which recently appeared in my book 'Aspects of early Viṣṇuism', Utrecht 1954.

which is identified with such important concepts or phenomena as the year or the air and considered a means by which the gods reached heaven [1]. In PB. 7, 4, 7 we are informed that the gods, by means of the out-of-doors laud (*bahiṣpavamāna–*), carried the sun to the world of heaven; as the sun could not maintain itself there, the gods fixed it at noon by means of the bṛhatī; therefore, the text concludes, they chant, at the midday-service, the bṛhatī, for it is this metre that supports (*dadhāra*) the sun at midday. An association between *śrī-* and *pr.* is also found ŚB. 8, 6, 2, 4. In AiB. 8, 9, 4 we read: *sarvasmin ha vā etasmin pratitiṣṭhaty, uttarottariṇīṃ ha śriyam aśnute...* ; 7, 34, 9 *āditya iva ha sma śriyām pratiṣṭhitās tapanti*; 8, 6, 6; GB. 2, 5, 7 *bṛhatyāṃ vā asāv ādityaḥ śriyāṃ pratiṣṭhāyāṃ pratiṣṭhitas tapati*; 1, 5, 20.

Other powerful entities are *puṣṭi–* " the well-nourished condition, thriving, prosperity, opulence ", *anna–* " food ". PB. 13, 6, 16: the triṇava stoma is an " abundant, rich, great, perfect " (*puṣṭa–*) *trivṛt–* (threefold stoma) [2], and is hence employed to gain *pr.* and *puṣṭi–*. It is therefore also worthy of attention that PB. 16, 13, 5 prescribes the same rite for a person desirous of food (*annādyakāma–*) and for one who desires a *pr.*; by performing it he eats food and obtains a firm support. See also 13, 1,3. In a short exposition of the relationship between food, body, and life the TĀ. 9, 7, 1 says that food means life, that the body is an eater of food; the body is based on (*pr.*) food. ŚB. 10, 5, 4, 17 *anna–* and *pr.* are put on a par, or mentioned in the same connection. — Elsewhere, TĀ. 8, 7, 1, *abhaya–* " security, safety " and *pr.* are used in close connection: *yadā–... abhayam pratiṣṭhāṃ vindate atha so 'bhayaṃ gato bhavati.*

The *śaiśava–* sāman is chanted on gāyatrī-verses in order to obtain a *pr.* and *brahmavarcasa–* (PB. 13, 3, 25), because, the commentary adds, the gāyatrī is " established " in that it has three pādas and the cause of " priestly lustre " by its consisting of *tejas* " (fiery) energy " [3]. Similarly: 13, 9, 28. *Brahmavarcasa–* is " pre-eminence in holiness, sacred knowledge and supranormal power ".

TĀ. 4, 42, 5 we find, in an enumeration of desirable powers, *śrī–*, *hrī–*, *dhṛti–*, *tapas*, *medhā*, *pr.*, *śraddhā*, *satya–* and *dharma–*. Cf. also 9, 10, 3 *tṛptir iti vṛṣṭam, balam iti vidyuti, yaśa iti paśuṣu... sarvam ity ākāśe. tat pratiṣṭhety upāsīta. pratiṣṭhāvān bhavati.* 4, 2, 5 *prāṇa* etc., *cakṣus* etc., *manas*, *vāc–*, *ātman–* and *pr.* are among a number of objects craved for.

(1) For references see J. EGGELING, *The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, 5 (SBE. 44), Oxford 1900, p. 526.

(2) Compare also PB. 10, 1, 13 ff.

(3) For *tejas* see J. Ph. VOGEL, *Het sanskrit word "tejas"* (= gloed, vuur) *in de beteekenis van magische kracht*, Amsterdam 1930.

An interesting enumeration of powers is found TU. 3, 10, 3 f.: "one should worship it as a *pr.*, as *mahas* " greatness ", as *manas* " mind ", as *namas* " adoration ", as *brahman* etc. ChU. 5, 2, 4 f. a number of libations is prescribed for him "who wishes to come by something great"; they are to be accompanied by the formulas *jyeṣṭhāya śreṣṭhāya svāhā, vasiṣṭhāya s., pratiṣṭhāyai s., sampade s.* and *āyatanāya s.* respectively, *pr.* and *āy.* being put on a par with one who is pre-eminent, one whose special characteristic is supreme possession of *śrī–*, one most excellent or endowed with success or abundance. Cf. also BU. 6, 3, 2; 1, 14.

It is not surprising that *pr.*, where it appears in an enumeration of powers or physical abilities residing in parts of the body, is localized in the feet (AV. 19, 60, 2). Here it is on a par with *ojas* " vital energy, vitality " which is said to be inherent in the thighs, and *javas* "speed" which resides in the calves, both of them belonging to an extensive group of ' Daseinsmächte ', power-substances which, within some form of experience, were supposed to be present in persons, objects and phenomena and by virtue of which the latter are powerful, effective or influential [1]. In PB. 19, 18, 3 and 25, 6, 3 a number of power-substances are enumerated among which the term under discussion also makes its appearance: the *prāṇās* " vital principle ", the year, *vīryam* " manly strength ", *annādyam* " food ", offspring, *brahmavarcasam, tejas, ojas* and so on. Cf. also PB. 15, 1, 13. — In a discussion of the aśvamedha the ŚB., 13, 3, 7, gives a list of the names, i. e. of the characteristic powers inherent to that highly potent sacrifice: it is *prabhū–* " mighty ", *vibhū–* " all–pervading, omnipresent ", *vyaṣṭi–* " success, obtainment ", *vidhṛti–* " arrangement ", *vyāvṛtti-* " discrimination, distinction ", *ūrjasvat–* " abounding in potent or nutrient food "; *payasvat–* " full of sap or juice ", *brahmavarcasin–* " abounding in holiness and sacred knowledge ", *ativyādhin–* " piercing through ", *dīrgha–* " long, lofty, wide ", *kḷpti–* " accomplishment, achievement ", and, finally, *pr.* " foundation ". By worshipping with this sacrifice one acquires all these qualities.

In the ritualistic mysticism of certain parts of the Atharvaveda the term *pr.* is used in association with other concepts of great importance. AV. 5, 24, 1-17 a large number of divinities is invoked to favour (*av–*) the person speaking *asmin brahmaṇi* [2], in this rite (*karmaṇi*), in this charge or representation (*purodhā*), in this firm-standing (*pr.*), in this intent (*citti–*), in this design (*ākūti–*), in this benediction (*āśis–*), in this invocation of the gods. In such mantras as are found AiB. 8, 9, 3 sky and earth, inspiration

(1) For *ojas* see my book " Ancient Indian *ojas*, Latin **augos* and the Indo-European nouns in *–es–/–os* ", Utrecht 1952; the term *javas* is mentioned on p. 48.

(2) WHITNEY-LANMAN, *Atharva–veda saṃhitā translated*, Cambridge Mass., p. 263 translate " in this worship ".

and expiration, day and night, food and drink, *brahman–* and *kṣatra–* " lordly power " are among the entities in which the person reciting them finds support.

Pratiṣṭhā representing the idea of steadiness for which Vedic man was eager, it is not surprising to find that the texts teach how to avoid loss or deprivation of the same, a state which entails despite and contempt (ŚB. 10, 5, 2, 5): ŚB. 13, 3, 6, 5; 5, 1, 12; PB. 15, 7, 2; 16; 15, 9. ŚB. 2, 6, 2, 14 in explaining the well-known mantra VS. 3, 60 (cf. ṚV. 7, 59, 12 etc.) in which a woman is declared to be separated from here (i. e. from her relatives), not from thence, i. e. from her husband, states: husbands are the *pr.* of woman. 1, 8, 3, 14: in making the *prastara–*bunch, and thereby the sacrificer, to fly up to the world of the gods, the priest concerned draws it downwards; "in this way he does not remove him (the sacrificer) from this *pr.* of his ".

Just as a cart-wheel, or a potter's wheel, would creak if not " steadied " (*apr.*), so were these worlds *adhruvā apratiṣṭhitāḥ* (ŚB. 11, 8, 1, 1; cf. 8, 2, 1, 2; 4; 4, 1, 2). According to another description this universe was in the beginning nothing but a sea of water. By means of tapas the water produced a golden egg; from this Prajāpati was born, but there was no *pr.* at that time (ŚB. 11, 1, 6, 2). TĀ. 10, 63, 1 says that *satyam* is a *pr.* of *vāc–*: *divi s. vācaḥ pr.*; this means, Sāyaṇa observes: *sthirāvasthānam.* When describing the placing of bricks on the fire-altar the same text quotes a number of invocations, among which *pratiṣṭhāṃ śatadhā hi* (1, 21, 3), the word *pr.* being used, Sāyaṇa says, *sthairyahetum* " for the sake of firmness ". Cf. also 1, 31, 6. — A man who is not settled (*pr.*) upon this earth, is *apratiṣṭhita–*, even as one who is far away (ŚB. 7, 4, 1, 12). A horse which is *ayato 'dhṛto 'pr.* would be liable to go to the furthest distance (13, 3, 3, 5). Just as a man who wants to lift a load without having a *pr.* on the earth cannot lift it — what is more, it crushes him — (ŚB. 2, 1, 4, 26), a person without a *pr.* cannot perform a certain ritual act which is equivalent to taking up the thunderbolt, unless he is *pratiṣṭhita–*, for otherwise it destroys him (1, 1, 1, 18). A diseased man is without *pr.* (PB. 16, 13, 4). To be an *apratiṣṭhita–* means to be " haltlos ", or " nicht gut gestellt ", to be without foundation, without security and immunity [1]. Such a man may have had, among the living, a similar status as the revenant among the deceased. Disasters and perdition hang over his head. But a man who is *pr.* wavers not (*na vyathate,* ŚB. 2, 1, 4, 27). Without rest or pleasure (" Behagen ": *arata iva*) is the man who does not *pratiṣṭhā–* (JB. 1, 216; n. 79 C). Hence also such statements as AiB. 4, 25, 7: " one should not sacrifice for an evil man with the twelve-day (rite), (because the person saying so thinks):

(1) Schayer, *o. c.,* p. 281.

let not this one find support in me"; he who worships with this rite finds support in the priest. Cf. also TĀ. 1, 3, 4 where the verb is used as opposed to *bhraṃśyate*.

Hence such imprecations as the above AV. 6, 32, 3 and ŚB. 1, 9, 3, 12 (1) where he who is speaking attempts to destroy the man who hates him by depriving him, by means of the mantra VS. 2, 25 "excluded from this food, from this *pr.*", of his food and his *pr.*; in doing so he looks down upon his portion and the altar respectively. Or ŚB. 1, 6, 1, 18 "if any one were to invoke evil upon him after the completion of the sacrifice, let him say to that person: "*apr.*, poor, you shall swiftly go to yonder world!" Thus, the text adds, that man would indeed fare.

The man who has lost his *pr.* can recover it by a rite. Kāṭh. 25, 2, for instance, prescribes: *yat samam pratiṣṭhitaṃ tasmin yajeta gataśrīḥ, pratiṣṭhā vā etasmā eṣṭavyā yo gataśrīḥ* "a man who has lost his 'welfare' should worship on a smooth and established spot. He must, indeed, strive after a *pr.*" and AiB. 1, 1, 8 has *ghṛte caruṃ nirvapeta yo 'pratiṣṭhito manyetāsyāṃ vāva sa na pratitiṣṭhati, yo na pratitiṣṭhati*. — The atmosphere, which by itself is without *pr.*, can in a similar way be supported by ritual means: ŚāB. 29, 5. Compare, in addition to the above, ŚāB. 7, 9 (cf. 9, 4).

The possession of a foundation, the ability to stand and to be established, is indeed decidedly appreciated as a benefit, as an advantage and a cause of welfare. The person on whose behalf a text used for healing purposes is recited is thus addressed: *prati tiṣṭhordhvaḥ*, meant no doubt in a literal and magically favourable sense (AV. 4, 12, 6). Cf. also 14, 2, 15; 2, 34, 5; 12, 5, 3; 4, 14, 9. "Let the demons destroy one another, let them not find a knower, nor a *pr.*", the poet of AV. 6, 32, 3 II exclaims: without a basis they are apparently considered as powerless (= 8, 8, 21 II). ṚV. 10, 73, 6 a *pr.* accordingly is something on which to rely: "thou hast destroyed the *pr.* which was dear to the heart (of the enemy)". AV. 12, 3, 25 "lively, rich in life" is followed by *pratiṣṭhāḥ* "firm standing": in such a condition they go both to heaven and to earth. AV. 12, 1, 63 Mother Earth is besought to set the person speaking down (*ni dhehi*) *supratiṣṭhitam*, and to bestow upon him (*dhehi*) *śrī-* "welfare" (2) and *bhūti-* "prosperity". There are other illustrative passages: AV. 3, 12, 2 "just here stand firm, o house, rich in horses and cattle, in pleasantness..."; 19, 52, 2 "set firm (*pr.*) with victorious power (*sahas*), might, brilliant". Hence also the association of *pratiṣṭhiti-* and *ṛddhi-* "prosperity, fortune, welfare, abundance"; AiB. 1, 11, 11. AV. 9, 6, 44 a person is said to arrive at a *pr.* in order to generate offspring.

(1) See also SCHAYER, *l. c.*
(2) See above.

Moreover, the Brāhmaṇas abound in passages where man is said to be able to obtain a foundation in some power-substance or other, liable to be settled on some entity or other, if he succeeds in gaining the relevant wisdom or in performing the rites which are to that purpose. Thus one can obtain a foundation among the thirty-three deities (PB. 4, 8, 14), in Prajāpati (15; 11, 4, 7), in Pr. and other divinities and powers (AiB. 4, 22, 9), in the centre of the sacrifice (PB. 19, 10, 8); in manly strength and in the sacrifice (9, 7, 5); in *stomas* (ritual chants, 17, 8, 4); in this world (ŚB. 12, 5, 2, 9; PB. 10, 12, 4); in the year (i. e. time, PB. 18, 11, 6); in heaven (ŚB. 12, 1, 3, 22); in cattle (AiB. 6, 2, 7; PB. 4, 8, 15; 21, 10, 10; 12, 7 etc.); in a friend (AiB. 8, 8, 13); in food (ŚāB. 14, 2); in pre-eminence (*jyaiṣṭhya*– PB. 8, 7, 3); in *ojas*– and *vīrya*– (11, 6, 11); in whatever one wishes (8, 8, 20). PB. 4, 2, 10, after having stated that two sāmans are manly strength, (*vīrya*–) says that in manly strength " they finally establish themselves ".

Having one's *pr.* in a power-substance implies being in possession of it, reaping benefits from it. PB. 20, 10, 1 states that a definite rite should be performed by him who is desirous of pre-eminence in holiness (*brahmavarcasa*–), because that rite is *tejas* and pre-eminence in holiness; by doing so he obtains that pre-eminence, and he establishes himself in *tejas* and pre-eminence (*tejasi br-e pratitiṣṭhati*). AiB. 4, 3, 3 *puruṣo vīrye pratiṣṭhitaḥ sarveṣām paśūnām vīryavattamaḥ*: man after having been established (*pratiṣṭhāpayati*) in strength is stronger than cattle. Cf. also PB. 16, 1, 10. ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 22 " in lordship and kingship (and so on) he establishes himself so as not to lose them etc ". Whatever men Agni, the giver, gives him, among them the officiant by a particular rite establishes (*pr.*) the king, ŚB. 5, 2, 5, 4 says, " and whatever he wishes to do with his men, that he is able to do. Thus he thereby approaches the men, thinking, ' may I be consecrated, and possessed of men! ' ". Cf. also 8; 12; 13, 4, 3, 15. If people were to drive a man from his house he should pronounce, in a ritual way, the word *mahas* (" greatness, wealth "); then he becomes firmly established by offspring and cattle and is not deprived of his ' home ' (*nāyātanāc cyavate*, ŚB. 11, 8, 1, 3). Cf. also ChU. 5, 17, 1 and other texts. In this connection the statement *ātman yajamānasya sarvān kāmān pratiṣṭhāpayāmaḥ* (ŚB. 6, 6, 1, 22) " we thus secure for the sacrificer's self all his objects of desire " (Eggeling) is worthy of attention.

By singing a sāman on the bṛhatī metre the sacrificer is established on the bṛhatī. Cf. also ŚB. 11, 4, 3, 18 and other passages. 13, 5, 4, 28 the heavenly world is established upon the bṛhatī metre, and thus one finally establishes oneself, by means of the bṛhatī-metre, in the heavenly world. Or the man who performs the right ritual acts will obtain an unspecified *pr.*: PB. 22, 1, 2 by a definite rite the seasons found a firm support; by performing this rite he who desires a f. s. will obtain it. 12, 11, 24 the *vai*-

rāja-sāman is founded on the *vātsapra-* (because both have the *anutoda-* or, ' repeated push " ([1])); he who in lauding applies the *vātsapra-* becomes firmly founded. Cf. also PB. 23, 2, 4; 5, 4 etc. A common locution is: by performing a definite ritual act one establishes oneself upon this (one's) foundation: *asyām evaitat pratiṣṭhāyāṃ pratitiṣṭhati* (ŚB. 7, 2, 1, 19; cf. 1, 1, 1, 19; 9, 1, 29; 3, 11 etc.). By a ritual and cosmic process, an important factor of which consists in the treading upon (*pr.*) Death (in a ritual manner, of course), the sacrificer is able to escape that Death (ŚB. 2, 3, 3, 9). By taking a firm stand on this *pr.*, to wit the earth, one gains this world: ŚB. 3, 6, 3, 7, cf. 12 and 15. By a son, BU. 1, 5, 17 declares, one *pratitiṣṭhati* in this world, i. e. after dying one has a foundation in this world, since the son, who continues the father's life on earth, sacrifices for him, so that his existence does not come to an end; "the son assists him from this world ".

Moreover, man to the utmost of his powers endeavours to bring those entities or substances which are of importance to him and to the well-being of the universe into such a state that they rest on their *pr.*, on their normal basis and foundation. When powers are *pratiṣṭhita-* they are settled and placed where they belong, they cannot become detached, wander about (cf. ChU. 3, 12, 2 *etām*, viz. the gāyatrī which is considered a foundation, *eva nātiśīyate* " it does not extend beyond it "), and exert their influence in places and under circumstances where they would be unwished-for and dangerous, where they would infringe the cosmic and ritual norms and rules. Hence the locution " to establish something in its own resort " (*sva evāyatane pratiṣṭhāpayati*), which has already been commented upon. Compare, in addition to the texts mentioned above: ŚB. 4, 5, 2, 13 one should expose an embryo on a tree, for embryos have the air for their " support or resort " (*āy.*) and the tree is so to say identical with the air ". ŚB. 13, 3, 3, 3, " by means of its own stoma he thus establishes it in its own deity "; cf. 4 " he causes to be provided with (*samardhayati*) its own deity ". Cf. also 6, 25, 6; 31, 3; 8, 5; 3, 8, 8; GB. 2, 4, 15; 17; ŚB. 10, 2, 2, 8. AiB. 2, 6, 16 the offal (*ūvadhyam*) is connected with plants; the earth is the *pr.* of the plants; " by digging a hole in the earth to cover the offal, he in the end (*antataḥ*) establishes it in its own support ". The reason why this act (*pr–āyām pr.* caus.) is performed is explicitly given AiB. 1, 30, 11 *pratiṣṭhāyām evainau tat pratiṣṭhāpayaty ātmanaś ca yajamānasya cāhiṃsāyai* " to prevent injury to himself or the sacrificer ". By being well-established these powers are able to balance other powers, to conjure dangerous influences, to prevent the occurrence of abnormal conditions. Thus the *pr.* is itself a power which controls the power which

([1]) See CALAND, *Pañcaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa*, p. 301.

is normally founded on it and which enables that power to co-operate in establishing the right order. One of the aims of the sacrifice consists in founding the various powers and beings on the base to which they belong or to establish them so as to operate in the right way.

This aim is also clearly indicated in such texts as ŚB. 7, 4, 1, 8: the sacrificer puts down a lotus-leaf so as not to be separated from truth (or reality: *satya-*); he thereby establishes the earth, which is such a leaf, on truth (*satya-*); hence this earth is established on truth; this earth and truth or reality are identical, because this earth is the most certain of the worlds. The gods, ŚB. 4, 5, 1, 4 says, established speech on this earth, and thus established on it speech speaks here. By pronouncing a formula in a way which is considered incorrect one does not establish (*pr.* caus.) a definite blessing (*āśis-*) anywhere (ŚB. 1, 9, 1, 21). The reason why additional oblations are prepared, ŚB. 11, 1, 3, 3 declares, is to prevent the oblation from being uncertain and unfirm (*anaddhā... apratiṣṭhitam*). By a certain ritual act a feeble (*mṛdu*) and loose (*śithiram*) metre is counterbalanced: *tad dṛḷhatāyai dṛḷhe pratiṣṭhāsyāmaḥ* (AiB. 6, 16, 2 f.). Cf. also ŚB. 3, 1, 4, 11 "when he offers in Agni (the fire), surely these (libations) are thereby made definite (*addheva*) and established".

This is a convenient place to mention some other passages where an establishment is commented upon by the authors of the Brāhmaṇas. In a long explanation the author of ŚB. 13, 8, 1, 5, argues that a burial-place should be four-cornered; in that case the deceased establish themselves in the regions; the gods had, he adds, 'in the beginning' driven out the asuras from the regions, and being regionless, these were overcome (*parābhavan*). — The feet of the sacrificial animal are cleaned; this act takes place *pratiṣṭhityai* "for the sake of a firm position", because the animal stands firmly on its feet (ŚB. 3, 8, 2, 6). One throws down a stalk of grass, so no sacrificial food shall be spilt: whatever may be spilt settles thereon and thus is not lost (3, 8, 1, 14). The hotar "establishes speech, inspiration etc. in the self and a full life" (*sarvāyuḥ*), AiB. 3, 8, 9 says, "for fullness of life" (*sarvāyutvāya*). — TS. 7, 4, 11, 1 *yad etān stomān upayanti eṣv eva tal lokeṣu sattriṇaḥ pratitiṣṭhanto yanti* "in that they perform these stomas, the performers of the sattra keep finding support in these worlds" (1) because according to the preceding explanation the stomas are the earth, the atmosphere, and the sky. — By a certain sāman, PB. 8, 5, 12 holds, the afternoon-service "becomes all right" (Caland: *bhavati... pratiṣṭhitam*) (2):

(1) A. B. KEITH, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Cambridge Mass., 1914, p. 609.

(2) I refer to CALAND, *Pañc.-Br.*, p. 175, who refers to JaimBr. 1, 165, *Auswahl* n. 55.

this sāman has a finale in the middle, which, according to JB. 1, 165, is *pratiṣṭhāyai* " for obtaining a *pr.* ", for he who comes to a *nidhana-* (finale) may take a rest.

In an interesting passage, PB. 14, 9, 27, a specification is given of some processes which co-operated in bringing about an ' establishment ': when the (third) three-day period was shattered (*vyaśīryata*) the gods healed it by means of these sāmans: by the *gāyatrapārśva-* they propped it up (*upāyacchan*), by the *santani-* they connected it (*samatanvan*), by the *saṃkṛti-* they brought it into good order, so that it was equal to its task and could attain the objects in view (*samaskurvan*). " That these sāmans are thus applied ", the text concludes, " is in order that it (to wit the three-day period) may be well established (*pratiṣṭhityai*) ".

' Being established ' can therefore mean " being in the right or normal condition, prosper, being successful, thrive ": ŚB. 8, 2, 3, 8 when it rains cattle *pratitiṣṭhanti* (" thrive " Eggeling). Cf. also TS. 5, 1, 3, 1; ChU. 5, 17, 1; GobhGs. 4, 6, 10. When the metres are established (*pr.*) in complete and proper order (*yathāyathena kḷptena*), ŚB. 1, 8, 2, 13 states, then disorder or confusion will not take place (*idam apāpavasyasam*; this phrase literally means: " this is without the state of ' bad-better ', i. e. inversion "). In this connection AiB. 8, 4, 5 may be mentioned: *tad enaṃ tejasā vīryeṇa prajātyā pratiṣṭhayāntataḥ samardhayati* " he makes him prosper with fiery or brillant energy, manly strength, generative power, and support ". Cf. 1, 30, 11; ŚB. 6, 7, 3, 4 and 10; 2, 5, 2, 48; 6, 2, 9.

The very numerous passages where man is said to be able, by means of ritual acts, to establish such a foundation (*pratiṣṭhāpayati*) testify to the well-known fact that the sacrifice was considered an important means of maintaining the universe, keeping the power-substances in their respective spheres or placing them so as to work to man's advantage. Compare, in addition to the remarks already made, e. g. GB. 2, 4, 6 = KB. 18, 8 " with a verse to Viṣṇu they pour them out; Viṣṇu is the sacrifice; thus they establish them in the sacrifice "; GB. 2, 2, 10 *devatāsv eva yajñaṃ pr.*; 13 *lokeṣv eva y. pr.*, and *oṣadhīṣv eva y. pr.*; 3, 10; 22.

It may also be observed that being a *pr.* is, in accordance with the trend of ancient Indian thought, regarded as sufficient to enable an entity to make a person obtain a *pr.*: cf. AiB. 3, 8, 3 = GB. 2, 3, 5 (mantra, the *vaṣaṭ* call is addressed) *pr. asi, pr-ṃ gacha, pr-m mā gamaya* " thou art a *pr.*, win *pr.*, make me attain *pr.* ". — It is likewise in harmony with the inclinations of the authors of the brāhmaṇas to bring together power-substances which for some reason or other were considered identical or similar, and that we come across such statements as PB. 19, 12, 8: by applying the bṛhat-sāman on the anuṣṭubh-metre one establishes the end (i. e. the highest) in the end, both being the end (*anta-*, of the sāmans and

the metres respectively). Cf. also ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 18; 19; 1, 1, 4, 3. When 1, 1, 4, 3 reads " ... the sacrifice would still remain securely founded on the sacrifice ", this means that it would not go astray, not be in vain, serve the right end etc. (1).

In the speculations in connection with this conception of a firm ground or support the well-known identifications (2) and the primitive logic of the Brāhmaṇas have a considerable rôle. PB. 6, 8, 18, for instance, the *rathantara*– sāman is, as is also often the case in other Brāhmaṇa passages, identified with the earth; hence chanting after the manner of the rathantara provides a man with a *pr.* on the earth. 9, 3, 4 the r. is called the *pr.* among the sāmans. ŚB. 8, 2, 1, 10 explains the words *adityās tvā pṛṣṭhe sādayāmi* (VS. 14, 5) in this way: Aditi is the earth, upon her, as a *pr.*, he thus founds (*pr.* caus.) the fire. Cf. 12, 1, 1, 1. The sacrifice is supposed to reproduce the persons of Prajāpati and of the sacrificer; as P. is the year, the spring season and the first day are identical with the *pr.* (" foot ") of P. (and of the sacrifice) and so on: cf. e.g. ŚB. 13, 6, 1, 11; 8, 2, 1, 18; thus these worlds, the year, and the sacrificer's person pass into the sacrifice under discussion. — By placing a dark-grey he-goat for Soma and Pūṣan at the navel of the sacrificial horse one makes it a *pr.*, for Pūṣan is this earth (which is a *pr.*, ŚB. 13, 2, 2, 6). By stepping upon (*abhyavarohati*) a piece of gold one takes one's stand (*pr.*) on life immortal, for gold is immortal life (ŚB. 5, 2, 1, 20; cf. also 3, 8, 2, 27; 3, 26; 12, 8, 1, 22). By putting on shoes of boar's skin one establishes oneself in the essence of cattle (ŚB. 5, 4, 3, 19). — The householder is this world, in this world all this is established, all the partakers of the sattra are established in the house-holder: *pratiṣṭhāyā* (?, *pratiṣṭhām*?) *evainaṃ tatpratiṣṭhityai dīkṣante* (GB. 1, 4, 1). — In connection with the bṛhatī metre the author of GB. 1, 3, 18 observes that heaven is related to it, because the gods in heaven worship with it and are established there by it; cf. also AB. 7, 1. The *svāhā* calls are a *pr.*, by pronouncing them the sacrifice is established on a *pr.*: AiB. 2, 4, 15. Cf. 2, 10, 10. A formula, which is said to be the *ṛc*–, is the *pr.* of the *sāman*– (text derived from the collection of *ṛcas* and intended to be chanted: SVB. 1, 1, 12).

The well-being obtained by being established can be of the utmost importance. PB. 8, 5, 10 holds out a prospect of *gātu*– and of a foundation to him who will chant with a particular sāman (cf. § 9). Now *gātu*–, which is usually translated by " unimpeded motion, progress, welfare "

(1) See above.

(2) I refer to H. Oldenberg, *Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft*, Göttingen 1919, p. 110 ff.; A.B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, Cambridge Mass. 1925, p. 484.

implies the idea of "success, refuge, unimpeded progress towards salvation" (1); it is explained in Sāyaṇa's commentary by *yajñānuṣṭhānamārga-* and *laukikavaidikavidheya- mārga-*; and (at 8, 8, 23) by *pratiṣṭhāmārga-sādha- natvād gātuvid vai mārgalambhakaṃ khalu.*

In this way 'establishments' can occur in a series: ŚB. 11, 2, 2, 4, where the root *pratiṣṭhā-* is used 7 times in less than 3 lines. Cf. also 4, 3, 1, 22; BU. 3, 9, 20 ff.; GB. 1, 1, 38; TS. 5, 1, 3, 1. We also find that the 7 metres which increase by 4 syllables successively are regarded as being firmly established in one another: ŚB. 10, 3, 1, 9. — It may be observed in passing that there are also enumerations of other power-substances, which are said to be successively established in one another: AiB. 3, 6, 4 *dyaur antarikṣe pr., a. pṛthivyām, p. apsv, āpaḥ satye, s. brahmaṇi, br. tapasi.* The text adds: *etā eva tat pratiṣṭhāḥ pratitiṣṭhantir idaṃ sarvam anupratitiṣṭhati yad idaṃ kiṃca.* See also GB. 2, 3, 2.

In the ritual and mystical speculations of the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, and Upaniṣads the *pr.* concept has an important rôle. Apart from the passages already mentioned the attention may be drawn to the following: among the *stomabhāga*-formulas (2) we find: *vasuko 'si vasyaṣṭir asi veṣaśrīr asi,* which means something like "thou art wealthy, attaining welfare and well-being of apparel"; in TS. 3, 5, 2, 5, these entities are said to be "for support", in GB. 2, 2, 14 they are "support" (*pratiṣṭhiti-*) itself. A certain ritual act is, GB. 2, 1, 4, *uttarāsām āhutīnāṃ pratiṣṭhityai*; likewise a *dyāvāpṛthivīyaḥ* (i. e. belonging to heaven and earth, which are frequently called *pr.*) *bhāgaḥ* (2, 1, 17, cf. 20). According to 1, 4, 14; 22 the *udayanīya-* ("concluding") *atirātra-* serves to lead a man to "heaven, food, and foundation". — The sacrifice or worship (*yajña-*) is not seldom said to be established in the *virāj-* metre (see e. g. GB. 2, 3, 20), which is mystically regarded as food (e. g. AiB. 8, 4, 3). Elsewhere (AiB. 6, 3, 12) the sacrifice is at the end (*antataḥ*, a common addition) established in proper food and speech (by completing the *subrahmaṇyā* recitation; the *s.* is speech, the *dakṣiṇā* is food).

The layers of the fire-altar are called foundations (*pr.*). This natural fact is made an element of ritual mysticism: ŚB. 7, 4, 2, 31 Agni is Prajāpati, P. is the year; the first layer is his *pr.*, the spring is another *pr.* of his; cf. 7, 4, 2, 8 these bricks (3) are these worlds, and these worlds are the *pr.*; 8, 7, 4, 19. The sun which was, in the shape of a round gold plate, laid down in the centre of the altar site before the first layer was built, becomes, natur-

(1) CALAND renders it by "salvation", but elsewhere (PB. 8, 8, 23) by "refuge".

(2) I refer to CALAND, *Pañc.- br.*, p. 16.

(3) Cf. J. EGGELING, SBE. 41, p. 155, n. 8.

aally, also a *pr.* for the sacrificer: cf. ŚB. 10, 4, 2, 28. — The earth is, as we have seen, considered a foundation: by touching the earth when concluding the recitation of a hymn, one brings about an establishment: see AiB. 3, 38, 12. The *caturhotṛhṛdayamantra–*, which belongs to the formulas to be muttered in the *cāturmāsya–yāga–*, begins as follows (TĀ. 3, 11, 2): *brahmendram agniṃ jagataḥ pratiṣṭhām... tapasānvavindat*; cf. Sāyaṇa: *sarvasya jagata ādhārarūpo yo 'yaṃ cāturhotriyacitirūpo 'gniḥ tat svarūpam.*

As was to be expected the, mystical example or precedent [1] also has an important rôle in the speculations in connection with the various *pratiṣṭhās*. In executing the rites man reiterates acts replete with power which were, before chronological time, performed by a founder, i. e. by a divine being or by an eminent human being. Apart from other cases which come up for discussion in other parts of this treatise, attention may be drawn to ŚB. 8, 3, 4, 8 " by means of this food, these four four-footed animals, they (i. e. the gods) established themselves in yonder world (*amuṣmiṃ loke*); and in like manner the sacrificer now, by means of this food, these... animals, establishes himself in y. w. ". Cf. also 3, 5, 1, 7. Elsewhere (AiB. 8, 11, 4) a man obtains a firm position in Indra's world, or (4, 21, 2 f.; cf. 6, 20, 12) in the *svarga–loka–* (heaven). TS. 3, 5, 7, 3 it is related that Prajāpati sacrificed; " where the oblation found support " (*yatrāhutiḥ pratyatiṣṭhat*), thence sprang the Vikaṅkata.

Cosmological and other highly important concepts are over and over again subjected to suppositions and theories based on the *pratiṣṭhā* idea. The year is often called the *pr.* of all beings: ŚB. 8, 4, 1, 22; consisting of 24 half-months, 6 seasons, day and night, and the year itself, it may be considered 33-fold; by means of the 33-fold hymn–form which is a *pr.* one can exert influence on the year [2]. The year itself is held to be established on day and night (ŚB. 6, 7, 1, 19), or on the day (JB. 2, 431, n. 169 C.). ŚB. 10, 6, 4, 1 the days and nights are, in their turn, considered the *pr.* (in the sense of " feet ") of the sacrificial horse. The sun is called the *pr.* of light, i. e. the basis, starting-point, source and origin of all light: cf. ŚB. 10, 5, 2, 5. Elsewhere it is the *uttamā pr.*: AiB. 3, 30, 29. That luminary itself is established (*pr.*) in the farthest of the regions: ŚB. 9, 5, 1, 37. It is important to notice that heaven is also a *pr.*: ŚB. 12, 2, 3, 11 *svargāya lokāya pratiṣṭhāyā annādyāya*; like sky and earth which are often called *dve pr-e,* this earth here, the other yonder, cf. e.g. AiB. 3, 29, 7; 4, 10, 11. The world and the regions are likewise a *pr.* (*ime ca lokā diśaś ca pr.*, ŚB. 8, 5, 3, 6). As earth is the *pr.* in this world, so air or atmosphere (*anta-*

(1) See VAN DER LEEUW, *o. c.*, ch. 60.

(2) As is well known, the number 33 is very important: it is the number of the deities; there are observances lasting 33 days, and so on.

rikṣa-) is the *pr.* in yonder world (11, 1, 6, 22). Even the All has a *pr.*: according to ŚB. 4, 3, 1, 22 it is *pratiṣṭhita-* on out-breath and in-breath.

The sacrifice can also constitute a *pr.*: cf. ŚāB. 5, 8 with regard to the full-moon sacrifice. Cf. also 6, 15; 24, 2; 25, 11; 14; 27, 2. By definite ritual acts it can " be established in this *pr.*, to wit, the own person ". (*ātmany evāsyāṃ pr. antato yajñaḥ pratitiṣṭhati*, ŚB. 4, 2, 2, 5). Elsewhere the sacrificer is regarded as " firmly est. on this *virāj-*(brick) ": 8, 5, 2, 7.

The idea of basis or foundation is closely related to, and often practically identical with, that of substratum or that of power, entity, faculty by which another entity or phenomenon is conditioned, on which it depends. When Śākalya argues, BU. 3, 9, 20, that the sun is based on the eye and the eye on appearance (" for with the eye one sees appearances "), what he has in mind is no doubt that the sun and the objects illuminated by it cannot be seen without the eye, and that the eye would be useless without visible objects. The same teacher, however, continues: " The appearances are based on the heart, for it is with the heart that one knows appearances; on the heart alone they are based (*pr.*) ". Thus 1, 5, 1, *tasmin sarvaṃ pratiṣṭhitam* apparently means: " on this (to wit: food) everything depends "; cf. also the explanation given in § 2.

The relation can also be one of mutual dependence: BU. 5, 5, 1 the person who is in the solar orb and the person who is in the right eye, these two depend upon each other (*anyo 'nyasmin pratiṣṭhitau*). Thus TaiU. 3,9 space is *pr.* on the earth, and the earth on space. When two entities are conceived as interdependent, as founded upon each other, they keep each other well balanced, they form an inseparable pair, they cannot be imagined as existing singly. Thus 3, 7 body and breath; 8 light and water (*jyotiḥ* and *āpaḥ*). AiB. 8, 2, 3 already has: *brahmaṇi . . . kṣatram pr., kṣatre brahma*; 4, 25, 5 Prajāpati as the year found support in the seasons and the months and conversely; AiĀ. 2, 7, 1; ŚāB. 26, 2.

In one of the minor Upaniṣads, the Subāla, 10, Raikva who is also mentioned in the ChU. (4, 1) [1], asking on which entity all existing beings are founded (*sampr.*) is told: *rasātalalokeṣu* [2] " in the (nether) world called *rasātala-* "; he then goes on to ask on what entity these *rasātala-* are *otāś ca protāś ca* " sewn lengthwise and crosswise " — this phrase, which is also used BU. 3, 6 and elsewhere [3], constitutes another effort to formulate the idea that there must be an ultimate ground of all things —; at last all

(1) See also W. RUBEN, *Die Philosophen der Upanishaden*, Bern 1947, p. 115 ff.

(2) See e. g. W. KIRFEL, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, Bonn-Leipzig 1920, p. 144 ff. The *rasātala-* forms a part of the nether world. According to some texts (e. g. Mbh. 5, 102, 1 and Rām. 1, 39, 21) it is the bottommost of the 'storeys' which in post-Vedic times are held to constitute the nether world.

(3) I refer to my *Notes on Brahman* (see above), p. 44 f.

worlds are said to be *pratiṣṭhita–* on the ātman. In this text both expressions, *pr.* and *ota– ca prota– ca,* are considered interchangeable.

" How can the infinite world be attained? ", Naciketas asks KaU. 1, 14, and what is its *pr.* " on what does it depend, what is its foundation? " The author of AV. 10, 8, 6 hazards an attempt to answer a difficult question of this category: " the great abode (or " track ": *pada–*) " aged " (*jarat*) by name: there this All is set (*ārpitam*), there is *pr.* what stirs and breathes ". He no doubt intends to say that all beings and objects are liable to decay and find their end in old age, that they are subject to it and depend on it; old age, decay, the prelude to complete annihilation, hold them in their power. In this connection mention may also be made of ŚāB. 6, 12 " in the brahman (priest) the sacrifice finds support. Whatever ... flaw there is in the s. ... that he remedies ".

The sun, which is the 21st, ŚB. 1, 3, 5, 11 states, is a *gati–* (this term may, for the time being, be translated " place of issue, origin " which is at the same time considered a goal or resort: ChU. 1, 9, 1) (1) and a *pr.*; by reciting 21 *sāmidheni*-verses the sacrificer obtains this *gati–*, this *pr.* Cf. also 1, 9, 3, 10; 15: the sun is the *g.* and the *pr.* (2) to which one goes. — ChU. 1, 8, 7 the question " what does yonder world go back to " (*amuṣya lokasya kā gatir iti*) is answered with " to this world "; when, further, one of the interlocutors is asked the *gati–* of this world, he answers: " one should not ' lead beyond ' the *pratiṣṭhā loka–* ", which seems to mean: " il ne faut pas chercher de support par delà ce monde " (3) (cf. 1, 8, 5 *svargaṃ lokam*). — The black deer-skin is, in the course of the ceremonies in connection with the procession of the soma, laid down with the text " seat thee on Aditi's seat " (VS. 4, 30) (4), " for Aditi is the earth, and she is a *pr.*; he therefore places (soma) on that *pr.*" (ŚB. 3, 3, 4, 1). — AiĀ. 5, 3, 2 the ' hymn ' addressed is, among other things, called *pr. hṛdayasya* " the resting-place of the heart ".

At an early date forms of the verb *pratiṣṭhā–* were used in connection with phenomena or conceptions which played very prominent parts in ancient Indian thought. The relevant texts are especially worth discussing. AV. 10, 7 deals with the *skambha–* or " frame of creation ", i. e. " the support, fulcrum, pillar of the world ", which is believed to have entered the universe, though part of it " lies along that which will exist "; both the existent and the non–existent are in it; it sustains heaven-and-

(1) For the sense of the term *gati–* see OLDENBERG, *o.c.*, p. 160.

(2) " Final goal, safe resort " EGGELING.

(3) E. SENART, *Chāndogya–Upaniṣad*, Paris 1930, p. 12.

(4) For the ' symbolic ' value of the seat see J. AUBOYER, *Le trône et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne*, Paris 1949, p. 50 ff.

earth, the directions and the atmosphere. Like some other texts (1) this ' hymn ' appears to be an effort to formulate the views of some Vedic circles with regard to the ultimate foundation of things. Emphasizing the idea that ultimate Reality (or by whatever name the inexpressible might be designated) is a basis, a support, a foundation, the authors speaking here do not hesitate to identify *skambha-* and *brahman-*. Now st. 1 runs as follows: " In what member of it (of the *skambha-*) is tapas situated (*tiṣṭhati*)? In what member... is reality (truth, *ṛtam* (2)) deposited (*āhitam*) ? Where is (its) rule (observance, *vratam*), where its faith (*śraddhā*) situated (*tiṣṭhati*)? In what member of him is the real (truth, *satyam*) established (*pratiṣṭhitam*)? ". The compound *pratiṣṭhitam*, which on the strength of both its sense and its outward appearance is more forceful than the other verbs, occupies the last place in the stanza (3).

ChU. 7, 24, 1 the foundation of the ' plenum ' (*bhūman-*) comes up for discussion: the plenum, which is *amṛtam* "not dying" must be founded (*pr.*) on its own greatness (*sve mahimni*), unless it is not founded on "greatness ' at all, for (§ 2) it cannot rest on that " greatness " which answers to our human conceptions. In the same work, 5, 17, 1, the universal soul (*ātmā vaiśvānaraḥ*) is called the support: Uddālaka Āruṇi declares the earth to be considered the fundamental power called ātman; Aśvapati Kaikeya observes: " the universal soul is that support (*pr.*) which you regard as the ātman. Therefore you are supported (*pratiṣṭhito 'si*) with offspring and cattle ". — Elsewhere the term *pr.* is used in connection with *aditi-* " boundlessness, freedom, inexhaustible abundance, etc. " (4): KāŚB. 1, 2, 1, 11 *iyam a. i. pr.*

Amṛtam is again mentioned in this connection in ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 22: "gold is non-dying (*amṛtam*), in non-dying ('immortality') they thus finally establish themselves ". — Similar passages are also found in connection with *ṛtam* and other power-substances of a universal character: MBr. 2, 4, 10 *ṛtaṃ satye pratiṣṭhitam.*

(1) See my ' Notes on brahman ', p. 43 f.

(2) For the meaning of *ṛta-* now see H. LÜDERS, *Varuṇa*, I, Göttingen 1951, p. 13 ff., and my note to be published in Oriens (vol. 6, review of Lüders' s book, p. 386 f.).

(3) For the tendency to put the shorter or more important element first, see e. g. CALAND, in the *Acta Orientalia*, 9, p. 59 ff.; WACKERNAGEL, *Verhandlungen* 41. Philol.-Vers. in München, p. 307; O. BEHAGHEL, *Indogerm. Forsch.* 31, p. 396 f.; W. HAVERS, *Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax*, Heidelberg, 1931, p. 178 and p. 262 f.; J. GONDA, *Stilistische studie over Atharvaveda* I-VII, Wageningen 1938, p. 70 f. and elsewhere.

(4) See also F.B. J. KUIPER, *De goddelijke moleder in de Voor-Indische religie*, Groningen 1939, p. 12 f., and my ' Aspets of early Viṣṇuism ', p. 115 f.

Reverting, for a moment, to the *skambha-* concept we find that in AV. 10, 7, 22 and 30 all the worlds, what is and is to be, and the god Indra are known as (completely) *pratiṣṭhita-* in the *skambha-* (see above). Elsewhere the sacrificer is held to establish himself in this universe (*asmint sarvasmin pr.*, ŚB. 10, 2, 4, 3), or in both worlds (this world and the hereafter): AiB. 1, 11, 11. Cf. also AiB. 4, a. 21; ŚāB. 3, 5. — Now and then the sacrificer is considered able to establish himself in the heavenly world: ŚB. 12, 9, 2, 8 *svarga eva loke 'ntataḥ pratitiṣṭhati*. Cf. 8, 6, 1, 4; 11, 5, 2, 10; AiB. 1, 5, 8. This heavenly world is elsewhere called a (place of) safety: ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 22 *svargo vai loko 'bhayam*.

The poet of AV. 11, 4, 1 pays homage to breath (*prāṇa-*) in whose control is this All, who has become lord of all, in whom all stands firm (*yasmint sarvaṃ pratiṣṭhitam*), cf. st. 15. Compare also BU. 1, 3, 17. PrU. 2, 12 various forms of *prāṇa-* are said to be *pr.* in speech, in hearing, in sight and (in this case the form *saṃtata-* is used) in the mind. See also ŚāB. 17, 7. AiU. 5, 3 holds all beings and objects existing to be *prajñāne pratiṣṭhitam* " founded in intelligence "; the world is guided by *prajñā* " intelligence" which is identical with brahman. Cf. AiĀ. 2, 6. ĀtmaprU. 1 states that all that exists in the midst of the lotus-like heart is *prajñāne pratiṣṭhitam*.

In a text praising Time, AV. 19, 53, 9, " this " is sent by born of, and set firm in that important ' entity '; " Time ", it is added, " becoming the brahman, bears the supreme Being " (*parameṣṭhin-*). The Gandharvas and Apsarases are, like the worlds, *pr.* in Time which " proceeds as the highest god " (19, 54, 4 ff., where other beings are said to stand upon Time: *adhiṣṭhā-*). — Elsewhere some entity or other is held to be founded in *satya-* " truth ", or " identity ": BU. 5, 14, 4 the gāyatrī is based upon the fourth foot (*turīye darśate pade parorajasi pr.*; i. e. the sun, see § 3), and that is, in its turn, founded (*pr.*) on *satya-*. Now, this idea of being based upon truth is also expressed in other works: MahānU. 2, 79 *satye sarvaṃ pratiṣṭhitam*) ". " When one is grounded on truth (*satyapratiṣṭhāyām*) ", Pat. YogaS. 2, 36 says, that is: in abstinence from falsehood, " actions and consequences depend upon him ", and 1, 8 the same work, in dealing with misconception, states that it is an erroneous *jñāna-* (" insight, knowledge, idea ") not based on that form (in respect of which the misconception is entertained). Here the term *pr.* is used in a psychological and philosophical sense. Rām. 1, 34, 11 *satye dharme pr-itā* is explained: *satyān mano na nivartate* (Rāma's comm.). — Mbh. 1, 158, 35 the *dharma* itself is said to be *pr.*: " established ".

The existent is " made firm " in the non-existent: AV. 17, 1, 19 *asati sat pratiṣṭhitam*; being (*bhūta-*) in the existent, Being is also set (*āhitam*) in what is to be, and what is to be is *pr.* in Being. That is to say:

Being and what is to be are established in one another, they are indissolubly co-existent.

Of special interest are also other passages of similar import, in which cosmical, psychical and ontological concepts or phenomena are said, or supposed, to be founded on other similar phenomena or entities. ŚB. 6, 7, 1, 19 day and night are the foundations of Agni (who is the year, 18), for on day and night the year is founded. The latter part of this statement no doubt means that the year owes its very existence to that of the smaller units of which it consists, cf. 18 where for etymological reasons, which we pass over without comment, the year is said to be able to exist (*sthātum*) by means of the seasons. In a similar way 6, 7, 1, 21 — the passage is worth reading in its entirety– the *ātmā* is regarded as being *pr.* on mind (*manasi*).

In Upaniṣads and other treatises of similar character we come across such series as GB. 1, 1, 38: the sacrifice is established on the Vedas, the Vedas on *vāc–*, *v.* on the *manas*, the *m.* on the *prāṇa–*, the *p.* on food, f. on the earth, the e. on water..., space on *brahma*, *b.* on the *brāhmaṇa–* who is *brahmavid–*. In 37 the same 12 *mahābhutāni* (" important categories ") are enumerated, in the reverse order, in such a way as to declare that *brahma* is *abhipannaṃ grasitaṃ parāmṛṣṭam* " overpowered, swallowed, seized " by the *brāhmaṇa–* and so on.

Similar ideas are expressed in later texts: Vār. BS. 48, 52 " (this) clarified butter (used for oblations: *ājya–*) is identified with brilliant energy (*tejas*); it is the best expeller of evil; the *ājya–* is the food of the gods; on it the worlds are founded (*pr.*) "; MārkPur. 29, 6; 26, 6 "the support (*ādhāra–*) of everything is this cow which consists of the three Vedas, in which the universe is established (*pr–taṃ viśvam*), and which is believed to be the cause of the universe ".

In the mystico-psychological speculations of the authors of yoga-texts the term *pratiṣṭhita–* is likewise often used to indicate that "all " (*sarvam*) is established in one vein or other (cf. e. g. YoŚiU. 6, 10; DhyāU. 94, 1), that some faculty or other has its basis or foundation in a particular part of the body, etc. (Cf. also YoŚiU. 1, 169). — In arguing that speech and mind (*vāṅmanase*) should go together, the author of ṢaḍvB. 1, 5, 5 says *vāci manaḥ pratiṣṭhāpayati*; the commentary explains: *vāṅmanase ekīkuryāt.* — In the JābU., 2, the *ātman–* is said to be established in the *avimukta–*, i. e. in the place between the nose and the eyebrows; see also RāuU. 4, 1. Compare also PrāU. 2, 1; ŚāU. 1,41; YośiU. 1, 175; AnāU. 33 *prāṇo yatra prāṇaiḥ pratiṣṭhitaḥ.* — In the works of this description we also find such localizations as the following: DhyāU. 30 *atasīpuṣpasaṃkāśaṃ nābhisthāne pratiṣṭhitam | caturbhujaṃ mahāviṣṇuṃ pūrakena vicintayet*; JādaU. 4, 57 *śive dehe pratiṣṭhite.* We are, further, told that *agnīṣomāt-*

makaṃ rūpaṃ rāmabīje pratiṣṭhitam (RāraU. 5, 9), or that all is *pr.* in the one god (MudgU. 3; cf. BhaU. 2, 11). Apart from various other kinds of "establishments" (e. g. MBr. 2, 2, 2-6 *pratitiṣṭhāmi rāṣṭre, goṣu, puṣṭau, ātmani, yajñe*; MnārU. 12, 3 the locution *vedānte pr.* etc.) we find the term used to denote that special establishment which may be called "concentration": DevīU. 22 "by muttering the text concerned in the morning one destroys the sins committed by night... by muttering during an 'establishment' of the breaths... Cf. also *ātmani sarvendriyāṇi sampratiṣṭhāpya* ChU. 8, 15, and such passages as Rām. 5, 19, 18 *asyā devyā manas tasmiṃs tasya cāsyāṃ pratiṣṭhitam.*

Side by side with these speculations and identifications in the ritual sphere, with such search for a basis or foundation on which to establish important entities, or to base oneself in trying to attain one's objects, we come across passages in which the concept of this much desired firm ground is associated with *brahman.* An important text, ŚB. 6, 1, 1, 8, deserves to be quoted first: the puruṣa Prajāpati, desirous of reproducing himself, created first of all brahman, the triple science; this became to him a *pr.*; hence people say that brahman is the *pr.* of everything here. Therefore, having studied the Veda one *pratitiṣṭhati.* Resting (*pr.*) on that *pr.* Prajāpati again practised austerity and created water. Incidentally mention may be made, in this connection, of the interesting text ŚB. 7, 1, 2, 2 where Prajāpati himself is believed to be the *pr.* of the gods. According to BU. 4, 4, 17 the five peoples and space (*ākāśa-*) are established in the universal brahman. Similar thoughts are expressed in the minor Upaniṣads, cf. AnnapU. 4, 27. Worship or sacrifice (*yajña-*) is *brahmaṇy eva brāhmaneṣu pratiṣṭhitaḥ*: AiB. 7, 19, 3; cf. 26, 5. 4, 11, 1 the author says that by concluding a ritual act with a verse to Brahmaṇaspati, who is brahman, one "in the end" establishes in brahman the person concerned. See also ŚāB. 18, 2. Cf., in addition to texts of this character, ĀtmaprU. 1 *prajñanetro lokaḥ prajñā pratiṣṭhā prajñānaṃ brahma.* — Elsewhere brahman and the gods are held to be *pratiṣṭhita-* in the *ṛg anuṣṭubhī paramā vidyā*: AvyU. 2.

ŚB. 10, 2, 4, 6 states that "yonder sun, composed of a hundred and one parts, is established (*pr.*) in the brahman of seven syllables" ... "which", the text continues, "is the universe (*sarvam*): 'therein that (sun) is established' (*pr.*)". "And in like manner", it is added, "the sacrificer now established himself (*pr.*) in the brahman of seven syllables" (by performing a specified ritual act).

By seizing 21 barren cows, sacred to a number of deities, the last of which is Bṛhaspati (1) — who is the brahman — with a view to gaining (*āp-*

(1) See my *Notes on Brahman*, p. 66 ff.

tyai) these deities, one establishes oneself finally in brahman: ŚB. 13, 5, 4, 25. In a similar way, 13, 6, 2, 16. Cf. also AiB. 4, 11, 1. — As a specified day is identified with brahman and the agniṣṭoma is br., one establishes br. in br. by connecting these two entities (ŚāĀ. 2, 18). — In later texts similar statements are made: 'sacred knowledge' (*trayī*) is, for instance, based on brahman (Manu 11, 265 *pr.*: *sthita-* Kullūka).

The great value attached, in Vedic India, to 'knowledge' is well known (1). In virtue of special insight, gained by means of asceticism or ritual acts, the teachers of the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads asserted to be able to discover connections which otherwise are beyond human understanding and thanks to this knowledge they believed themselves masters of their own destiny. The aim after which they strove and the power to which they aspired not seldom consisted in a kind of establishment, in the possession of a foundation. The Upaniṣads as a rule considered the advantage of the acquisition of this knowledge to lie in winning the eagerly desired immortality. This, too, could be expressed by means of the terms under discussion. Whereas such statements as TS. 1, 6, 11, 1 "he who knows the 17-fold Prajāpati as connected with the sacrifice rests secure through the s., and falls not away from the s." entirely bear upon ritualistic relations (2), the knowledge mentioned ŚB. 12, 3, 3, 4 is more loosely connected with ritualism: "whoever thus knows that 17-fold P. as established in the deity and in the body, establishes himself, by offspring and cattle in this world, and by 'immortality' in the other. Compare also 12, 1, 4, 3. 10, 6, 1, 4 "because you know the *vaiśvānara- pr.* you are *pratiṣṭhita-* with offspring and cattle; and, verily, who knows that *v. pr.* repels death and attains a complete life-time"; 10, 6, 5, 3: on the water he was *pr.*, and so indeed is he *pr.* who knows this. BU. 6, 1, 3 "who knows the *pr.*, *pratitiṣṭhati* on even and on rough ground; the eye is a *pr.*, for with the eye both on even ground and on uneven ground one has a firm basis. He has a f. b. on even g. and on uneven g. who knows thus". See also ChU. 5, 1, 3. KeU. 4, 9: "who knows this (upaniṣad) *anante svarge loke 'jyeye pratitiṣṭhati*; Taitt. 3, 6, 1 "this is the 'knowledge' (*vidyā*) of Bh.V., which is *pratiṣṭhitā* in the highest heaven; he who thus knows, becomes established (*pr.*); he becomes an eater of food, possessing food". The last words no doubt comment upon the import of the statement *re* being

(1) See e.g. OLDENBERG, *Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft*, p. 5; *Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus*², Göttingen 1923, passim (see Register, p. 317); F. EDGERTON, *The Upaniṣads: what do they seek, and why?*, JAOS. 49 (1929), p. 97 ff.; W. RUBEN, *Uber die Debatten in den alten Upaniṣads*, ZDMG. 83 (1929), p. 238 f.

(2) Cf. also ŚB. 3, 6, 3, 7: by taking a firm stand on a *pr.* i. e. by performing a specified ritual act, one gains this world.

established in heaven; cf. also 3, 7-9, 1. ŚB. 11, 2, 7, 29 states that the man who knows a specified formula to be a *pr.* secures for himself a *pr.* and whatever is to be gained by a *pr.* GB. 1, 4, 11: he who knows that the year is *pr-ita-* with respect to the divine powers and with respect to the self (individual), comes to be firmly established, and to be f. e. with offspring and cattle. In the TĀ. we come across such passages as 1, 22, 7 *yo 'psu nāvaṃ p-tāṃ veda praty eva tiṣṭhati* (see Sāyaṇa's comm.). Compare also: PB. 3, 7, 2; 19, 1, 5; 18, 3; JB. 3, 272 (n. 210 C.); AiB. 5, 26, 5; GB. 2, 3, 2; AiĀ. 1, 1, 3, SVB. 1, 1, 12; BU. 1, 2,3; AvyU. 5. — The man who is all-knowing, the author of MuU. 2, 2, 7 says, is *vyomani pr-taḥ*, i. e. "established in space (in the firmament), which is the divine *brahmapura-* (city of b.)". Elsewhere, TaiU. 3, 6, the "wisdom" or "special knowledge" (*vidyā*) of Bhṛgu is believed to be established in the highest *vyoman-*: this knowledge consists in the insight that brahman is identical with bliss (*ānanda-*).

Turning now to post-Vedic literature, we first examine some passages of the Bhagavadgītā, which in the colophons added to the text is called an Upaniṣad. In this work the ideas of standing unshaken (2, 53 *sthāsyati niścalā*); of abiding (9, 6 – *sthito nityam*), of being based upon, abiding in (9, 4 *matsthāni sarvabhūtāni*; cf. 13, 21; 14, 18), of supporting (*dhṛ-* 15, 13) and sustaining (*bhṛ-* 15, 17), of being established (*cittam ātmany eva 'vatiṣṭhate*, cf. 9, 4) are likewise often referred to. Among the terms used *pratiṣṭhā-* occurs 2, 57 f. "he who is without affections, experiences neither delight nor loathing, and draws away the senses from their objects —, his 'mentality' (*prajñā*) is *pr–itā* 'stabilized' ". In 55 the term *sthitaprajña-* is used: "of stabilized mentality": in 56 *sthitadhī-*: "stable-minded, of settled intelligence". Restraint and discipline are proper to the man whose *prajñā* is *pr.* (2, 61); cf. also 2, 68 and 65 *buddhiḥ paryavatiṣṭhate* "his intelligence is established". In the same context the sea is called *acalapratiṣṭham* "unmoved in its foundation or stability", although constantly filled (70). Such adjectives as *acala-* and *niścala-* "motionless" are also used in this connection; cf. 6, 26; 25; 33 etc. In contradistinction to the said stabilizing factors the roving senses and manas are liable to carry away one's mentality (*harati prajñām*: 2, 67). 3, 15 states that the omnipresent *brahman-* is "eternally based on worship" (*nityaṃ yajñe pr-tam*) (1): "by worship the world's foundation, structure, and pattern are maintained". Cf. 5, 20; 6, 22; 31. 14, 27, however, the Lord himself is said to be the *pratiṣṭhā* of the immortal and imperishable (*avyaya-*) *brah-*

(1) For *brahman-* in the Bhagavadgītā see E. LAMOTTE, *Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā*, Paris 1929, p. 39 ff.; J. GONDA, *Inleiding tot het Indische denken*, Antwerp 1948, p. 121 ff.; F. EDGERTON, *The Bhagavad Gītā*, Cambridge Mass. 1944, I, p. 181.

man–, of the eternal (*śāśvata–*) *dharma–* and of absolute (*ekāntika–*) bliss ([1]). — As has already been intimated, the terms under discussion are retained in later texts dealing with similar subjects: ĪśvG. 11, 16 *satye sarvaṃ pr-itam*; 97 *sarvaṃ liṅge pr.* (after: *sarvaliṅgamayaṃ hy etat*). Thus we also find such bahuvrīhis as *satyapratiṣṭha–*, *ahiṃsāpr.* etc.

In magico-religious and -mystic texts the terms remain in use. The Akṣamālopaniṣad sets forth the method of distinguishing between the various kinds of rosaries and their properties: how many strings there are in a rosary, how to make use of it, what are its foundations or establishments (*kā pr.*), who its presiding deities (*kā... adhidevatā*), what the result (of employing a rosary: *kiṃ phalam*). The three strings belong to Brahmā, Śiva, and Viṣṇu respectively, its ' mouth ' is Sarasvatī, its ' tail ' Gāyatrī etc. After having, in a solemn manner, purified and anointed the object, one shall strengthen, animate, consecrate its beads with the whole of the series of sounds or syllables (*pratyakṣam ādikṣāntair varṇair bhāvayet* ([2])), each of them possessing a definite power. To wit: *oṃ aṅkara mṛtyuñjaya sarvavyāpaka prathame 'kṣe pratitiṣṭha* " *oṃ*, sound *aṅ*, thou that overcomest death, thou all-pervading one, be established in the first bead "; ..." *oṃ*, sound *iṅ*, thou that yieldest prosperity and procurest imperturbability, be established in the third bead "; ... *oṃ*, sound *kṣaṅ*, thou that procurest the knowledge of the higher and lower principles (*tattva–*), that hast the form of the highest light, be established in the crest-jewel ". After having pronounced these formulas one pronounces other short texts by means of which one invokes various divinities, entreating them to show their favour, to rejoice, " for splendour ", over the rosary and so on, and after having paid homage to Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Rudra one endows the rosary with their power (*vīrya–*) ([3]).

In tantric texts the term *pratiṣṭhā* itself is used to denote the sound or syllable *ā*: *Tantric texts* ([4]) I, p. 6, 4 *ākaro... pracaṇḍa ekajo rudro... pratiṣṭhā...*, and p. 1, 3 *ā pr. mukhaṃ dīrghaṃ nārāyaṇo 'py anantakaḥ*. Here the Tantric meaning of the sounds is given in order to facilitate the understanding of the *bījas* (" the germ syllables which form the essential part of the mantra of any power ") or mantras ([5]).

([1]) For the interpretations proposed by various authorities, see RADHAKRISHNAN, *The Bhagavadgītā*, London 1948, p. 325.

([2]) For the sense of *bhāvayati* see my brochure on *The Meaning of Vedic bhūṣati* ', Wageningen (Neth.) 1939, p. 23 ff.

([3]) ... *tadvīryam asyāḥ pratiṣṭhāpayati*: this construction is also found in other texts, cf. e. g. Āśv.GS. 2, 5, 10; with the loc. Manu 3, 135. See also W. KIRFEL, *Der Rosenkranz*, Walldorf, Hessen 1949, p. 38 ff.

([4]) Ed. ARTHUR AVALON.

([5]) See also A. WEBER, *Indische Studien*, 2, p. 316.

In other works of this class *pratiṣṭhā* is an independent entity or power-substance which figures in enumerations of similar so-called concepts. See e. g. ibid. II, p. 125 *nivṛttiś ca pratiṣṭhā ca vidyā śāntir anukramāt* (used in connection with the Lord who is *śāntyatīteśvara-*) "ceasing from all wordly activity, (and the happiness resulting from it), *pr.*, (higher) wisdom - and - knowledge, peace (absence of all evil influences)...". In the minor Upaniṣads, likewise, we come across passages co-ordinating or identifying Brahmā, sacrifices, various ritual exclamations, Dhātṛ, Vidhātṛ and *pratiṣṭhā*: cf. KaṭhorU. 1. — In the BṛjāU. 1, 1 the following classification of important powers is delineated: from (Śiva) *Sadyojāta* the earth came into existence, from the earth *nivṛtti-* (see above), from that the brown–haired (cow) "happiness" (*nandā*) (1); by means of her dung the *vibhūti-* ("the ashes of cow-dung" (2)) came into being. Similarly Vāmadeva (another form of Śiva) is stated to produce the water whence, in the same order, *pratiṣṭhā*, the black-haired cow (called a *bhadrā*, this word meaning "auspicious"), and, from her dung, the ashes called by the name of *bhasita-* come into existence. From (Śiva) Aghora fire, *vidyā* ("knowledge"), the red-haired cow *surabhi-* ("excellent, charming"), and the ashes *bhasman-* come into being, and from Śiva's form Supreme Spirit (*Tatpuruṣa*), always in the same manner, air, *śānti-* (see above), the white-haired cow called "the tractable one" (*suśīlā*), and the ashes going by the name of *kṣāra-*. Finally, Śiva as Īśāna was the origin of the open space or atmosphere (*ākāśa-*), from which arose *śāntyatītā* "the state of having gone beyond *śānti-*", the speckled (cow called "the) gracious one", and the ashes under the name of *rakṣā*. In this passage *pratiṣṭhā* is an entity like *nivṛtti-*, *vidyā*, *śānti-*, and *śāntyatītā* which are co-ordinated with the five forms of Śiva and the five fundamental elements. It is a state of being like the supreme knowledge and the supreme 'peace', it is an aspect of the final goal, the prospect of which is held out to the god's devotees. It is also systematically connected with the aspects of prosperity and ever-yielding abundance and with the ritual means of attaining the god's bliss.

The same terms and entities, to wit *śānti-*, *vidyā*, *nivṛtti-*, and *pratiṣṭhā* are also used in connection with the four doors of a temple (3) which, facing the cardinal points (E., S., W., N. respectively) lead to the supreme essence of the pure principles. These terms are borrowed from the ontolo-

(1) For the meaning of *nand-* see my remarks in the Acta Orientalia 21, p. 81 ff.

(2) Other 'meanings' of this word are: "abundance, supranormal power, greatness, splendour, prosperity etc." As is well-known Śiva is believed to smear his body with these ashes, which are also used in imitation of him by his devotees.

(3) See also S. Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, II, Calcutta 1945, p. 317, n. 4.

gical system of the Śiva worshippers: *pratiṣṭhā* is one of the five *kalās* or ontological aspects of manifestation (1).

Before discussing the meaning "consecration", it will be convenient to revert to the above shade of meaning of *pratiṣṭhā-*: "to place a definite power in an object, to endow an object with divine faculties etc." If a Hindu makes or purchases an image of a deity it is his invariable practice to perform certain ceremonies, called *prāṇapratiṣṭhā* "the establishment or instalment of vital breath, of life, endowment with animation" (2). It has often been said that by going through this process of "consecration" the nature of the images changes, that they are no longer the mere materials of which they are constructed, but become containers of life and supranormal power. Yet a different view is, of course, in the case of many Indians, and especially the 'theists', the right one: the ceremony merely serves to ennoble the worshipper, to realize the presence of the divine power, God's presence, in the image, so that it becomes an effectual means of contact between the divinity and himself. — Varāhamihira, BS. 59 (60) is among the authors who give a circumstantial account of this "setting up" or inauguration of images: the chapter is called *pratiṣṭhāpana-*. An interesting description is also given in the Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra, 4, 10 f. The word *pratiṣṭhā* itself is also often used for the ceremonious (erection and) inauguration of an image (3): Kathās. 13, 165 and 26, 3 *kṛtapratiṣṭha-* "for whom an image is duly consecrated"; often in the Rājat.: 2, 128; 3, 99; 456 f.; 4, 78; 181; 6, 305 etc. and in other texts; cf. also Kathās. 25, 128 *supratiṣṭhāpitaṃ... devam arcituṃ śivam*, and Var. BS. 53, 69.

The words under discussion are likewise applied to the ceremonious foundation of a temple (4). When this rite is performed the first stones are laid with an invocation of Earth in its fullness: "... gladden with wealth and progeny... bring victory, ..., take your pleasure in this building... bestow (on us) the blessings (we) desire ... I now instal thee (*pratiṣṭhā-*)". The ceremonious foundation of wells, tanks, parks and similar objects for religious and charitable purposes, which was likewise a consecration and a dedication, was also called *pratiṣṭhā* (5). Among the works giving a comprehensive procedure of these consecrations, based upon Gṛhyapari-

(1) I refer to H. W. SCHOMERUS, *Der Śaiva-siddhānta*, Leipzig 1912, passim.

(2) See e.g. J. N. FARQUHAR, *The Crown of Hinduism*, Oxford 1913, p. 322 f.; 335 f.; L.S.S. O'MALLEY, *Popular Hinduism*, Cambridge 1935, p. 26; J. HERBERT, *Spiritualité Hindoue*, Paris 1947, p. 324.

(3) See also the *Petrograd Dict.*, IV, 981, sub 8.

(4) See, e. g., KRAMRISCH, *o, c.*, I, p. 112 where texts bearing upon this subject are quoted.

(5) For full particulars see P.V. KANE, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, 2, Poona 1941, p. 889 ff.

śiṣṭasūtras, Purāṇas, Tantras and other works, is a *Pratiṣṭhāmayūkha*. From the descriptions of the rites it appears that *pr.* generally applied to ' dedicating to the public ' in conformity to prescribed rules: *pratiṣṭhāpanaṃ savidhikotsarjanam ity arthaḥ* (Dānakriyākaumudī, p. 166). According to the same texts four principal stages in the procedure of *pr.* are to be distinguished: the *saṃkalpa–* or solemn declaration of purpose and intention, the *homa* or oblation, the *utsarga–*, i. e. the declaration that the object has been dedicated, and the *dakṣiṇā* and feeding the Brahmans. There are also rules for re-consecration of images etc.: *punaḥpratiṣṭhā* (1). It is not surprising that Tantric texts, in dealing with the *pr.*, i. e. with the ritual placing of the *devī* or divine power, distinguish between the ' establishment ' in the image, that in the disciple, and other ' placings ' of power: cf. e. g. Tantrarāja T. 2, 39 ff. Such ceremonies in Tantrist yoga as the separation of the embodied soul (*jīva–*) which is identical with the divinity, from the body and its localization in a *yantra–* (mystical diagram), or the placing of the deity in a pitcher, are likewise *pratiṣṭhās* (2). Thus the word came to apply to various ceremonies for obtaining magical and supranormal powers, to the performance of almost any dedication, consecration and of other rites of similar character.

While, with reference to towns, *pratiṣṭhāna–* is used for " foundation or consecration ", the word also applying to particular towns, *pratiṣṭhā* with regard to kingship means the " establishment or accession to the throne ". This accession, too, is an endowment with power, the throne having a divine character and making the man who sits on it a King (3); elaborate rites and sacrifices are being performed at a prince's coronation. In this connection such phrases as " being established in kingship " (Kaus. 98), *rājye pratiṣṭhitam* (Kāl. Ragh. 4, 2; cf. 8, 10; *avasthitam* and *rūḍhamūlam*) may also be mentioned.

Other shades of meaning can easily be connected with the general sense of " having found a firm resting-place ". Mbh. 12, 266, 12 " who can acquire *pr.* (" rest, implying peace, happiness, prosperity ") by despising his own father? " (4) Hence also such compounds as *kulavaṃśapratiṣṭhā* (Mbh. 1, 74, 98), such phrases as *sūtatve pr–itaḥ* (Mbh. 3, 74, 12) " appointed charioteer " or, rather, " having a position as ch.". The verb can also express such ideas as " to last, to be perpetuated ": Mbh. 1, 159, 10 (of a family), and " associating with, being part of, or being am-

(1) See KANE, *o. c.*, p. 904 f.

(2) These are of the *prāṇapratiṣṭhā* variety (see above). See e. g. A. AVALON, *Principles of Trantra*, II, p. 393 f. and *Māhānirvāṇatantra*, 10, 141 ff.

(3) J. AUBOYER, *Le trône et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne*, Paris 1949, p. 173 ff.

(4) See also the Petrograd Dict. IV, 981, sub 5.

ong "; e. g. Rām. G. 2, 79, 11 (< " taking root "); hence, I think, also "obtaining a firm footing "; e. g. Mbh. 2, 13, 17 (*sthiraḥ syāt* Nīlakaṇṭha); Rām. 2, 60, 21 (see the Commentary), " spreading, prevailing ". The noun also means "firm position ", "recognized status" (" fame", cf. e. g. Kathās. 2, 69; 8, 7) or " honourable position " (1); in this last sense *gaurava-* can be held to be a synonym. The verb is also used to express the opposite of " rising " (2) (of celestial bodies): " standing still > setting ".

In special branches of knowledge various semantic specializations made their appearance: Manu 8, 164 *pr–itā* (*bhāṣā*) means *sthirīkṛtā* (Kullūka) " established by evidence (in the legal sense) ". In medical texts *pr-ā* corresponds to what Caraka calls *adhiṣṭhāna-*, " the tarsus "; *pr.* is not the " pedestal " of the body, but the base of the metatarsals " (3). — In the technical terminology of military theory the word occurs to denote a kind of battle-array: " der Feststehende ", e. g. Kauṭ. AŚ. 158 (4). — Some of the gṛhyasūtras (see Āp. 15, 10; Hir. 2, 4, 10; Bhār. 1, 26), in dealing with the ceremony of naming a child, declare that a name of a particular form — Bhār.: a name consisting of 2 or 4 syllables, which is sonant, ends in a long vowel or a *visarga* etc. — is regarded as *pratiṣṭhita-* (5). Such a name has a firm foundation.

It would not be improper to finish this collection of notes by drawing attention to the fact that the word *pratiṣṭhā* was also borrowed by the Javanese. In a long description of funeral rites found in a manuscript written in ancient language (6), the term is used to denote an image which must, in a ceremonious way, be constructed of plaited leaves. Old-Javanese derivatives are frequently formed to convey the sense of establishing, founding, erecting, consecrating, dedicating an image or another object of religious value and purpose. The term itself is used in the same way, cf. e. g. Nāgarakṛtāgama (7) 43, 6; 78, 6 (in connection with cottages for monks); or, as a substantive, in the sense of " religious building or found-

(1) See the Petrograd Dict. IV, 981, sub 6.

(2) See also the Petrograd Dict. VII, 1313, sub 2.

(3) I refer to R. HOERNLE, *Studies in Ancient Indian Medicine. On some obscure anatomical terms*, JRAS. 1907, p. 14; S. DASGUPTA, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, II, Cambridge 1932, p. 285.

(4) J. J. MEYER, *Das altindische Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben*, Leipzig 1926, p. 585.

(5) See also L. RENOU, *Terminologie grammaticale du sanskrit*, III, Paris 1942, p. 20.

(6) Edited by K. C. CRUCQ, *Bijdrage tot de kennis von het Balisch doodenritueel*, Santpoort (Neth.) 1928, p. 48 ff. See also J. GONDA, *Sanskrit in Indonesia*, Nagpur 1952, p. 149 f.

(7) Edited and translated by H. KERN, *Verspreide Geschriften*, VII and VIII, The Hague 1917-1918.

ation ", e. g. ibid. 37, 3. The above meaning of " establishment and consecration (of a divinity) " is found e. g. OJav. Rām. 1, 26; one text (1) has come to my knowledge where the object of this process is a corpse. A special semantic development of the verbal derivatives is " to give a name ", e. g. Tantu Paṅgĕlaran, p. 79 (2), an installation and consecration that is accompanied by the giving of a (new) name: native terms underwent a similar change of meaning. — Many ancient Javanese (finger) rings bear a legend, very often the name of the goddess of food and happiness Śrī (3). I once saw a ring the inscription of which was *pratiṣṭhā*, an amulet, supposed to possess supranormal power and to preserve its wearer from accidents and misfortune by giving him a firm foundation.

(1) Quoted in H. N. VAN DER TUUK, *Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, IV, Batavia 1912, p. 90.

(2) Edited and translated by Th. G. Th. PIGEAUD, The Hague 1924; see also p. 147.

(3) See J. L. A. BRANDES, in. W. F. GROENEVELDT, *Catalogus van de archeologische verzameling van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, Batavia 1887, p. 282; F. D. K. BOSCH, *Gouden vingerringen uit het Hindoe-Javaansche tijdperk*, Djawa 7 (1927) p. 305 ff.

Altind. *pratisara-*, *sraj-* und Verwandtes.

Das altindische Wort *pratisara-* wird im P.W. (IV, 983) folgendermaßen erklärt: ‚von *sar-* mit *prati-*[1] m. Band an Arm oder Hals, als Amulettschnur (in sich zurücklaufend) ... Solche Kreise werden auch durch gewisse magische Sprüche gebildet; *pratisarā-* f. Schnur, Band überh., usw.‘ Vgl. auch P. W. V, 1621, Schmidt, Nachtr. 266 *c*; Monier Williams, Dict. s. v. Zimmer[1] übersetzte *pratisara-*: ‚eine Schnur, die umgebunden wurde (*pratīvarta-*)‘; Macdonell und Keith[2] erwähnen die Übersetzung des P. W. (‚an amulet because it was a band and so returned on itself [*prati-sṛ*, “go back”]‘), und fügen hinzu: ‚the sense is doubtful; perhaps “attacking” may really be the root idea.‘[3]

Da das Wort im ṚV. nicht begegnet, fangen wir an mit den AV.-Stellen. Es findet sich 2, 11, 2, in einem Liede, das verwendet wird, um mit einem Amulett eine Behexung zurückzuwenden (Kauś. 39, 1[4]). In diesem Verse wird das Amulett auf diese Weise angeredet: *sraktyó 'si pratisaró 'si pratyabhicáraṇo 'si*, von Whitney[5] übersetzt: ‚Sraktya art thou; re-entrant (p.) art thou; counter-conjuring art thou.‘ Ein Sraktya ist ein Amulett vom Holz des Clerodendrum phlomoides. ‚*Pratisara* is‘, sagt Whitney, a. a. O., ‚something by which sorceries are turned back (upon their performer); it seems to mean virtually a circular amulet‘; Lanman fügt hinzu: ‚such as a bracelet? For re-entrant, Whitney has interlined revertent (sic), better, perhaps, reverting, trans. or intrans.‘ Dem Anschein nach dachte Whitney

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[1] Altindisches Leben, S. 263.

[2] Vedic Index II, S. 32.

[3] Vgl. auch Weber, I. S. 13, 164: ‚in sich zurücklaufend‘.

[4] Vgl. Caland, Altindisches Zauberritual, S. 132.

[5] Whitney-Lanman, Atharvaveda, S. 53.

sowohl an *prati-sar* ,revert' als an *prati-sar* ,in der Runde gehen'. Ohne weiteres notwendig ist die Übersetzung: ,something by which sorceries are turned back', nicht: Vs. 4 heißt das Amulett *tanūpāno*, ,body-protecting'.

Auch AV. 4, 40 wird (mit 2, 11) im Kauś. (39, 7) verwendet, um eine Behexung auf den Urheber zurückzuwenden: (1) *yé purástāj júhvati* (*homenāsmān abhicaranti*, Komm.) . . . *enān pratisaréṇa hanmi*, (d) ,I smite them back with the reverter' (Whitney).[1]

AV. 8, 5 wird Kauś. 19, 22 verwendet beim Umbinden von Amuletten, um Glück, Gedeihen, Kraft, Besitz, Lebensdauer usw. herbeizuführen; auch 39, 7 bei der Zurückwendung einer Behexung. Vs. 1 fängt an: *ayáṃ pratisaró maṇír vīró vīrāya badhyate | vīryavánt sapatnahá śūravīraḥ paripāṇaḥ sumaṅgálaḥ*, von Whitney übersetzt: ,This reverting amulet, a hero, is bound on a hero; heroic, rival-slaying, true hero, a very propitious protection.' Vs. 4: *ayáṃ srāktyó maṇíḥ pratīvartáḥ pratisaráḥ | ójasvān vimṛdhó vaśí só asmán pātu sarvátaḥ*, (Whitney:) ,This amulet of sraktyá, back-turning, reverting, forcible, remover of scorners, controlling—let it protect us on all sides.' Vs. 5 und 6: *tád agnír āha* . . . | *té me deváḥ puróhitāḥ pratīcīḥ kṛtyāḥ pratisaraír* (Paipp. *pratisareṇa*) *ajantu*, (Whitney:) ,This Agni says . . . | let these gods, my representatives (*puróhita*), drive the witchcrafts backward with the reverters.' Bloomfield (S. B. E. 42) übersetzte: ,This attacking talisman, (itself) a man, is fastened upon the man; it is full of force; slays enemies, usw.' Henry (Les livres VIII et IX de l'Av. usw.) übersetzte 1: ,Le cordon, le talisman que voici, usw.', auch in 4 und 5: ,cordon'. Vgl. auch Śāṅkh. Ār. 12, 30:[2] *ayaṃ maṇiḥ pratisaro jāmbo jīvāya badhyate*, ,dieses Amulett von Jamba(?) wird angebunden, um Leben zu bekommen'. Der Kommentar[3] erklärt zu AV. 2, 11, 2 wie folgt:[4] *pratisaraḥ: hantum abhimukhāḥ*

[1] Weber, I. S. 18, 152 läßt *pr.* unübersetzt.

[2] Ed. Keith, Anecd. Oxon. IX, p. 325; Übersetzung (Or. Transl. Fund XVIII), S. 68: *jamba* presumably a plant. Vgl. J. R. A. S. 1908, 376 ff.

[3] Über dessen Wert vgl. Whitney, Festgruß an R. von Roth, 1893, SS. 89 ff.

[4] Vgl. die Edition von Sh. P. Paṇḍit, Bombay, 1895, I, 245.

kṛtyādayaḥ pratisāryante pratimukhaṃ nivartyante anena iti pr.; abhimantrikaṃ rakṣāsūtram asi. ... ata eva mahāśāntiṣu maṇibandhanasthāne pratisarabandhanam uktaṃ nakṣatrakalpe ‚pratisaraṃ vā sarvatra' iti, also: ein p. ist eine mit einem Spruche besprochene, zum Schutze dienende Schnur, womit Behexung usw. wieder zurückgebracht wird. Die Bedeutung ‚Schnur' und die Beziehung zu *sar-* ‚fließen' stehen für ihn fest.[1] Vgl. auch ad 4, 40, 1: *pratisarati pratimukham nivartate ābhicārikaṃ karma aneneti pratisaraḥ*, also: die Behexung kehrt mittels eines p. wieder zurück; ... *pratisareṇa rakṣākaraṇena.* Und ad 8, 5, 1 *pr.*: *pratisaraṇasādhanaḥ. yaḥ kṛtyāḥ karoti taṃ prati saratīti pratisaras tādṛśaḥ.*

Śāṅkh. g. s. 1, 12, bei den Heiratszeremonien: die Verwandten der Braut binden ihr mit ṚV. 10, 85, 28 eine rote und schwarze, wollene oder linnene Schnur um: *raktakṛṣṇam āvikaṃ kṣaumaṃ vā trimaṇiṃ pratisaraṃ jñātayo 'syā badhnanti nīlalohitam iti.* Oldenberg übersetzte (Weber, I. S. XV, S. 26): ‚eine Halsschnur mit drei Kügelchen', Hillebrandt, Ritualliteratur, S. 65: ‚eine ... Schnur mit drei Amuletten'. Von einer Zurückwendung der Behexung ist hier gar nicht die Rede.

In der Beschreibung der sehr merkwürdigen Zeremonie, welche Baudh. 1, 8 gibt (*nāpitakarma*[2]), lesen wir, daß die neuvermählten Gatten am fünften Tage bis zum Knie ins Wasser steigen und mit einem neuen Gewande Fische fangen sollen; darauf opfern sie die Fische am Fuße eines Udumbarabaumes den baka's (Wasservögeln: eine Reiherart) und befestigt der junge Gatte die Überbleibsel vom dargebrachten Blumenopfer, die abgelegten[3] Kleider und pratisara's an einem Ast des Udumbarabaumes. Winternitz übersetzt *p.*: ‚Bänder'. Ohne Zweifel sind die pratisara's hier Amulette, Bänder, Schnüre oder dergleichen, welche eine gewisse magische Substanz innehaben,

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[1] Vgl. die Literaturangaben: Whitney-Lanman I, S. 53.

[2] Hillebrandt, Ritualliteratur, S. 68; Winternitz, Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell, SS. 101f.; Winternitz hat die Stelle übersetzt. In der Ausgabe von Śrīnivāsācārya, Mysore, 1904: S. 27.

[3] So Winternitz, S. 101 *parimuktāni* ‚benutzten' (Ausgabe: *paribhuktāni*)

die in den Baum gebannt wird.[1] Auch hier ist von Zurückwendung der Behexung nicht die Rede.

Śatap. Br. 5, 2, 4, 20, während der Weihe für einen König, nachdem mit einer Opferung von Apāmārgamehl Abwehr der Rakṣas stattgefunden hat (*Apāmārgahoma*, §§ 14 ff.[2]), wird gelehrt, daß man mit dieser Zeremonie sich einen *pratisara-* machen kann; man opfere in der Richtung, wo sein Feind sich befindet:[3] *sa haitenāpi pratisaraṃ kurvīta, sa yasyāṃ tato diśi bhavati tatpratītya juhoti*, denn der apāmārga hat zurückgewandte Früchte;[4] wer etwas gegen ihn tut, den stürzt er rückwärts ins Verderben. Eggeling ist der Meinung, *pr.* heiße hier ‚a counter-charm, viz. an amulet consisting of a band running back into itself'.[5] Richtiger scheint mir die Ansicht Bollings, hier sei ‚no allusion to an amulet';[6] die Bedeutung ist etwa ‚Abwehrungsmittel, Schutz'.

Śatap. Br. 7, 4, 1, 33: Nachdem die Götter ihren *ātman* niedergelegt hatten, fürchteten sie, die Rakṣas möchten ihn vernichten; *ta etān rākṣoghnān pratisarān apaśyan kṛṇuṣva pājaḥ prasitiṃ na pṛthvīm iti; rākṣoghnā vai pratisarās; ta etaiḥ pratisaraiḥ sarvābhyo digbhyo rakṣāṃsi nāṣṭrā apahatyābhaye 'nāṣṭra etam ātmānaṃ samaskurvata; tathaivaitad yajamāna etaiḥ pratisaraiḥ sarvābhyo digbhyo raksāṃsi nāṣṭrā apahatya*, usw., ‚they saw those Rakṣas-killing counter-charms: Vāj. Saṃh. 13, 9—15; ṚS. 4, 4, 1—5 . . .; slayers of R. are the counter-charms; having, by means of these c.-c., repelled the R., the fiends, in every quarter they (the gods) restored that body in a place free from danger . . .', usw. (Eggeling). Wie schon von Eggeling bemerkt worden ist: ‚the sacrificial formulas themselves constitute these charms'; also ‚übelabwehrende Sprüche'; hier diese an Agni, den Rakṣastöter, gerichteten Verse.

[1] Vgl. z. B. Pley, De lanae in antiquorum ritibus usu, Religionsgesch. Vers. und Vorarb. XI, 2, S. 106.

[2] Vgl. z. B. Hillebrandt, Rituallitteratur (Grundriß), S. 144; über die Pflanze Apāmārga z. B. Oldenberg, Religion des Veda[3], SS. 327; 513, A. 2.

[3] Vgl. auch Āpast. śr. s. 18, 9, 14.

[4] So Caland, Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba III, S. 129.

[5] Translation, S. B. E. 41, S. 54.

[6] Hastings, Enc. of Rel. and Ethics III, 471.

Eine der Hochzeitszeremonien, worüber man sich von Weibern belehren lassen soll (Āp. g. s. 2, 15), ist nach Sudarśanārya (ed. Winternitz, S. 43) die *Pratisarabandha*-Zeremonie. Nun begegnet anderswo ein Ritus, welcher *pratisarābandhana* genannt wird; vgl. die Schilderung des Nāndīmukha-śrāddha im Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra, 2, 2.[1] Hier findet sich das Wort *pratisarā*; dessen Bedeutung ist ‚eine um das Handgelenk zu tragende Schnur': *pratisarāṃ kutapasya dukūlasya vā trivṛtāṃ puṣpādy api saṃbhṛtya*, ‚nachdem er die p., welche besteht aus weißer Wolle oder aus dem Zeug, welcher aus dem Dukūla-Baste bereitet worden ist,[2] und die dreifach gewunden ist, und Blumen zusammengelegt hat'. Und weiterhin: *svastisūktena tām* (v. l. *tantum*) *abhimṛśya svastidā viśpatir iti pratisarāṃ badhnāti*, ‚nachdem er mit dem *svasti*-Liede[3] die p. berührt hat, bindet er sie mit den Mantras *svastidā* usw. (um das Gelenk der rechten Hand des Yajamāna,[4] d. h. desjenigen, der ein Opfer für sich veranstaltet)'; vgl. dazu auch die oben angeführte Stelle im Komm. zum AV. 2, 11, 2.

Derselbe Text, 4, 10, schildert die Verehrung Viṣṇus, Viṣṇvarcanā. Auf dieselbe Weise wie oben wird hier[5] um (die rechte Hand) ein(es) Viṣṇu-Bild(es) eine *pratisarā* gebunden; auch der Wortlaut von Sūtra und Mantras ist übereinstimmend. Vgl. auch Kirātārj. 5, 33 *srastoragapratisareṇa kareṇa*, wo der Komm.: . . . *uraga eva pr. kautukasūtraṃ* (= Hochzeitsschnur); er führt Viśva an: ‚*āhuḥ pratisaro hastasūtre mālye ca maṇḍane.*'

Die Bedeutung ‚Amulettschnur' liegt ganz deutlich vor Kādambarī, S. 130, 3 (Calc. 1932) *rakṣāpratisaropetāny oṣadhīsūtrāṇi babandha* (Schnüre von heilkräftigen Kräutern als Amulette); id. S. 307, 2 *ābaddhamṛṇālarakṣāpratisaramanoharam*, wo der Komm. *rakṣārthaṃ pratisaro hastasūtraṃ.*[6] Vgl. auch S. 219, 4; 344, 7.

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[1] Übersetzt von Caland, Bibl. Indica, Calcutta, 1929, S. 39.

[2] *kutapasya śvetakambalāder vā dukūlasya śvetapaṭṭādivastraṃ vā*, Kommentar.

[3] Vgl. Caland, a. a. O., S. 40, Fn. 21; hierin der Vers ṚV. 4, 4, 1.

[4] Vgl. Caland, a. a. O., S. 41, mit Fn. 22.

[5] Calands Übersetzung, S. 115.

[6] Vgl. Peterson, Notes, S. 227; 68.

Lexikographen erwähnen die Bedeutung: ‚Schnur, welche vor der Hochzeit um das Handgelenk geschlungen wird‘,[1] *hastasūtra-*, *kara-sūtra-*, gleichfalls, auch: = *kaṅkaṇa-*, ‚ringförmiger Schmuck, Reif‘,[2] *maṇḍana-*, ‚Schmuck‘, *sraj-*, *mālya-*. Nach P. W. bedeutet *pratisarā*, Varāham. Bṛh. 44, 5 ‚Band‘: *pratisarayā turagāṇāṃ bhallātakaśālikuṣṭhasiddhārthān kaṇṭheṣu nibadhnīyāt*; in seiner Übersetzung hat Kern: ‚by means of an amulet string.‘ Mān. g. s. 2, 6, 4 b ist die Rede von der Herstellung einer vedī, welche mit Kränzen, Wohlgerüchen usw. versehen wird, aber auch mit *pratisaradadhimadhumodakasvastika°* usw., wozu der Komm.: *pratisaravatyāṃ*: *sūtramayaḥ pratisaraḥ*. Vgl. auch 2, 14, 25 ... *sarvaratnāni copakalpya pratisaradadhimadhughṛtam iti.* Auch hier sind es Schnüre mit apotropäischer Bedeutung.

In den Pariś. des Atharvaveda begegnet das Wort mehrere Male; 4, 4, 9 (in einer Zeremonie ‚to obtain safety during the night, performed before an image of Night made of meal‘): mit dem Liede AV. 2, 11 wird dem Bilde der p. angebunden.[3] AV. Par. 6, 1, 11: werfe man, nachdem man dem Bilde einen p. angebunden hat, mit AV. 8, 5 Kiesel nach jeder Himmelsgegend. Von Zurückwendung auf den Urheber ist an diesen Stellen nicht die Rede. Vgl. auch 17, 2, 16 mit AV. 2, 11 während des *vāhanānām abhayaṃ karma.* AV. Par. 33, 6, 12 dagegen (*śaṅkhaṃ ca maṇim ābadhya pratisarair abhimantrayet*) bezeichnet das Wort gewisse magische Sprüche. Im Skandayāga (AV. Par. 20) findet sich eine sehr wichtige Stelle,[4] wo der *pratisara* in einem Liede gepriesen wird (20, 7, 1—6): *ādityakartitaṃ sūtram indreṇa trivṛtīkṛtam | aśvibhyāṃ grathito granthir brahmaṇā pratisaraḥ kṛtaḥ* ‖ 1 ‖, ‚Āditya hat den Faden abgeschnitten, Indra hat ihn dreifach gewunden,[5] die Aśvins haben den Knoten

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[1] Vgl. P.W. s. v. Vgl. z. B. Kāl., Kum. 16, 87. — Herr A. Scharpé sammelte einige Kommentarstellen für mich, z. B. Kādambarī, S. 139, 14 Pet., wo (Calc. 1872, S. 274, 8) *pratisaraḥ*: *vivāhādau maṅgalārthaṃ badhyamānahastasūtram.*

[2] P.W. II, 14 u. a. = *hastasūtra, maṇḍana.*

[3] Vgl. auch Bloomfield, Am. J. Ph. 7, 477 ff.

[4] Vgl. auch 1, 3 *ghaṇṭāpatākāsrajaḥ pratisaraṃ ca*; s. Bloomfield, a. a. O., S. 479.

[5] Dreifach gewundene Amulettschnüre Śāṅkh. g. s. 1, 22; Ath. V. 5, 28, 4; *trivṛtaṃ maṇiṃ*, Ṛgvidhāna, 3, 13, 3; 4, 7, 4.

geknüpft (gewunden), Brahman hat die Amulettschnur gemacht (vollendet)‘.[1] Vgl. dazu 20, 1, 3 *sarvavānaspatyāṃ mālāṃ kṛtvā ghaṇṭāpatākāsrajaḥ pratisaraṃ ca mālāpṛṣṭhe kṛtvā*, wo man, nachdem man einen Kranz gemacht hat, hieran unter anderm den p. anheftet. Vgl. auch 20, 6, 8.

Zu Hemacandras Wörterbuch Anekārthasaṃgraha (4, 266) führt der Kommentar *pr.* an in der Bedeutung *maṇḍana-* (= Schmuck): *etāḥ kalpitakuṅkumapratisarā niryānti varastriyaḥ.* Vgl. dazu Varāham. Bṛh. 48, 33 *pratisaravastrapatākābhuṣaṇayajñopavītāni* (‚Amulettschnüre‘), wo der Komm.: *kuṅkumena raktaṃ sūtram.* Der kuṅkuma, Safran, wird bekanntlich magisch-religiös verwendet.

Es fragt sich nun, ob wir nach dieser Durchmusterung der genannten Stellen an der von den indischen und abendländischen Kommentatoren angenommenen Deutung und Etymologie des Wortes festhalten sollen. Das Verb *prati-sar-*, mit dem man es verknüpft, liegt an einigen Stellen vor und hat im allgemeinen eine Verwendung, die sich von *prati-* + *sar-* ‚(rasch) laufen‘ herleiten läßt. Gleichfalls das Kausativ. Vgl. auch p. *paṭisarati* ‚to run back, stay back, lag behind‘; *paṭisāraṇiya* (+ *kamma*), worüber Rhys Davids, P. T. Soc. P. W. s. v. Hinweis auf Kālid. Kum. 7, 25 *pratisāryamāṇam . . . kautukahastasūtram* (= *pratisaram*), ‚die Hochzeitsschnur (wurde) an den rechten Platz gebracht‘ genügt keineswegs, die Bedeutung von *pratisara-* mit derjenigen dieses Verbs zu verbinden.

Es finden sich im Altindischen jedoch einige Wörter mit *sar(a)-*, welche gewiß nicht mit *sarati* ‚laufen‘ zu verknüpfen sind. Ich nenne *sarat-*[2] = *sūtra* (Śabdamālā im Śabdakalpadruma), das einzige Mitglied dieser Sippe, das in den etymologischen Lexika Beachtung gefunden hat;[3] *sarit-*[2] = *sūtra* (a. a. O.); *saraṇi-*, ‚Reihe‘ (wahrscheinlich; Hemac. 3, 219: *śaraṇiḥ*: *śreṇimārgayoḥ*[4]); außerdem ± (gramm.) Regel: *sūtrasaraṇi*, T. S. Prāt. 1, 18, Komm.[5] Zudem

[1] Vgl. auch Goodwin, J. A. O. S. XV, SS. v ff. (mir nicht zugänglich).

[2] Vgl. Renou, Grammaire sanscrite, § 233c. [3] Vgl. z. B. Uhlenbeck.

[4] Komm.: *śreṇyām. saraṇiḥ pipīlikānāṃ niryātā varṣasūcanaṃ kurute.*

[5] J. A. O. S., S. 19.

sara-, in *mauktikasara-* ‚Perlenschnur‘ ‚Uttararāmacarita, 1, Str. 38, 3:[1] *ayaṃ bāhuḥ kaṇṭhe śiśiramasṛṇo mauktikasaraḥ*, in *muktāmaṇisara-*, 1, Str. 29, 1[2] ‚Perlenschnur‘, vgl. *mauktikamālā*, *mauktikāvali-*; *maṇisara-* Gītagov. 7, 15, 3 *ghaṭayati* ... *kucayugagagane* ... *maṇisaram amalaṃ tārakapaṭalaṃ nakhapadaśaśibhūṣite*, also mit einer Sternmenge verglichen, = *maṇihāraṃ* (Perlenschnur); *hīrakasaraṃ hīrakahāram* Komm.;[3] *kusamasara-* = *puṣpamālā*, vgl. Schmidt, Nachtr. P. W. 152, welcher S. 359 anführt: *sara-*, ‚(Perlen)schnur‘, *sara-* = *hāra-*. Vgl. auch *sāra-* = *pāśaka-*, ‚Schlinge‘ (Lexx., vgl. P. W. VII, 947).

Man kann m. E. nicht umhin, diese Wörter von *sarati* ‚rasch laufen‘ abzutrennen. Man muß sie an eine andere Sippe anknüpfen, ich meine an gr. *ὅρμος*, ‚Halskette usw.‘ und Verwandte. Vgl. Hom. Od. 15, 460 *χρύσεον ὅρμον ἔχων, μετὰ δ' ἠλέκτροισιν ἔερτο*, ‚mit einer goldenen Halskette, an welcher die Goldringel abwechselnd mit Bernsteinstückchen durchreiht waren‘; vgl. auch Od. 18, 295; H. Ven. 88 *ὅρμοι δ' ἀμφ' ἁπαλῇ δειρῇ περικαλλέες ἦσαν*. Eine zweite Bedeutung von *ὅρμος* ist ‚ein Ringeltanz von Knaben und Mädchen‘, Lucianus, De Salt. 11. Nach Hesych haben *ὅρμοι* zudem noch die ‚Schuhriemen‘ bezeichnet (*ἱμάντες ὑποδημάτων*).[4] Hierzu das nicht besonders häufige und defektive Verb *εἴρω*, ‚aneinanderreihen‘. Das Simplex ‚existe à peine‘.[5] Vgl. das Part. Perf. Pass. *ἐερμένον*, Od. 18, 296; H. Ap. 104 *ὅρμον, χρυσείοισι λίνοισιν ἐερμένον*. Vgl. Pind. N. 7, 77 *εἴρειν στεφάνους*; Arist. Ach. 1006 *ἀνείρειν στεφάνους*. Dazu auch das homerische *ἕρματα*, Il. 14, 182; Od. 18, 297 ‚Ohrringe, Ohrgehänge‘,[6] worin Zauberkraft wohnt.[7] Also $\sqrt{}$ 4. *ser-*, Walde-Pokorny II, 299.

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[1] S. 21, 20 Stchoupak. [2] S. 17, 5 St.

[3] Vgl. auch P. W. s. v. (V, 445).

[4] Vgl. Hesych s. v. *ὁρμίσκοι· περιτραχήλιοι κόσμοι γυναικεῖοι. ἢ μανιάκης* (Halsband von Persern und Kelten). *ἢ περιδέραια. ἢ κλοιοί* (Halsbande für Tiere). *ἢ δακτύλιοι* (Ringe). Suidas: *καθόρμια· περιθέματα* (Septuag.); vgl. auch *καθόρμιον*, ‚Halskette‘ (Pap.).

[5] Boisacq, Dict. étym., S. 229, Fn. 2.

[6] Ael., H. A. 17, 25; 37 ‚Band, Strick‘; vgl. auch Hesych s. v.

[7] Vgl. auch Porzig, I. F. 42, 257.

Da bekanntlich in alten Zeiten die vielen Anhängsel, welche später immer mehr zum Schmuck getragen wurden, in erster Linie ‚Zaubermittel', Amulette gewesen sind[1] und dasselbe Wort also ‚Amulett' und ‚Zierat' bedeuten kann (vgl. z. B. ai. *maṇi-*,[2]) würde es möglich scheinen, auch *pratisara-* an $\sqrt{}$ *ser-* ‚aneinanderreihen' anzuknüpfen; vgl. auch gr. *περίαμμα*, das ‚Um-, Angehängte, Amulett', *περίαπτον*; lat. *ligatura*, *alligatura*.

Wie wir aber oben gesehen haben, bezeichnet *pratisara-* auch ‚Schutz, Abwehrungsmittel; übelabwehrender Spruch'. Und dies würde es nahelegen, das Wort anzuknüpfen an Aw. *hara'ti* ‚schützen' usw., also $\sqrt{}$ 2. *ser-*, Walde-Pokorny II, 298. In diesem Fall wäre zu vergleichen gr. *φυλακτήριον*. ‚Statuere possumus verbis ipsis vel precibus et carminibus pro phylacteriis usos esse homines: daemones qui morbos aliaque mala provocant, depelluntur his phylacteriis; nam divina quaedam vis phylacterio inest. . . . Itaque phylacteria sunt verba ipsa magica vel preces et carmina sacra . . . (homines) res signis vel verbis magicis vel precibus ornatas gestabant: phylacterium est res signis vel verbis magicis vel precibus ornata. Sed . . . etiam haec signa omittuntur. Res ipsae cuiusvis generis quae „amuletorum" loco gestebantur vel alligabantur, sunt phylacteria.'[3] Vgl. auch *pratisara-* = *ārakṣa-* ‚Wache' und *φυλακτήριον* ‚Wachtposten'.

Sind im Altindischen noch andere Verwandte da, welche vielleicht Aufklärung geben können? Ich trage kein Bedenken, das Wort *sraj-* anzureihen. Zupitza stellte: *sraj-* < *sl̥ng-* ~ ags. *slincan* ‚kriechen, schleichen', ahd. *slingan* ‚winden' usw.,[4] also zu $\sqrt{}$ *slenq-*, *sleng-* ‚winden, drehen; sich schlingen, kriechen' (Walde-Pokorny II, 714 f.). Diese Deutung des Wortes ist sehr unsicher. Auch andere haben *sraj-* als Gutturalerweiterung der $\sqrt{}$ *ser-* betrachtet: Falk und

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[1] Vgl. z. B. Schrader-Nehring, Reall. I, 47; II, 335; Pfister, im Handwörterb. d. deutschen Aberglaubens I, 376; Hoops, Reall. d. germ. Altertumsk. I, 81; Ebert, Reall. d. Vorgeschichte XI, 293.

[2] Siehe auch unten.

[3] G. Kropatscheck, De amuletorum apud antiquos usu capita duo. Diss. Münster, 1907, SS. 35 f.

[4] K. Z. 36, 56. Vgl. auch Uhlenbeck, Ai. etym. Wtb. s. v.

Torp:[1] ‚dem germ. **sarki* entspricht Skt. *sraj-*‘. Eine *sraj-* ist bekanntlich ein Gewinde von Blumen oder Metall (*hiraṇyamayī*, Śat. Br. 5, 4, 5, 22), eine derartige Kette, Kranz, welcher auf dem Kopfe oder auf den Schultern (*skandhadeśe*[2] Mbh. 3, 2218) getragen wird. Mitunter findet sich vielleicht die Bedeutung ‚Schnur‘, vgl. *maṇisraj-*, *muktāsraj-* (vgl. P. W. s. s. v. v.). Die magisch-religiöse Bedeutung des Kranzes ist schon mehrmals erörtert worden; öfters ist ein Kranz oder ein kranzartiges Gewinde ein apotropäisches Mittel.[3] ‚Er schützt, heiligt, stärkt und legt einen Zauberkreis um den Träger oder den Gegenstand, den er schmückt.‘[4]

Als Adj. begegnet *sraj-* Pāṇini 8, 2, 36, Komm. *rajjusraj-* ‚einen Strick windend‘, vgl. *rajjusarja-*, Vāj. Saṃh. 30, 7 ‚Seiler‘.[5] Dies leitet hinüber zu *sṛj*, *sṛjati*. Es verdient m. E. Beachtung, daß neben ‚entlassen, schleudern; entsenden; rennen lassen; loslassen; fahren lassen; erzeugen, hervorbringen; (herbei)schaffen usw.‘ auch[6] ‚spinnen (eine Schnur usw.), flechten, (einen Kranz) winden‘ eine Bedeutung dieses Verbs ist. Der Gedanke liegt nahe, das Zwischenglied sei das ‚aus-sich-entlassen‘ der Spinne > ‚Fäden ausziehen‘ > ‚spinnen‘ usw. Man beachte den bekannten Vergleich Muṇḍakopan. 1, 1, 7: *yathorṇanābhiḥ sṛjate gṛhṇate ca . . . tathākṣarāt sambhavatīha viśvam*, ‚So wie die Spinne (ihr Gewebe) aus sich entläßt (oder: spinnt) und wieder einzieht . . . ebenso ist das Universum aus dem Unvergänglichen (Brahman) entstanden‘. Vgl. auch Bhāg. Pur. 3, 21, 19: *sṛjasy adaḥ pāsi punar grasiṣyase yathorṇanābhir bhagavan svaśaktibhiḥ.*[7]

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[1] Norw.-dän. etym. Wtb., 959.

[2] *sk. asṛjat tasya srajam,* Volksetymologie, Wortspiel oder Zufall?

[3] Vgl. z. B. Eitrem, Beiträge z. griech. Religionsgesch. I; III, Ind. s. v.; J. Köchling, De coronarum apud antiquos vi atque usu, R. G. V. V. 14, 2; Crooke, Religion and Folklore of Northern India, SS. 222; 307.

[4] Eitrem, Opferritus usw., S. 64.

[5] *Rajjoḥ śraṣṭāram, nirmātāram,* Komm.

[6] Vgl. P.W. VII, 792. Vgl. schon Kuhn, K. Z. 2, 457; 4, 25 f.

[7] Auch im Lateinischen z. B. ‚webt, flicht‘ die Spinne: *in vacuo texetur aranea lecto* (Prop. 3, 6,33). Bekanntlich gehören die Namen dieses Tieres öfters zu alten Verben für ‚spinnen, weben‘.

Man darf aber *rajjuṃ sṛjati*[1] (T. S. 2, 5, 1, 7) nicht von *rajjusarja-* usw. (s. o.) loslösen. Vgl. dazu Kauś. 107, 1 *sṛjantyor vā kṛntantyor vā*, worüber schon Weber, Omina und Portenta, S. 374. Außerdem Śatap. Br. 3, 2, 1, 13: (die Schnur) *muñjavalśenānvastā bhavati; vajro vai śaro virakṣastāyai stukāsargaṃ sṛṣṭā bhavati sā yat prasalavisṛṣṭā syād* usw., ‚nach rechts hin geflochten wie ein Haarzopf'; vgl. Kāty. śr. sū. 21, 3, 32 *apasalavisṛṣṭhayā rajjvā* und Śāṅkh. śr. sū. 17, 2, 10; vgl. *prasavyāvṛtta-*, Hir. pi. sū. 2, 1 (p. 46, 4) u. a. Kurios ist Vop. 23, 22 *sṛjati mālāṃ mālikaḥ*, ‚der Kranzwinder windet einen Kranz', vgl. *εἴρειν στεφάνους* (s. o.), lat. *serta corona.*[2]

Entweder wird man (*rajju*)*sraj-* vom Subst. *sraj-* trennen müssen oder man muß die Möglichkeit (aber nicht mehr!) zugeben, daß diese Verwendung des Verbs *sṛjati* auf einer Verquickung beruht und ursprünglich einem Verb **sṛjati* (< *ser-*(*e*)*g-*) zukam, das der Homonymie mit *sṛjati* ‚entlassen' wegen[3] zum Untergang verurteilt war, jedoch nicht ganz schwand, sondern (unter Mitwirkung der Spinne?) reinterpretiert und von *sṛjati* ~ Aw. *hərəzaⁱti* ‚entlassen usw.' aufgesogen wurde, wie es unter bestimmten Umständen Homonymen passieren kann.[4] Zu vergleichen ist vielleicht lat. *texĕre*, das formell zu ai. *takṣati* ‚behauen, zimmern, bearbeiten' stimmt (vgl. *textor* = *taṣṭar-* ‚Zimmermann', gr. *τέκτων* ‚Zimmermann, Baumeister') — die Bedeutung ‚Holz behauen, bauen' zeigt sich im Lateinischen noch in *naves texere* (Verg. Aen. 11, 326), *basilicam in medio foro texere* (Cic.[5]) —, falls die von einigen Gelehrten[6] verfochtene Anknüpfung der Bedeutung ‚weben, flechten' an die Sippe Osset. *taxun* ‚weben', aksl.

[1] *yā rajjuṃ sṛjati*, ‚(die Frau,) welche Stricke spinnt'.

[2] Zu beachten sind wahrscheinlich auch die Bedeutungen vom Ppp. *sṛṣṭa-*: *yukta-* ‚verbunden mit' (vgl. *grathita-*) und *bhūṣita-*.

[3] Vgl. Verf., Zur Homonymie im Altindischen, A. O. XIV, 161 ff.

[4] Daß alle genannten Wörter zu √*ser-* ‚laufen usw.' gehören sollten, ist ganz unwahrscheinlich; so z. B. Kuhn, K. Z. 2, 457, der das ‚den Dichtern noch jetzt gebräuchliche Bild, welchem der sich durch das Land ziehende Strom oder Fluß als Faden gilt' heranzieht. Gilliéron, Abeille, S. 278; vgl. auch Elise Richter, Über Homonymie, Festschrift Kretschmer (1926), S. 176.

[5] Epist. ad Att. 4, 16, 8 (16, 14), vgl. app. crit.

[6] Vgl. Walde-Pokorny I, 716 f.

tъkǫ ,weben', r.-ksl. *tъkanije* ,Gewebe' und die Aufsaugung eines Verbs der √ 4. *teq-* (Walde-Pokorny) mit Recht angenommen wird.[1] Nach Walde-Pokorny I, 271[2] gehört niederl. *werken* in der Bedeutung ,sich werfen, krummziehen (von Holz)' zu *u̯er-g* ,drehen, biegen' : lat. *vergĕre* ,sich neigen usw.'; vgl. schwed. mdartl. *vurken,* ,windschief durch Feuchtigkeit'; dieses *werken* wäre dann von *werken* ,arbeiten' aufgesogen worden.

Man verknüpft *εἴρω, ὅρμος* mit aisl. *sørvi,* ,was man zur Bedeckung oder zum Schmuck am Körper hat, Halsband' (Falk und Torp, a. a. O.), ,Halsband aus aufgereihten Perlen oder Steinen',[3] aber auch mit got. *sarwa,* n. pl. ,Rüstung, Waffen' (*ὅπλα, πανοπλία*), ahd. *gisarawi* ,Rüstung', mhd. *geserwe,* usw.[4] Vgl. dabei lat. *flores serti et soluti, rosa serta, corona serta,* aber auch *loricae sertae,* ,Ringelharnische'.[5] Trotz Walde-Pokorny (II, 500) wird man auch neben ai. *sraj-* ,Kranz, Gewinde', anord. *serkr* ,Hemd', ags. *si̜erce, si̜erc* usw. ,Hemd' als Gutturalerweiterungen heranzuziehen haben.[6] Wir finden also die Begriffe ,gewundene Schnur' und ,Gewand', bzw. ,Rüstung' nebeneinander. Man hat auch ags. *searu* ,armour; Rüstung', aber auch ,List, art, skill, Geschicklichkeit', *si̜erwan* ,to arm, to plot' damit verbunden. Jedoch ist die Etymologie nicht sicher,[7] aber auch Anknüpfung an andere Wurzeln ist keineswegs

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[1] Anders Hartmann, Glotta 4, 159ff. (eine Wurzel, ,bauen' > ,weben', Vermittlung: Kunstfertigkeit im allgemeinen, vgl. *τέχνη*). Vgl. auch gr. *ὑφαίνειν.* Pedersen-Spargo, Ling. science XIXth cent., 328. Vgl. außerdem Persson, Beiträge, S. 477, Fn. 1. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, daß auch ,bauen' sekundär ist. D. *wirken* konnte im Mhd. als Obj. jedes Erzeugnis haben (z. B. Haus, Gerät), jetzt aber nur Teppiche, Gewandstoffe usw.

[2] Vgl. Falk und Torp, Norw.-dän. etym. Wtb. II, 1369.

[3] Vgl. Cleasby-Vigfusson, An Icel.-Engl. Dict., *sörvi,* pl. *sörvar,* ,a lady's neklace of stone . . . armour, II a band of men'; Egilsson, Lex Poet. ant. ling. sept., *sörvi,* n. pr. ,den rustede', pl. ,krigere'. I kenninger for brynje (Ringpanzer).

[4] Vgl. aisl. *bláserkr* ,blå-sort særk; brynje' usw.

[5] Vgl. schon Falk und Torp, a. a. O.; Muller, Altitalisches Wtb. 425.

[6] Noreen, Lautlehre, S. 87, knüpft (Suffix *-ak-*, *-uk-: -k-*) auch ahd. *saruh, sarh* ,Sarg' an; über geflochtene Särge Schrader-Nehring, Reall. II, 280; vgl. auch Meringer, I. F. 17, 158. Die gewöhnliche Annahme ist aber < Lat. *sarcophagus.*

[7] Vgl. z. B. Feist, Etym. Wtb. d. gotischen Spr.[2], s. v. *sarwa.*

einwandfrei: die an *ser-* ‚hüten‘[1] ist von Uhlenbeck u. a. beanstandet worden.

Es scheint mir nicht unmöglich, daneben eine Erweiterung mit gutturalem Tenuis anzunehmen, welche in gr. *ὀρκάνη* vorliegen kann, das nach Hesych bedeutet: a) *σαργάνη* ‚Flechtwerk, Geflecht‘, b) *κρεμάθρα* ‚Hängematte, Hängekorb‘, c) *φραγμός* ‚das Einzäunen, Umhegen; Zaun‘, d) *εἱρκτή*, *δεσμωτήριον* ‚Gefängnis‘ (vgl. Eur. Bacch. 611). Dazu *ἑρκάνη* ‚Umzäunung‘. Lassen sich diese Wörter aber trennen von *ἕρκος*?[2] *ἕρκος*: ‚Netz, Schlinge, Garn usw. zum Fangen der Vögel (Hom. Od. 22, 469), des Wildes (Pind. N. 3, 51: *κτείνοντ' ἐλάφους, ἄνευ . . . ἑρκέων*) usw.‘, dann auch *πᾶν, ὅσον ἂν ἕνεκα κωλύσεως εἴργῃ τι περιέχον ἕρκος εἰκὸς ὀνομάζειν* (Plat. Soph. 220 c), z. B. ein Zaun um einen Hof oder um einen Garten, daher auch Hof, Gehöft usw. (jeder durch ein *ἕρκος* eingefriedigte Raum) und das bekannte *ἕρκος ὀδόντων*, ‚die Reihe der Zähne, die in einer Reihe stehenden Zähne, die Umzäunung der Zähne‘. Weiter auch ‚Schutz, Schutzwehr usw.‘ (vgl. Hom. Il. 4, 137 *μίτρης θ', ἣν ἐφόρει ἔρυμα χροός, ἕρκος ἀκόντων*; 5, 316: *πρόσθε δέ οἱ πέπλοιο φαεινοῦ πτύγμ' ἐκάλυψεν, ἕρκος ἔμεν βελέων*), bekanntlich auch von Männern (z. B. von Achilles, Hom. Il. 1, 383, Aias 6, 5, *ἕρκος Ἀχαιῶν*). Vgl. auch Hesych: *ἕρκη· ὅπλα. Σοφοκλῆς Τρωίλῳ. — ἕρκιον· κύκλος αὐλῆς: οἰκία; τειχίδιον; στεφάνη δώματος*. Also: flechten — umgeben — schützen.

Die Verknüpfung von *ἕρκος* mit lat. *sarcire* ‚flicken, ausbessern usw.‘, über welche man sich seit Meringer[3] wohl geeinigt hat, wird man beibehalten können.[4] Das Wiederzurechtmachen, Ausbessern, Flicken usw. von Kleidern (*sarcire vestimenta, tunicam*), alten Tauen

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[1] Vgl. Feist, a. a. O.; Uhlenbeck, P. B. B. 30, 306; ~ *ser-* ‚reihen, fügen usw.‘, Schroeder, I. F. 17, 464. Vgl. Walde-Pokorny II, 500.

[2] Früher mit *ἔργω*, *εἴργω* verknüpft. — Schon von Wood, Class. Phil. 3, 84 (1908), ist ‚*serk-*‘ als eine Erweiterung von *ser-* ‚fügen‘ angesehen worden. ‚Similarly from *sner-* comes *snerk-* in OHG. *snerhan* “binden, knüpfen, schlingen”, ON. *snara* “drehen”‘ usw. Vgl. dazu jetzt Walde-Pokorny II, 701.

[3] Meringer, I. F. 17, 157 ff.

[4] Vgl. Tucker, Concise etym. dict. of Latin, 220 : *sĕ̄r-q* (lat. *sarcio*): *sĕ̄r-g* (on. *ber-serkr* ‚clad in bearskin‘).

(*funes*) wird sehr häufig ein Zusammenschnüren, ein Aneinanderreihen, ein Heften gewesen sein; *sartus* (< *sarctus*) *tectus*, in formelhafter Verbindung, wird[1] heißen: ‚geflochten (Wand) und gedeckt (Dach)' > ‚vollständig, im baulichen Stande'; bekanntlich wurden die Wände eines Hauses vielfach geflochten, aneinandergereiht[2] und dann mit Lehm beworfen oder ausgefüllt; also eine Grundbedeutung ‚zusammenschnüren — nähen u. dgl.'. Auch hier wieder: schnüren, flechten — (schützend) umgeben.

Daneben existieren im Griechischen hom. *ἔϱγω* usw., att. *εἴϱγω* ‚einschließen usw.', kypr. *κατέϝοϱγον* oder *κατῆϝοϱγον*[3] ‚sie belagerten': √ *u̯erĝ-* (*u̯er-ĝ?*[4]). Das kyprische Wort beweist, daß — wie dem auch sei — neben *ser-* + gutt. Erw. auch *u̯er-* + gutt. Erw. im Griechischen repräsentiert ist; vgl. übrigens Walde, Lat. etym. Wtb. s. v. *sarcire* und Meringer, a. a. O. Die letztere Wurzel lebt wahrscheinlich auch in anderen der genannten Wörter mehr oder weniger versteckt weiter; vgl. das Verhältnis **σεχω* : *ϝέχω* in *ἔχω* und *selk-* : *u̯elk-*.[5]

Zu *ser* + gutt. Ten. gehört auch aksl. *sraka* ‚vestis, tunica';[6] auch hier wieder ein Wort für ‚Kleid, Gewand', das aber vielleicht aus dem im anord. *serkr* vorliegenden germanischen Worte stammt.[7]

Nicht nur die *sertae loricae* (s. oben) geben uns ein gewisses Recht, Wörter für ‚Gewand, Rüstung' an √ *ser-* ‚aneinanderreihen' anzuknüpfen, sondern auch die Erwägung, das alles, was kranzartig, kreisförmig ist, Ringe, Bänder, kurz alles, was an den magischen Kreis erinnert, apotropäische Kraft besaß,[8] ebenso wie das Tierfell,

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[1] Vgl. auch Walde, Lat. etym. Wtb.[2], 678.

[2] Vgl. z. B. Schrader-Nehring II, 46 ff. Vgl. u. a. Vitruv. 2, 1, 3 vom Urmenschen *furcis erectis et virgulis interpositis luto parietes texerunt*; Strabo 4, 197.

[3] Collitz-Bechtel, Gr. Dialekt-Inschr. 60 a 1; vgl. Bechtel, Gr. Dial. I, SS. 409; 433, § 67.

[4] Vgl. Walde-Pokorny I, 290.

[5] Ibid. II, 507; I, 306; über die awest. Formen auch Hertel, Yašt 14, usw., S. 48.

[6] Vgl. Trautmann, Balt.-Slav. etym. Wtb. 299. Auch *sraky*, *sračica*; weiter russ. *soróčka* ‚Hemd' usw.

[7] Falk und Torp, Norw.-dän. etym. Wtb. 959; Schrader-Nehring I, 494. Andere denken an eine umgekehrte Richtung der Entlehnung; vgl. auch Solmsen, K. Z. 32, 275.

[8] Siehe oben.

Haar, Wolle und geflochtene, wollene Fäden, deren Verwendung im Volksglauben uralt ist.[1] Nun ist bekanntlich der Vollpanzer ziemlich spät in die Erscheinung getreten.[2] Auch die Drahtpanzer, welche aus einem Netz von eisernem Drahtgeflecht bestanden, und die hemdartigen Kettenpanzer hatten Vorläufer. Ein älterer Schutz des Körpers war das Tierfell (Herakles mit dem Löwenfell), der Linnen- und der Lederpanzer, welche aus Stoff oder Leder bestanden und allmählich verstärkt wurden, indem das zum Ledergewand umgearbeitete Fell mit einem Besatz von Bronzeschienen bedeckt oder mit Metallringen oder Drahtgeflecht benäht wurde. Ketten, Metallringe u. dgl. sind aus dem Bestreben hervorgegangen, Fäden, Stricke und Schnüre unter Beibehaltung der Gelenkigkeit in hartes Material zu übersetzen.[3] Zur Bronzezeit kamen dünne Ketten in Schmuckstücken (d. h. vielfach Amuletten) vor,[4] daneben auch an Gürteln und Kettenpanzern. Für Ulfilas war eine Kette *eisarnabandi* ‚Eisenbande'; lat. *catena* ‚Kette' $<$ **cates-nā* $\sim$ lat. *cassis* ‚Netz, Jägergarn' zur $\sqrt{\ }$ *qat-* (Walde-Pokorny I, 338) ‚flechtend zusammendrehen', wozu wahrscheinlich aisl. *hadda* ‚Kette von Ringen, Henkel' und vermutlich lat. *casa* ‚Hütte' (aus Geflecht), und slawische Wörter für ‚Nest, Netz, Hürde, Korb';[5] andere Wörter für ‚Kette', welche mit Bezeichnungen für ‚Strick, Netz' verwandt sind: Schrader-Nehring I, 578, § 3.

Die genannten Sachen hatten für unsere Vorfahren wahrscheinlich vielfach eine größere apotropäische Bedeutung als tatsächlich schützende Kraft.[6] So wird man die genannten Wörter für Panzerhemd usw. mit gr. ὅρμος verbinden können. Ich erinnere an das germanische Wort ahd. *halsperga*, an. *hálsbjörg*, ags. *healsbeorg*, ‚neck-guard, was den Hals birgt', altniederl. *halsberg* ‚halskraag van

[1] Vgl. z. B. Eitrem, Opferritus usw., S. 379 ff.; Pley, o. c.

[2] Vgl. z. B. Forrer, Reallexikon, SS. 590, 191, 654, 450; Schrader-Nehring II, 147 ff.; Ebert, Reall. d. Vorgeschichte 10, 32 ff.

[3] Vgl. Götze in Eberts Reall. d. Vorgeschichte VI, 333.

[4] Feldhaus, Technik der Vorzeit 560; Schrader-Nehring I, 577; Ebert, Reall., s. v. Schmuck, II, 292 ff.

[5] Nach Reichelt, K. Z. 46, 340.

[6] Vgl. auch Lévy-Bruhl, La mentalité primitive, pp. 383 ff.

ijzer' > fr. *haubert*, ,ein eiserner Halsring zum Schutz',[1] neben dem Torques, welche insbesondere von den Kelten ,sowohl als Zier wie als Auszeichnung'[2] getragen wurde; lat. *torques* begegnet auch als ,Girlande', ~ slaw. **torkъ* ,Band, Riemen',[3] gr. *ἄτρακτος* ,Spindel' usw. (Walde-Pokorny I, 735). Skt. *śṛṅkhala* heißt ,Kette,' aber auch ,Mannsgürtel'. Usw.

Nun die schon oben genannte awestische Sippe. Im Awesta begegnet $\sqrt{}$ *har-* ,achthaben auf' (Bartholomae, Air. Wtb. 1787), Präs. *hara-* und *ha^{u}rva-*, finite Formen nur mit *nī-*.[4] Man beachte, daß im Altindischen *ni-sarati* (,sich rasch bewegen') nicht zu belegen ist. Das Präs. *hara-* ist einmal verzeichnet: Y. 19, 10 *yaṯ . . . vīspō aŋhuš astvå . . . nī pa^{i}ri iriϑyąstātaṯ hara^{i}te*, ,daß die ganze Menschheit, wenn sie (einen sehr wirksamen Spruch sich eingeprägt hat) . . . sich vom Sterben retten kann'. Man möchte diese Stelle mit ai. *pratisara-* in der Bedeutung ,Schutz usw.' vergleichen. Bekanntlich begegnet *ha^{u}rva-* mehrmals besonders in Vend. 13 in *pasuš.ha^{u}rva-* ,Herdenwächter,[5] Schäferhund'. An einer Stelle ist der Zusammenhang merkwürdig: Yt. 11, 7 *yaϑača pasuš.ha^{u}rvåŋhō aētaṯ sraošəm . . . pa^{i}ri.barāma^{i}de*, von Bartholomae (Air. Wtb. 940) unübersetzt gelassen, wohl nach Wolff[6] ,wie die Hunde (die Herde umkreisen), so umkreisen wir den Sraoša'. Diese Stelle könnte den Verdacht nahelegen, *pasuš.ha^{u}rva-* sei eigentlich nicht ,*pecu servans*',[7] sondern ,das Vieh umkreisend', von $\sqrt{}$ *ser-* ,aneinanderreihen' > ,einen Kranz machen' > ,zum Schutz umkreisen' > ,schützen'.[8] Dann wäre lat. *servus*[9] ,der zum Schutz (nur das Vieh?) umkreist' oder gar

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[1] Vgl. dazu z. B. Ebert, a. a. O. XI, 145.

[2] Forrer, a. a. O., S. 330; Schrader-Nehring II, 336 f.

[3] Trautmann, Balt.-Slav. etym. Wtb. 314.

[4] Vgl. auch N.-Pers. زینهار, *zīnhār* ,Schutz, Vertrag usw.' < **zaēno.hāra-*, Fr. Müller, WZKM. 8, 96. — Über *ni-*: Delbrück, Ai. S., S. 456.

[5] Vgl. Geldner, K. Z. 25, 406 ff.; Osthoff, Etym. Parerga 208 ff.

[6] Avesta . . . übersetzt, S. 223, Fn. 6.

[7] Vgl. Osthoff, Etym. Parerga 214.

[8] Vgl. z. B. Caland, Een Indogerm. Lustratie-gebruik, V. M. Akad. Amst. 4, II.

[9] Hierher nach Fick, Darmesteter, Wackernagel; vgl. Glotta 2, 8.

einfach ‚der umkreist‘; vgl. die bekannten, zur $\sqrt{}$ *k^u^el-* (Walde-Pokorny I, 514)[1] gehörigen Wörter, welche ‚Diener usw.‘ bedeuten: *ἀμφίπολος*, lat. *anculus* usw. Das Wort *harəϑra-* (Vend. 15, 16; 17 u. a.) ‚Pflege, Wartung, Unterhalt‘: z. B. ‚von wem soll das Mädchen, das der Niederkunft nahe ist, Pflege empfangen‘ würde mit lat. *cultus* vergleichbar sein.[2] Ich hoffe, auf diese Frage zurückzukommen.

Nach alledem kann man m. E. nur schließen, daß *pratisara-* nicht zu *sarati* ‚laufen, fließen‘ gehört; diese Anknüpfung ist aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach ‚Volksetymologie‘. Bekanntlich hatten die vedischen Dichter ihre Freude an Laut- und Wortspielen; zahlreich sind ihre Wortspielereien, hinter denen sich ‚volksetymologische‘ Wortdeutungen verbergen. Bei der Bestimmung der zu res faustae geeigneten Pflanzen und Holzarten z. B. hat der Name großen Einfluß gehabt, mitunter scheint er sogar der einzige bestimmende Faktor gewesen zu sein; vgl. z. B. *apāmārga-* ‚sorte de panacée très appréciée‘,[3] das mit *apāmārṣṭi* ‚er reibt ab‘ verknüpft wurde; *varaṇa-* mit *var-*, *vārayati* ‚er hält ab‘;[4] lästige Ameisen beseitigte man mit einem Opferlöffel von Bādhakaholz; *bādhaka-* wurde als ‚Beseitiger‘ gedeutet.[5]

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[1] Vgl. auch Herzfeld, Arch. Mitt. aus Iran III, 47 ff.; Brugmann, I. F. 19, 377 ff.

[2] Gehört das zweite *harəϑra-*, Nir. 85, zu *sárati* ‚laufen‘? So Bartholomae, Air. Wtb. 1790: Eig. etwa ‚was (unten) um den Rock herumläuft, ihn abschließt‘. Die Stelle lehrt, ‚daß die Mazdayasnier niemals die Gāthas hersagen sollen ohne die Gürtelschnur. Diese soll so lang sein, daß sie ihnen nicht über die h. hinabreicht‘. Darmesteter übersetzt: ‚en retombant au-dessous des pans‘. Pehleviübers. *pārak*. Vielleicht zu *ser-* ‚aneinanderknüpfen‘? (± Kleid), vgl. die germanischen Wörter. Auch niederl. *rok* ‚Rock‘ und *rok*, *rokken* ‚Rocken‘ sowie diese deutschen Wörter beruhen vielleicht auf einer Wurzel *rug-* ‚spinnen, Gespinst‘ (vgl. Franck-Van Wijk, Ned. etym. Wtb. 556; Kluge, Etym. Wtb. d. deutschen Spr. 369; Walde-Pokorny II, 374; *rug-* wäre nach Marstrander, I. F. 22, 335; Franck-Van Wijk, a. a. O. zu *u̯er-*, *u̯er-g-* ‚drehen‘ zu stellen, worüber Walde-Pokorny I, 270 ff. — Diese Wurzel bietet mehrere semantische Parallelen.

[3] Vgl. Henry, La Magie dans l'Inde Antique, S. 180 f.; Caland, Altindisches Zauberritual, S. 15; Oldenberg, Vedische Religion, SS. 327; 489; 513 u. a. (s. o.).

[4] Vgl. *Varuṇa* AV. 3, 4: Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Literatur I, 128.

[5] Vgl. auch P. Poucha, Vedische Volksetymologie und das Nirukta, Archiv Orientální 7 (1935), SS. 423 ff.

Wahrscheinlich hat man mitunter auch *pratisara-* durch ‚Volksetymologie' umgedeutet und mit *sar-* ‚rasch laufen' verknüpft.

Schwieriger ist es aber, die ursprüngliche Zugehörigkeit des Wortes zu ermitteln. Wenn ein *sara-* ‚Amulettschnur' zugrunde liegt, kann *pratisara-* ‚eine gegnerische Schnur, Gegenschnur bedeuten';[1] auch ‚eine Gegenschnur machen — anlegen' (nomen actionis) ist möglich; ‚Schutz' usw. wäre in diesem Fall eine erweiterte Bedeutung. Ist aber vielleicht *prati-bandh-* zu vergleichen?: ‚anbinden, befestigen, verknüpfen';[2] und *pratimuc-* ‚jemand etwas anziehen; anbinden an';[3] vgl. auch *stanapratidhāna-*, Gobh. g. s. 2, 7, 17, ‚das Anlegen des Kindes an die Brust', dazu Aw. *paⁱti.dāna-* ‚Schutztuch (auf der Brust getragen)'. Konnte *sar-* aber ‚anbinden, anlegen' bedeuten? Am wahrscheinlichsten ist vielleicht Anknüpfung an *ser-* ‚hüten usw.'. *Prati-* begegnet bekanntlich öfters in Wörtern für ‚schützen, abhalten usw.': *pratipālana-*, *pratiṣedha-*, *pratibādhana-* usw. Vgl. auch *pratihāra-* ‚zurückstoßen; ein Zauberspruch; Abwehrer > Türhüter'; dazu *pratisara-* ‚Diener'.[4] *Pratikarman* heißt ‚Toilette, Aufputz'; hier kann die Brücke zwischen ‚Anwendung von Gegenmitteln' und ‚Toilette' ‚Amulett' gewesen sein.[5]

Es ist merkwürdig, daß auch im Germanischen die erörterten Wörter Bedeutungen aufweisen, welche Schwanken zwischen *ser-* ‚serĕre' und *ser-* ‚servare' möglich machen. Für eine eingehende semasiologische Untersuchung über diese Wurzeln, welche auf die Frage nach ihrem etwaigen Zusammenhang Licht werfen möchte, ist aber diese Zeitschrift nicht der geeignete Platz.[5]

[1] Vgl. Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. II, 1, S. 260.

[2] *Prati-* ‚explétif' nach Renou, Gramm. sanscr. § 112, S. 144. Vgl. auch Mbh. 10, 756 *śirasi maṇim.*

[3] Vgl. z. B. AV. 8, 6, 26 *srajam.* Dazu Delbrück, Vergl. Synt. I, 723; 727.

[4] Dazu wohl Einfluß von *puraḥsara-* ‚Vorgänger, Begleiter'. Das Wort begegnet z. B. in den Werken Bāṇa's; vgl. J. R. A. S. 31, 514; Hemac. 4, 266 mit Komm.: *pratisara niyojye preṣye.* Diese Bedeutung ist auch im Altjavanischen entlehnt worden; vgl. Van der Tuuk, K. B. W. IV, 89. Altjav. Bhīṣmaparwa, S. 111 kommt *pratisara* vor (mehrere Hss. *pratisāra,* vgl. Arjunawiwāha 24, 4), ‚Schützer'; vgl. Bh.-Y. 35, 1 (-*ā*-).

[5] Ich hoffe, mich anderswo mit diesen Fragen zu befassen.

PRAYATA

One of those sides of Sanskrit philology which have long been more neglected than they should be is semantics. Special semantic studies on important words or wordgroups are comparatively rare and very often the presentation of the relevant facts, i.e. the enumeration of the "meanings", in the dictionaries is no great aid to the reader who wishes to form an idea of the mutual relations between these meanings, their distribution in the various provinces of literature etc. etc. Even if a lexicographer supplies a practical need, many questions are often left unanswered. A few remarks on the well-known verbal adjective *prayata*-may follow here in substantiation of this statement.

At first sight the interpretations of commentators and lexicographers enumerated in the Petrograd Dictionary VI, 74 do not seem to be very convincing and even mutually exclusive : besides *pavitra-* "pure, holy, sacred"; *pūta-* "purified, pure, dear"; *anucchiṣṭa-* "without leavings of food, pure"; *śuci-* "(ritually) pure, unsullied, holy" we find *atinamra-* "bowing very (too) much, very reverential"; *yatnavant-* "making effort, strenuous, diligent"; *prayatna-yukta-* "displaying exertion, zeal or special effort"; *dhīra-* "firm, steady, self-possessed, composed"; *niyama-tatpara-* "entirely subject to restrictions or meritorious self-control". As is often the case these manifold equivalents are only attempts to account for the different aspects of a term exact synonyms of which are lacking. However, taken together they may give us a fairly good idea of its contents.

The Petrograd Dictionary furnishes us with a very useful paraphrasis of the idea expressed : "exhibiting a state of mind, disposition, and attitude which are in harmony with the solemnity or importance of the occasion; internally and externally well prepared for a serious or solemn act". This indeed is the general meaning of the adjective.

What is left unexplained by the authors of the Petrograd Dictionary, Monier-Williams and other modern lexicographers is the semantic relation between such uses as "piously disposed, intent on devotion, well prepared for a solemn rite, ritually pure" and the other meanings expressed by the verb *pra-yam-* "to stretch forth, offer, bestow" which are already found in the oldest texts. As in

ancient texts the simple verb is not rarely used to convey a sense which in later times is usually expressed by a compound,[1] we may in this connection call attention to Vedic passages such as ṚS. 8, 89, 2 (= 98, 3) *devās ta indra sakhyāya yemire,* not, with Geldner "the gods are kindly or respectfully disposed to thy friendship", but "the gods (have imposed restrictions upon themselves), comply with thee, give themselves up to thee, are respectfully disposed to thee, in order to obtain thy friendship"; cf. 1, 135, 1 *tubhyaṃ hi pūrvapītaye devā devāya yemire,* not, with Geldner : "they have allowed thee the claim on . . .", but "they comply with thee" or "they are respectfully disposed towards thee in order to attain precedence in drinking". Cf. also 8, 43, 18; 9, 86, 30; 3, 59, 8 *mitrāya pañca yemire janāḥ* "the five peoples comply with, give themselves up to, are faithful, submissive, or kindly or respectfully disposed to Mitra"[2]). Whereas the idea of "restraining, curbing" came to be less equivocally expressed by the compound *ni-yam-* ("to hold, stretch downwards"), the preverb *pra-* ("forth, away") may have modified the central meaning of the verb so as to emphasize the idea of "offering oneself to, surrendering, being inclined to, complying with, being favourably disposed, holding oneself at the disposal of, etc.". For the latter sense compare also ṚS. 5, 32, 10 *indrāya gātur uśatīva yeme* "Gātu, i.e. unimpeded motion, has surrendered to Indra as a willing woman; Gātu has held himself at Indra's disposal".

Be this as it may, the fundamental idea underlying the above meanings of *prayata-* seems to have been that of " 'holding oneself forward to', surrendering, giving oneself (up) or devoting oneself to". It is not surprising that the adjective refers to the state of mind or disposition of a person because also "to surrender, to be willing to comply" implies, in a sense, the 'gift' of oneself, while a 'gift' which is itself always to a certain extent a 'surrender', essentially is the outward act pertaining to an inward mood or experience.[3] In German the word *hingabe,* in Dutch *overgave* and *toewijding* serve to express similar ideas.[4]

Now it is clear that in the ritual sphere special emphasis is laid upon that side of the concept expressed by the adjective which may be indicated by the term "(ritually) pure". Thus it reads Manu 5, 86 *ācamya prayato nityaṃ japed aśucidarśane,* explained by Kullūka: *śrāddhadevapūjādisaṃcikīrṣuḥ snānācamanādinā prayataḥ* and translated by Bühler : "he who has purified himself by sipping water shall . . . ." (similarly 2, 222, *ācamya pavitro nityam,* Kullūka); Medhātithi's note runs as follows : "*prayataḥ* : 'without allowing his mind to wander about; he should fix it upon contemplating the deity.

Or, *prayataḥ* may mean that at a time when one is busy with worshipping deities .... one should do what is laid down here, and not otherwise' "; 3, 216 (śrāddha) *nyupya piṇḍāṃs ... prayato vidhipūrvakam ... taṃ hastaṃ nimṛjyāt*: "self-controlled" (Gaṅgānātha Jhā). It is for lack of evidence in such cases difficult to decide whether the sense of *śuci-, pūta-* constitutes a younger development or a special meaning attached, in the idiom of ritual, to the word from the very beginning. This aspect ("purified") is e.g. also obvious in Kālidāsa, Ragh. 9, 18 *avabhṛtaprayataḥ* (*avabhṛtena prayataḥ*, Mallinātha): the sacrificer who has performed the final ablution is invested with peculiar 'sanctity'; see TaittBr. 3, 7, 14, 1 *apsu snānena śarīramalābhāvāt kāntir bhavati apāṃ pānena cendriyaṃ vardhate.* Compare Ragh. 14, 82 *abhiṣekaprayatā*, where, however, Mallinātha prefers *snānena niyatā* "performing the rigid rites of ascetic life", which as a general translation would overshoot the mark. Compare e.g. also Manu 5, 142; 11, 154.

However, the larger sense of the adjective may notwithstanding the correctness or inevitability of the translation "(ritually) pure" be assumed to manifest itself also in texts such as Manu 2, 183 *brahmacāry āhared bhaikṣaṃ ... prayato 'nvaham;* 8, 258 (boundary disputes) *sākṣyabhāve tu catvāro grāmāḥ sāmantavāsinaḥ/sīmāvinirṇayaṃ kuryuḥ prayatā rājasaṃnidhau;* here Medhātithi observes "possessing the qualifications of the witness" and Gaṅgānātha Jhā translates "honest". In commenting upon 11, 258 *araṇye vā trir abhyasya prayato vedasaṃhitām / mucyate pātakaiḥ sarvaiḥ śodhitas tribhiḥ* Kullūka admits that purity is not only external : *bāhyābhyantaraśaucayuktaḥ*. Cf. also 5, 145. Hence no doubt H. Kern's translation "devoutly" of Varāh. BS. 46, 64 *nṛpatir vāyuṃ ... arcayet ā vāyor iti pañcarco jāpyāś ca prayatair dvijaiḥ* "... and bid the brahmans 'devoutly' to mutter the five verses of ṚS. 7, 92". See also 48, 19 *prayataḥ praṇataḥ purohitaḥ kuryāt āvāhanam.* In 88, 40 Kern's translation however is "in a state of purity" : *dināntasandhyāsamaye ... prayataś ca vṛkṣam / devān samabhyarcya ...* Compare also BhāgPur. 1, 3, 29 *janma guhyaṃ bhagavato ya etat prayato naraḥ sāyaṃ prātar gṛṇan bhaktyā ...*; 2, 2, 14 *puruṣasya rūpaṃ kriyāvasāne prayataḥ smareta;* 4, 12, 47; 5, 23, 8; 8, 16, 62 *etad vrataṃ bhadre prayatā śraddhayā cara;* and, in the Mahābh. 3, 173, 41 *devadevāya rudrāya prayato raṇe / svasti bhūtebhyo ity uktvā mahāstraṃ samacodayam* (the locative *raṇe* is no complement of the adjective as is suggested by the Petr. Dict.). Applying not to men, but to a locality the sense is not essentially different : Rām. 6, 96, 7 *prayate deśe* "on a pure place (which is suitable for ritual or religious ceremonies)".

It would however appear to the present author that translators too often resorted to the word "pure (purified)" or its equivalents. There can be no doubt that in many cases "pure" is not the whole truth. The difficulty was felt by M. R. Kale who in translating Kālidāsa, Ragh. 3, 44 *ajasradīkṣāprayatasya madguroḥ* gives us the option between "purified for the constant performance of ..." and "engaged in ...". Yet, the latter translation (which is also Renou's) is inadequate, the sense of the adjective being "well prepared for and duly disposed with a view to or on account of undertaking the dīkṣās" (*nityadīkṣāyāṃ prayatasya,* Kullūka). Walter's (German) translation "who continually proposes to undertake holy consecration" is of course beside the mark. In 3, 65 the same expression is rendered, by Kale : "purified by ..", by Walter "who undertook the consecration". "Mentally, spiritually and ritually prepared" rather than "purified" (Kale, Renou) or "pious" ("fromm", Walter) is the sense in the same poem 1, 35 *athābhyarcya vidhātāraṃ prayatau putrakāmyayā / tau dampatī vasiṣṭhasya guror jagmatur āśramam.*

How difficult it is to translate the term under discussion may also appear from the following remarks. In Kālidāsa, Ragh. 1, 95 *prayataparigrahadvitīyaḥ* Kale wavers between "free from pollution" (translation) and "self-restrained and also pure in body" (commentary, compare Mallinātha's *niyataḥ*), Walter has "fromm", Renou "submissive". Commenting upon 13, 70 *ikṣvākuvaṃśagurave prayataḥ praṇamya sa* (Rama)....Kale, again, leaves the translation to our choice: "*prayata*-may mean (1) self-restrained, or (2) devout, pious"; both translations are, however, only approximations to the truth. Walter, who prefers "ruler of a pure soul" overlooks the fact that the adjective qualifies *praṇamya.* Thus Kālidāsa, Ragh. 5, 28 the adjective is used to express the idea of "pure in mind and body, i. e. having bathed and observed the rules of conduct such as restraining the passions" (M.R.Kale) : *athādhiśiśye prayataḥ pradoṣe rathaṃ raghuḥ...kailāsanāthaṃ tarasā jigīṣuḥ* ("after having purified himself", Renou; "after the observance", Walter).

In other contexts other aspects of the idea conveyed by *prayata*- come however to the fore. In Kālidāsa, Ragh. 8, 11..*dilīpavaṃśajāḥ/ padavīṃ...prayatāḥ saṁyamināṃ prapedire* the meaning is neither exactly "devout, pious" (German "fromm", Walter) nor completely equivalent to "curbing their passions" (Kale) or to "subjugating the flesh" (Renou, although of course this process is an important element in becoming under the circumstances described, *prayata*-. Compare also texts such as Īśvaragītā (KūrmaPur.) 10, 17 *yuñjīta yogaṃ prayataḥ* ("having the senses restrained", Dumont); MārkPur. 96 (93), 12 *ekāgraḥ prayato ... bhaktinamrātnakandharaḥ* (of

a ṛṣi worshipping the pitaras) : "subduing his body" is Pargiter's one-sided translation. A remarkable and instructive occurrence is Varāh. BS. 50, 6 *nākāraṇaṃ vivṛṇuyāt* (viz. *khaḍgam*) ... / *deśaṃ na cāsya kathayet* ... *naiva spṛśen nṛpatir aprayato 'siyaṣṭim;* here Kern, not without sound reasons, rendered : "he should not mention the place whence it has come from ... nor, without precaution, touch the blade" : compare Parāśara's note on 50, 24 ... *na cocchiṣ-taḥ saṃspṛśet* ... Here *aprayata-* qualifies the man who is mentally and ritually not well prepared to perform a dangerous act. In order to vanquish the 'demon' of unjust reproach or idle talk the wise house-holder must ponder on her and preserve his self-control", thus Pargiter's translation of *prayatas* ... *bhavet* in MārkPur. 51, 51 (48, 52). Pārvatī who alone is qualified to receive Śiva's sperm is characterized (Kālidāsa, Kum. 3, 16) as *prayatā* : Walter's "fromm" ("pious, devout") is not completely convincing.

In studying the meanings and in establishing the complete range of connotations of words of foreign or ancient languages it is necessary to take into account also the combinations into which they enter. Not rarely indeed the components of a phrase tend to complement each other semantically. Thus the combination *prayataḥ* ... *samāhitaḥ* in Manu 3, 226 ... *dadhi ghṛtaṃ madhu / vinasyet prayataḥ pūrvaṃ bhūmāv eva samāhitaḥ (śuciḥ ... ananyamanāḥ,* Kullūka); (similarly 3, 228) does not fail to suggest that the purity meant by the author is a quality attending a state of mind or spiritual disposition. Cf. also BhāgPur. 8, 4, 24 *utthāyāpararātrānte prayatāḥ susamāhitāḥ smaranti sma rūpāṇi* ... Compare also Manu 2, 185 *sarvaṃ vāpi cared grāmaṃ* ... *niyamya prayato vācam* (*śucir maunī bhikṣeta,* Kullūka), the same phrase occurring 4, 49 *uccaret* ... / *niyamya prayato vācaṃ saṃvītāṅgaḥ* ("with mouth not unwashed, not having anything in his mouth", Medhātithi, Gaṅgānātha Jhā. One might also refer to AthVPar. 37, 8, 1 *snātaḥ prayataḥ śuciḥ śuklavāsāḥ* ..., where prayataḥ obviously is not synonymous with *śuciḥ* (similarly 44, 2, 5). In Kālidāsa, Ragh. 1, 90 the adjective combines with *bhaktimat-* : *vadhūr bhaktimatī caināṃ* (the cow) ... / *prayatā prātar anvetu.* Various translations have been proposed : "pious and chaste" (Walter), "pure and full of devotion" (Kale, adding "this means *niyamavatī satī* 'leading an ascetic's life' "), "pious and submissive" (Renou). There is however no reason to reject the central and general meaning. Rām. 1, 2, 24 *vālmīkir atha tam* (viz. *brahmāṇam*) *dṛṣṭvā sahasotthāya vāgyataḥ / prāñjaliḥ prayato bhūtvā tasthau* it forms a harmonious whole with some other adjectives so as to induce the commentator Rāma to explain it as *atinamraḥ* which refers to a concomitant or an aspect of the quality

expressed by the adjective. The phrase *prāñjaliḥ prayataḥ* occurs also 1, 50, 17 (*muniśārdūlaṃ*) *paripapraccha p. p. nṛpaḥ*. Cf. also 2, 104, 30; Mahābh. 13, 51, 2; with *kṛtāñjali*—BhāgP. 4, 7, 25. As instructive stanza is BhāgP. 4, 8, 71 *tatrābhiṣiktaḥ prayatas tām upoṣya vibhāvarīm / samāhitaḥ paryacarat.* For *prayataḥ praṇataḥ* see Varāh. BS. 48, 19.

The word may express the same general sense also outside the ritual sphere; it is especially used to indicate the correct and respectful attitude to one's superiors (gods, holy men, parents, father-in law etc.) : Mahābh. 3, 77, 2 *tato 'bhivādayāmāsa prayataḥ śvaśuraṃ nalaḥ,* where Caland (in his edition of the Sāvitrī and Nala episodes, Utrecht 1916) translates (Dutch) "ingetogen", i.e. "modest, subdued", which of course is only approximately correct; 166, 14 (Indra is speaking) *astrāṇi labdhāni ca pāṇḍavena sarvāṇi mattaḥ prayatena;* Rām. 2, 31, 19 *bharataḥ pūjayiṣyati kausalyāṃ ca sumitrāṃ ca prayataḥ.* A man who is under these circumstances said to be *prayataḥ* may of course be ritually pure : Mahābh. 13, 51, 2 *śaucaṃ kṛtvā yathānyāyaṃ prāñjaliḥ prayato nṛpaḥ / ātmānam ācacakṣe.*

It may however also characterize the attitude of the well prepared, faithful and devout adept who is to receive instruction : Mahābh. 12, 250, 20 *jñānam idaṃ ... prayatāya pravaktavyaṃ hitāyānugatāya ca;* BhāgPur. 6, 15, 27 *etaṃ mantropaniṣadaṃ pratīccha prayato mama,* or the state of mind of the man who causes a sacred text or important philosophical lore to be taught or recited : Kaṭha Up. 3, 17 *ya imaṃ paramaṃ guhyaṃ śrāvayed brahmasaṃsadi / prayataś śrāddhakāle vā* ("devoutly", Radhakrishnan; "well-prepared", Renou); cf. also AV. Par. 70b, 3, 5; the person who addresses himself to a divinity : 5, 13, 26 *prayatā ca niśāṃ devīm upātiṣṭhata tatra sā,* or to brahmans : 13, 8, 9 *susaṃskṛtāni prayatāḥ śucīni guṇavanti ca / dadaty annāni tṛptyarthaṃ brāhmaṇebhyaḥ;* cf. also places such as 150, 13 *prāṇānām īśvarān etān kīrtayan prayato naraḥ;* Rām. 1, 50, 17; BhāgP. 4, 7, 25; MārkP. 96 (93), 12; Kālidāsa, Kum. 1, 59 (*niyata-*, Mallinātha). The man who enters into relation with the divine must be *prayata-*, so also he who undertakes a vow or observance : Mahābh. 2, 11, 9 *brahmavratam upāssva tvaṃ prayatenāntarātmanā.*

As already observed by the authors of the Petrograd Dictionary the adjective may also be accompanied by a locative: Mahābh. 13, 150, 22 (the divine powers etc.) *vasanti sarvalokeṣu prayatāḥ sarvakarmasu.* This locative is also implicit in compounds such as Kālidāsa, Vikr. 3, 2 *ācāraprayataḥ ... sandhyāmaṅgaladīpikā vibhajate śuddhāntavṛddho janaḥ* "devoted to (the) customary practices (rites, duties, Charu Deva Shastri, Lahore 1929) : *ācāre prayataḥ* "p. with reference to ..."

Now *prayata-* is one of those words which without occurring in the Veda express an element of the religious life of the Indians of the epic, classical and post-classical periods. The term may therefore be called 'hinduistic', but this is not to contend that the idea which it expresses was foreign to the Indians before the times of the Kaṭhopaniṣad, the less so as the word itself is not only Sanskrit but a near relative of some other well-known verbal adjectives: *yata-* "restrained, subdued, controlled"—*vāgyata-* "restrained in speech, silent (for ritual reasons)" belongs already to the vocabulary of the brāhmaṇas and ritual sūtras—and *niyata-* which in the sense of "fixed, established, regular" was likewise well-known to the authors of the sūtras. Curiously enough *niyata-* in the sense of "quite concentrated upon or devoted to" is, as far as I am able to see, post-Vedic, and so is *udyata-* in the sense of "undertaking, prepared, intent on". The absence of *prayata-* in the ancient texts may therefore be due to linguistic and stylistic reasons—a group of related compounds gained, in part of their meanings, access to literature—rather than to a revolution in religious thought and behaviour. Yet *prayata*—which in the ancient texts means "outstretched" or "offered"—helped to express an idea which as such was not conveyed by one of the 'Vedic' terms in this particular semantic field. For all that it may be said to mark—as far as our literary sources are concerned—a new element of religious life and ritual attitude.

BANDHU- IN THE BRĀHMAṆA-S

THE term *bandhu-*, which is of special frequency in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, has in the course of time been translated in various ways.[1] Whereas the Petrograd Dictionary,[2] followed by Monier-Williams,[3] translates it by (1) 'connection, relation, association, respect, reference; (2) relative, kindred, cognate kinsman', other lexicographers are inclined to invert the order of significations. Thus Apte [4] who, explaining the word as *badhnāti manaḥ snehādinā bandhu-*, arranges them as follows: 'relation, kinsman; anyone associated with another, cognate kinsman, friend, husband, etc., connection, association in general', but curiously enough omits any explicit reference to the interesting use of the term in the Brāhmaṇa-s. This view which may have been suggested by the time-honoured but untenable semantic 'law' that 'abstract' notions generally derive from 'concrete' significations, was

[1] For a succinct and incomplete survey (in French) see A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les Cent Chemins*, I, Paris, 1949, p. 51.

[2] O. Böhtlingk-R. Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, V, St. Petersburg, 1868, p. 19.

[3] Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1899, p. 720.

[4] V. S. Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, ed. by P. K. Gode and C. G. Karve, II, Poona, 1958, p. 1152.

shared by Schayer [1] and by Renou [2] who, referring to *Ṛgveda*, I. 164. 33, considered the possibility of ' umbilical cord ' being the connecting link or ' intermediate image '.[3]

According to Albrecht Weber the term is, in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, used to express the idea of ' explication of the deeper meaning of a text-place ',[4] i.e. ' that which has a bearing on the spiritual sense of a *mantra* or ceremony, the " symbolical meaning " or " its internal connection " '.[5] These interpretations were—especially in view of the fact that they were given a century ago—very meritorious. At an earlier date the same savant had proposed the explication ' connection of the ritual texts and *mantra-s* with the sacrificial act '.[6] This was adopted by Winternitz,[7] who also

[1] S. Schayer, ' Die Struktur der magischen Weltanschauung ', *Zeitschrift für Buddhismus*, 6, München, 1925, p. 276.

[2] L. Renou, in ' Études Védiques ', *Journal Asiatique*, 241, 1953, p. 171.

[3] As will appear from the following pages I am under the impression that *bandhu-* as used in the Brāhmaṇa-s is so to say analogous to *bandhu-* ' connection in blood ' rather than a semantic development from it. The verb *bandh-* also occurs in a ' non-literal ' sense in connection with unseen powers; cf. *ṚV*, VI. 74. 3: *tanū́ṣu baddhám . . . énaḥ* ' sin bound to our persons '; X. 85. 24: *váruṇasya pā́śād yéna tvā́badhnāt savitā́.* For *bandha-* in the transferred ' non-concrete ' sense of ' bond ' see e.g. *VS*, XII. 63.

[4] A. Weber, *Indische Studien*, V, Berlin, 1862, p. 60 n.

[5] A. Weber, ibid., IX, Berlin, 1865, p. 351.

[6] A. Weber, *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, Berlin, 1852, p. 12.

[7] M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, I, Leipzig, 1907, p. 164, n. 3; but see the rectification in vol. III, Leipzig, 1920, p. 613.

rashly concluded that *bandhu-* was the oldest name of the 'texts' called Brāhmaṇa-. Oldenberg [1] however rejected this view, preferring 'sense and aim, and in the first place, the secret effects ["Sinn und Zweck, vor allem, die geheime Wirkung"] of the ritual'. He rightly added the observation that the contents of the Brāhmaṇa-s properly speaking are the exposition of the *bandhu-s*, not the description of the sacrificial acts. He was followed by Keith: [2] 'The theories [of the priests] were in large measure devoted to the consideration of the relation of the sacrificer to the universe, to the gods, and to men.' I fail to see why this interpretation of the term should, with Minard,[3] be characterized as 'magical', a qualification which was also explicitly used by Schayer: [4] every ritual act has a special magical effect, and this effect is its *bandhu-*, its meaning or signification, not in the colourless sense of our word 'meaning', but its 'meaning' as understood in that 'magical symbolism' which is the foundation of the 'ritual technology'. Renou, on the other hand, proposed the translations 'explicative identification',[5]

[1] H. Oldenberg, Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft, *Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇa-Texte*, Göttingen, 1919, p. 4.

[2] A. B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, Cambridge, Mass., 1925, p. 442.

[3] Minard, loc. cit.

[4] Schayer, op. cit., p. 277.

[5] Renou, 'Sur la notion de brahman', *Journal Asiatique*, 237, 1949, p. 13.

and 'connection symbolique'.[1] Whereas Minard[2] distinguishes between the purely 'conceptual' translations of Oldenberg's predecessors, which are, he says, again defended by Renou, and the so-called 'magical explication' which comes especially to the fore in Schayer's article, I would rather say that these interpretations are not mutually exclusive, but emphasize, each of them, an important aspect of the idea expressed by the term under consideration. Each modern author has attempted to form an idea of the *bandhu-* concept within the framework of his own interpretation of the view of the world and life of the Brāhmaṇa-s and against the background of the theories of 'archaic' or 'semi-primitive' religion and *Weltanschauung* prevalent at the time he wrote his comment. It seems therefore worth while to reconsider the above interpretations[3] in the light of present-day views of the functions and 'symbolism' of ritual and sacred texts.

The pressure of events in the external world and in his own human affairs, the perpetual struggle for life and survival here and hereafter, the innumerable awe-inspiring experiences, the supposed existence of certain influences upon definite vital activities, often

[1] The same, in *Journal Asiatique*, 241, p. 172; but see also the same in L. Renou et J. Filliozat, *L'Inde classique*, I, Paris, 1947, p. 293 ('magical explication').

[2] Minard, loc. cit.

[3] The interpretation of the translators (e.g. Eggeling) will be mentioned further on.

completely outside his control and comprehension, the feeling that transcendental entities belonging to ' the other world ' mysteriously impose themselves ' on the events of this world ' must have considerably contributed towards creating a tension for the relief of which *inter alia* a ritual technique was devised. Once established the ritual tended to develop to meet new demands.[1] The belief in the efficacy of the rites is founded on the conviction that it must be possible to establish and maintain beneficial relations with the supra-mundane sacred order, to enter into, or continue, relationship with power or the powers, and also that this possibility was most appropriately realized through ritual institutions. This conviction itself is an aspect of the universal idea that all things and events are connected with each other and that in some way or other everything participates in everything else. Hence also the belief that there may exist a close relationship or correspondence between phenomenal reality or a province of the whole universe or a section made from it, for instance the sacrificial place,[2] a

[1] E. O. James, *Prehistoric Religion*, New York, 1957, pp. 299 ff.; W. J. Goode, *Religion Among the Primitives*, Glencoe, III, 1951, pp. 45 ff.; G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, London, 1938, pp. 380 f., 543 f.; the same, *L'homme primitif et la Religion*, Paris, 1940, esp. p. 41 f.; M. Eliade, ' The Sacred and the Profane ', *The Nature of Religion*, New York, 1961, *passim*; the same, *Birth and Rebirth*, New York, 1958, *passim*.

[2] As is well known the Vedic sacrifice was a counterpart of the great cosmic drama; see e.g. S. Lévi, *La doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brāhmaṇas*, Paris, 1898.

maṇḍala,[1] a sacred place or building. All these are centres of power, ' founded upon mystery ', because they are by mysterious relations connected with the unseen powers which preside over,[2] or are active in, the provinces of the universe, and which control its processes as well as all human affairs. Known only to the initiate, or as the Brāhmaṇa-s have it, to ' the man who knows ',[3] who has an insight into the correspondences between the mundane phenomena and the immutable and eternal transcendent reality and into the meaning of the ritual manipulations by which man can benefit by that knowledge, these connections and relations with the unseen—called *bandhu-* in the Brāhmaṇa-s—are fundamentally religious in nature. The conception of a transcendental order and a ritual technique aiming at establishing an efficacious contact with the source of all life and power is indeed the very essence of religion.

An illustrative example occurs in *ŚB*, V. 2. 5. 8 where the term *bandhu-* is used in connection with the *dakṣiṇā*:[4] a dark-grey bull is the sacrificial gift, because this animal is of Pūṣan's nature;[5] since Pūṣan, being

[1] G. Tucci, *The Theory and Practice of the Maṇḍala*, London, 1961.

[2] van der Leeuw, *Religion*, p. 397.

[3] Oldenberg, op. cit., p. 5 and my book *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, Stuttgart, 1960, pp. 176, 197, 210 ff., 272.

[4] For which see *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 43.

[5] It may be remembered that Pūṣan is, in the Veda, the divine supervisor of cattle (see e.g. S. D. Atkins, *Pūṣan in the Rig-veda*, Princeton, 1941, p. 14 f.).

cattle, represents productiveness and dark-grey means white and black—which is considered a productive pair—so this gift is to obtain a productive pair. When, in V. 3. 1. 9, the same *dakṣiṇā* is prescribed, the author simply adds that its *bandhu-* is the same as in the former passage. That means that the gift of the dark-grey animal derives its effectiveness from its metaphysical connections (*bandhu-*) with a divine power and an incontestable sacred fact.

ŚB, I. 1. 1. 22, which must be studied in connection with I. 1. 2. 4, is very instructive. Dealing with the ritual acts connected with the rice required for the sacrificial cakes the author[1] stated, in I. 1. 2. 3, that at the very beginning of the sacrifice the evil spirits should be expelled. For that purpose the Adhvaryu steps forward to the cart containing the rice or barley with the text (*VS*, I. 7c) 'I move along the wide aerial realm'. 'For the evil spirits', § 4 continues, 'roam about in the air . . .; and in order that he [the Adhvaryu] may move about in the air, he by this very sacred text [*bráhman-*] renders the atmosphere free from danger and evil demons'. Compare also Mahīdhara on *VS*, I. 7: *gacchataḥ puruṣasya pārśvayor eva sthitaṃ rakṣo 'nena mantreṇa nirākriyata ity āśayaḥ.* Later on, after having descended from the cart, the same official walks forward (north of the Gārhapatya fire) with the identical formula (*VS*, I. 11d) 'I move along the wide aerial realm', and now the

[1] I refer to A. Hillebrandt, *Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*, Jena, 1880, p. 22 f.

text (§ 22) says *so 'sāv eva bandhuḥ*, words translated by Eggeling: 'the application of which is the same [as before]'.[1] Given the etymological meaning of *bandhu-* we can hardly be far wrong if we suppose the term to refer to 'connection' or 'interrelation' between the ritual procedure (the act of walking and the recitation of the formula) and its effects, namely definite processes taking place or assumed to take place (*in casu*, the expulsion of the evil spirits from the atmosphere). Two similar passages occur in *ŚB*, I. 2. 1. 14, where the black antelope skin is shaken to the accompaniment of (*VS*, I. 19b) 'Shaken off are the evil spirits, shaken off the malignant beings', the Brāhmaṇa adding: *so 'sāv eva bandhuḥ* which now was translated by Eggeling: 'the import and application of which is same', namely as in I. 1. 4. 4, where the identical formula (*VS*, I. 1. 14b) is quoted and explained: 'thereby he repels from it the evil spirits; he shakes it whilst holding it apart from the vessels, whereby he shakes off whatever impure matter there may have been on it'. Further on the skin, addressed as the skin of Aditi, is spread on the ground, the goddess being implored to acknowledge it. The same acts were mentioned in I. 1. 4. 5 where they were commented upon as follows: 'Aditi is the earth, and whatever is on her, that serves as a skin to her, therefore he says [*VS*, I. 19] "Thou art the skin of Aditi". And he says "Aditi must acknowledge thee" because one who is related [to

[1] J. Eggeling, in The Sacred Books of the East, XII, Oxford, 1882 (new edition, Benares, 1963), p. 18.

another] acknowledges [him]. Thereby he establishes a mutual understanding between [her and] the skin thinking " they will not hurt each other ".' It is this ' explication ', that is the statement of the connection between the acts and their purposes and effects, which is in I. 2. 1. 14 said to be the *bandhu-* of the manual act and formula which ' consecrates ' it and makes it effective. Similarly in *ŚB*, III. 3. 4. 1, where the Kāṇva text has ' the *bandhu-* of the Yajus is the same' (cf. also *ŚB*, IV. 6. 6. 6).[1]

After having dealt, in II. 2. 1. 19, with offering of mess of boiled rice to Aditi, by means of which one takes one's stand on the earth (because Aditi is the earth), the author of the *ŚB* repeats this direction in § 22, adding *ya eva caror bandhuḥ sa bandhuḥ.* Eggeling's translation: ' the treatment of the potful of rice is the same [as before] ' is incorrect. The term refers to ' that is why (*tasmāt*) one offers . . .' in § 19, i.e. to the connection of the ritual act and the intended effect. This connection however stands or falls with the identification of Aditi, who receives the oblation, and the earth on which the sacrificer desires to exert his influence.

The term under examination may apply also to a sacred object and the ritual act performed with it. *ŚB*, III. 8. 3. 1 f. informs us that for the same deity for whom there is a victim a sacrificial cake is subsequently prepared, in order ' to complete ' the victim.

[1] Eggeling, op. cit., II, p. 435, n. 3.

One has to proceed with that cake after offering the omentum, because ' it is from the middle [of the victim] that this omentum is pulled out, and in the middle one now completes that [victim] '. After these words the author observes: *eṣa nv evaitasya bandhur yatra kva caiṣa paśuṃ puroḍāśo 'nunirupyate.* Eggeling translated: ' the relation of this [cake to the animal offering], indeed, is one and the same everywhere; that cake is prepared after [and supplementary to] a victim '. I would prefer: ' the connection of this " animal-cake " [namely to the ' transcendental ' effect, i.e. the completion of the victim] is the same in all animal sacrifices . . .'. Cf. the commentary: *paśupuroḍāśasya paśucchidrapūrtirūpaprayojanaṃ sarveṣu paśuṣv atidiśati eṣa iti.*

By performing a definite ritual act one may bring about a definite result in the divine (and this implies, the cosmic) sphere. For instance, by throwing loose soil—which means flesh—one covers Agni with flesh (Agnicayana: *ŚB*, VIII. 7. 3. 1); this is the *bandhu-* of that act: VII. 1. 1. 36. One scatters sand to keep the saline soil from being scorched, for sand is the ashes of Agni Vaiśvānara and this deity does not scorch his own self (*ŚB*, VII. 1. 1. 9): this is the *bandhu-* of sands meant in VI. 4. 4. 18. The *bandhu-* of putting on a kindling stick standing (*ŚB*, VI. 6. 2. 14) is: ' the sun stands, as it were ' and ' while standing, one is stronger ' (VI. 7. 2. 1); cf. also VI. 6. 3. 17. The *bandhu-* of standing with the face towards the north-east referred to in VI. 7. 2. 1 is given in VI. 6. 2. 2 ff.: facing

this direction Prajāpati created creatures; and this direction is the quarter of both gods and men and the gate of heaven. Here *bandhu-* is the relation between the posture or position of a person performing a ritual act on the one hand and the creator-god and a 'cosmic truth', with which he should be in tune in order to derive from the ritual acts the profit desired on the other (VI. 6. 2. 4: 'it is by the gate that he thus makes him enter into the world of heaven'). The term is also applicable to the 'significance' of the place towards the south occupied, in the ritual sphere, by a horse (*ŚB*, VI. 3. 3. 14); to the spreading of the black antelope skin north of the hole (VI. 4. 1. 6: Agnicayana), and similarly IX. 3. 4. 10: compare XIV. 1. 2. 2 'the north is the quarter of men'.

Thus the term occurs in connection with other ritual acts. In *ŚB*, VI. 4. 3. 10 a string should be a triple one, because Agni is threefold (VI. 3. 1. 27: Agnicayana): that is to say, the being threefold of Agni provides the motive for a special triple form of a string; if this object is not triple it will not suit the ritual context and remains ineffective. Cf. also VI. 7. 1. 7, 15, 16, 26 and VII. 3. 2. 13.

While dealing with the chariot-race in the Vājapeya the author of the *ŚB* observes that the Adhvaryu either offers, or addresses the horses, with two definite verses, adding (V. 1. 5. 18) that in both cases the *bandhu-* ('significance of the performance', Eggeling) is the same. Similarly, § 21 and for comparable alternatives see V. 2. 1. 1, 3; V. 2. 2. 16.

A very instructive place is *ŚB*, VI. 4. 3. 10 (Agnicayana): by taking the lump of clay which represents Agni and rising, one 'causes the sun to rise' (§ 9); by lifting it up towards the east, one places the sun in the east; one holds it above the navel, because the sun stands over the navel (of the earth: VI. 7. 1. 8); this is the *bandhu-* of the position mentioned last (in VI. 4. 3. 10). See also VI. 7. 2. 9; VI. 7. 3. 6. Similarly, VII. 1. 1. 33 (cf. VIII. 7. 2. 1 ff.). The *bandhu-* of the ritual use of letting loose animals (*in casu*, oxen) towards the north-eastern direction (*ŚB*, VII. 2. 2. 21) is given in VI. 4. 4. 22: 'this is the region of both gods and men': 'he thus bestows cattle on that region, and hence both gods and men subsist on cattle'; see also VII. 3. 2. 11. For pouring out water one uses Udumbara jars (VII. 2. 4. 2); the Udumbara being food and sustenance, one obtains sustenance; this is the *bandhu-* (V. 3. 4. 2); see also IX. 3. 4. 4. The *bandhu-* of the verse 'steady art thou, supporting' (*VS*, XIII. 34) prescribed in VII. 5. 1. 30 is explained in VII. 4. 2. 5: 'that which supports is a foundation'.

Before the consecration of the sacrificial rice by sprinkling it with lustral water[1] the water which is sprinkled in the ladle is addressed 'consecrated by sprinkling are ye' (*VS*, I. 13d): *ŚB*, I. 1. 3. 10 which continues: 'He then sprinkles the [first] oblation', adding: *eko vai prokṣaṇasya bandhur, medhyam evaitat karoti*. Eggeling translated: 'One and the same

[1] Hillebrandt, op. cit., p. 27.

meaning applies to the [whole process of] sprinkling, namely he thereby makes sacrificially pure that [which he sprinkles] '. The meaning obviously is that in both cases the connection between the ritual act of sprinkling and its intended effect is the same, namely purification. Purification is also effected by a strainer which is ' related to the wind which blows upwards ' (Eggeling): *eko vā utpavanasya bandhuḥ* (I. 3. 1. 22); as is well known, the wind purifies. Similarly, III. 5. 4. 17; III. 6. 1. 11; III. 7. 1. 3; III. 7. 4. 3.

After relating how Indra, persuading Agni and Soma to join him, rewarded them by a special cake, adding that this is the reason why there is a sacrificial cake for these two gods, *ŚB*, I. 6. 3. 15 says that by offering that cake Indra became what he now is, whereas all gods and all glory, etc. left Vṛtra: *eṣa u paurṇamāsasya bandhuḥ* (' such then is the significance of the full moon offering '); ' he who knowing this performs this sacrifice in this wise . . . becomes thus endowed with glory . . ., etc.' This seems to mean that there is a connection between the sacrifice under discussion and the above-mentioned exploit of the god, i.e. with the mythical prototype, with the implication that the power inherent in that divine activity can be regenerated or made active for the benefit of the sacrificer. By the admixture of milk the Soma-juice loses its brownish colour and is therefore, as appears from *ŚB*, I. 6. 4. 9, considered to have produced the same effect in Indra, who as the mythical prototype became strong and ' overcame that evil, the jaundice ',

by drinking that mixed beverage. Such, the text states, is the *bandhu-* of the new moon ceremony (and of the libation of milk offered to Indra on that occasion); and he who, knowing this, mixes milk at the new moon sacrifice likewise overcomes evil. Here also the *bandhu-* is the motivation of a ritual act on the ground of the effect of a similar act which was supposed to have taken place in the mythical past (notice the mostly anaphorical *eṣa-*[1]), with the implication that its re-enactment in the ritual context will bring about a similar effect. Similarly, II. 6. 3. 5, *sa bandhuḥ śunāsīryasya yaṃ pūrvam avocāma*: cf. § 2 'the same prosperity which accrued to the gods on performing the . . . offerings . . . he makes his own: that is why he performs the *śunāsīrya*'; compare the commentary on § 5 . . . *sa bandhur iti*: *kṛtsnasya karmaṇaḥ phalapratipādanasamaye pūrvaṃ yaṃ vākyaśeṣaṃ yā vai devānām ityādikam avocāma . . . sa eva asyāpi śunāsīryasya haviṣaḥ stāvakaḥ . . .*

In studying ritual terminology we should remember that the cult—which is to bring about a positive feeling of participation in the absolute and unity with it, to realize the transcendence of the separation—[2] is man's active relation to his gods and that by the performance of the ritual acts a direct influence is exerted upon the divine. The mythical tale is more often than not a reflection of the immediate relationship between cult

[1] See J. S. Speyer, *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax*, Strassburg, 1896, p. 40, § 133.

[2] E. O. James, *Primitive Ritual and Belief*, London, 1917, p. 215.

and the world of the divine, a justification of the how and why of particular acts. These particular processes which are repeated over and over again in the cult are mythically interpreted and understood as the re-enactment of a unique event which is supposed to have taken place in the mythical past, and to which they are supposed to be linked.[1] The formula used is no longer the mere symbol of something divine or transcendent; it is identified with it. Manipulation or activation of the sacred word thus becomes manipulation or activation of that something for which the word stands.[2]

ŚB, I. 2. 2. 1 explicitly speaks of the *bandhu-* of a Yajus formula, the words *so 'sāv evaitasya yajuṣo bandhuḥ* clearly referring to I. 1. 2. 17 where the well-known formula *VS*, (I. 10 ab,) I. 21 ab 'At the impulse of the divine Savitar I pour thee out, with the arms of the Aśvin-s, with the hands of Pūṣan', which is here quoted again, has been explained: Savitar is the impeller of the gods, the Aśvin-s are their Adhvaryu priests, Pūṣan is the distributor of portions (to the gods). Thus (it is implied) the ritual act is by means of the formulas made a re-enactment in the human world of processes which take place in the realm of

[1] E. Cassirer, *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*, II, *Mythical Thought*, New Haven, 1955, p. 219.

[2] Compare also, with regard to the religion of the Tibetans, G. Tucci, *To Lhasa and Beyond*, Rome, 1956, pp. 98 ff.; R. B. Ekvall, *Religious Observances in Tibet: Patterns and Function*, Chicago, 1964, p. 99 f.; E. J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, London, ²1951, pp. 186 ff., who lays too much emphasis on the idea of 'spell'.

the divine powers: ' he takes [the rice] as one impelled by Savitar', etc. (I. 1. 2. 17). This must be the *bandhu-* of the formulas, namely their connection with the processes going on outside the sacrificial ground which at the same time are their motivation, their *raison d'être,* to which they owe their effectiveness, because the ceremonious recitation of the formulas makes the power inherent in them active.[1] Cf. also *ŚB,* I. 3. 1. 23, 24; III. 5. 4. 4; III. 6. 1. 4; XII. 4. 4. 7; and see VI. 8. 1. 11 (cf. VI. 7. 3. 2).

The term *bandhu-* consistently occurs also in connection with so-called ritual taboos or observances, i.e. with the Yajamāna's ceremonious behaviour and the particular form of worship imposed on him while performing a rite. After one has performed the animal offering belonging to the Agnicayana rites one must not enjoy carnal intercourse prior to a definite offering to Mitra and Varuṇa (*ŚB,* VI. 2. 2. 39); the *bandhu-* of this observance is explained further on, IX. 5. 1. 54; sexual intercourse with a human woman would be a descent, ' as if one who is divine would become human '; by offering to Mitra and Varuṇa one enters into a divine sexual union. Here the term clearly denotes the consequences of the transgression and the observance of a ritual ' taboo '.

As is well known the establishment of numerical correspondence was a very important device in the argumentations of these authors, because it was

[1] See e.g. my article ' The Indian Mantra ', in *Oriens,* 16, Leiden-Istanbul, 1963, pp. 244 ff.

explained as indicating close connections or associations between the powers, events or phenomena characterized by the same number.[1] An object or occurrence in the ritual sphere may become significant, a mundane event or entity may participate in sacredness, when it has its number in common with a powerful entity or process in the other world. Thus there exists a relation between the number six and the god Agni, because six seasons are a year, and Agni is a year (*ŚB*, VI. 4. 2. 10). Therefore six verses are used (Agnicayana), and referring to this relation the same work (VI. 4. 4. 11) says that the *bandhu-* of the number has already been explained (cf. also VI. 7. 1. 18). The *bandhu-* of the use of twenty-one enclosing-stones (IX. 4. 3. 7) is explained in VII. 1. 1. 35; twenty-one is the sum total of twelve months, five seasons, the three worlds and Agni, and by using this number one establishes Agni in the sun, etc.

In a similar way an almost unlimited number of actions, whether recitations or manipulations, were believed to become sacred and powerful because of their correspondence with occurrences in the other world, with divine prototypes, bearers or manifestation of sacredness, or because they presupposed the use of objects which represent some manifestation of power. Thus the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* informs us of the *bandhu-* of addressing the enclosing stone (VII. 3. 1. 11); of

[1] See in general F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*, Stuttgart, 1961, pp. 161 ff.; Oldenberg, op. cit., pp. 46 ff.; J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, Stuttgart, 1960, p. 177 f.

breathing over gold (XI. 5. 9. 11; cf. IV. 6. 1. 6 ff.: he lays immortal life into his own self, because gold is immortal life); of sprinkling with water (XIII. 1. 2. 4, where Eggeling translates '[symbolic] meaning': cf. I. 1. 3. 6 f.; III. 7. 4. 3 purification); of the order in which formulas are to be expressed (XIV. 2. 2. 14 ff.; cf. XIV. 1. 3. 26: because one of them is the sun). Thus the recitation of definite verses under definite circumstances has a *bandhu-* (VII. 4. 1. 9, 14, 21, etc.; cf. VII. 1. 1. 31); and so has a special form of a gold plate (VII. 4. 1. 10); the offering of fivefold ghee (VII. 4. 1. 32); the singing of a *sāman* (VII. 4. 2. 8); the use of *gāyatrī* verses (VII. 5. 1. 4); that of a threefold brick (VIII. 1. 1. 9; VIII. 1. 2. 3, etc.), of sprinkling with sour curds, honey and ghee (IX. 2. 1. 13). Other places of interest, which need not however be discussed at greater length, are *ŚB*, IV. 1. 2. 15 ('significance', Eggeling), 21, 23; IV. 6. 6. 6; V. 3. 5. 15, 16; VI. 2. 2. 5, 10; VI. 4. 2. 7; VIII. 6. 1. 6 ff. ('the import of this has been explained', Eggeling). After a quotation one sometimes finds the remark *yathaiva yajus tathā bandhuḥ* 'as the Yajus formula, so its *bandhu-*' ('meaning', Eggeling): *ŚB*, VI. 3. 2. 8, i.e. the *bandhu-* is so evident that no comment is required. Likewise, VI. 4. 2. 4; VI. 4. 3. 10; VI. 5. 1. 5; VI. 6. 2. 5, 6; VII. 2. 2. 10; VIII. 5. 1. 8; VIII 6. 1. 5 ('import', Eggeling).

The fire-pan (*ukhā-*, the word is feminine) is *ŚB*, VII. 1. 1. 43 placed at the distance of a cubit north of the fire (which is masculine): the *bandhu-* of this was

explained in VI. 3. 1. 30 'at a cubit's distance the male lies by the female'. In translating, with Eggeling, *bandhu-* by 'significance'—which of course is not wrong—one overlooks the fact that this significance is based on conformity with the normal and exemplary behaviour of a married pair.

Sometimes the 'relation' is plain and obvious even to readers who are not initiated into the intricacies of Vedic ritual 'mysticism'. The man who, facing the north, sits south of the hearth-site puts bricks so as to begin in the north, 'builds a fire-place towards himself' (*ŚB*, VII. 1. 1. 21). This undeniable fact is (IX. 4. 3. 5) called the *bandhu-* of this activity. Or the term *bandhu-* refers to a ritual identification: from XIV. 1. 2. 20 ff. it appears that the *bandhu-* of the formula 'Thou art the head of Makha' addressed to a cauldron resides in the fact that the cauldron *is* that head (§ 17).

Incidentally the meaning of the term is explained in the text. The author of the *ŚB*, after discussing in VI. 6. 3. 8 = *VS*, XI. 75 'day after day bringing carefully [food]'—which is the beginning of a prayer for safety and protection—states (in VI. 6. 4. 1) that the *bandhu-* of 'bringing night for night unremittingly' (*MS*, II. 7. 7: 83. 11; III. 1. 9: 12. 12) has been told, adding 'he prays for that same security and well-being for the night'. Cf. also VI. 6. 4. 2.

It is worth observing that there is also a *bandhu-* regulating the order in which rites were performed: *ŚB*, VI. 6. 4. 11 (cf. VI. 6. 1. 4).

According to *PB*, XX. 15. 11 one should give to a Brāhmaṇa who, though not learned, is of pure *ṛṣi*-descent, on the third day (which is equal to the sky; XX. 14. 2); 'they know the sky as *dyaus*; they know his relation' (*bandhu-*, which is neuter here).[1] The meaning must be: 'they know his pure *ṛṣi*-descent' (*tasyārṣeyasya bandhujātaṃ bhrātṛputrādikaṃ ca jānanti*, comm.). Also from the parallel passage, *JB*, II. 243: *atha yo bandhumān <an>anūcānaḥ syāt tasmai tṛtīye 'hani dadyād; yathā vā asau dyaur evaṃ saḥ; dyaur iti vā amuṃ vidur, bandhu tasya viduḥ*, it seems clear that *bandhu-* is nevertheless something more than 'blood-relation[s]'. Just as one knows of the sky that it is the sky, thus one knows his identity which is based on his participation in the nature of his ancestor, who was one of the *ṛṣi-s*. This idea of participation is also evident in *AiB*, VII. 23. 1 where a Kṣatriya is said to be *aindra-*, i.e. 'related to, similar to, Indra' in divinity (as a divinity[2]), *traiṣṭubha-*, i.e. 'relating to the Triṣṭubh metre' in metre, Soma in kingship and a nobleman in relationship (*rājanyo bandhunā*).

When (the loose dust of) the seventh footprint of the cow which serves as the price of the Soma is thrown

[1] See the note by W. Caland, *Pañcaviṃśabrāhmaṇa*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 542.

[2] For the use of the instrumental compare J. S. Speyer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, Leiden, 1886, § 73 (see also § 237). Keith's translation (A. B. Keith, *Rigveda Brāhmaṇas*, Cambridge, Mass., 1920, p. 311) 'the K. has I. as his deity' is not exact.

into the pan[1] *ŚB*, III. 3. 1. 6 has the formula (*VS*, IV. 22) *asme te bandhuḥ* 'in us is thy kinship [relation]' used, which according to Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara on *VS* means 'we are thy relations'. According to the *ŚB* one means thereby to say: 'In the sacrificer is thy kingship'. It is handed over to the sacrificer with 'in you are riches', i.e. 'in you is cattle' (*ŚB*),[2] the foot of this cow being declared to be cattle (*TS*, VI. 1. 8. 4); in handing it over to the sacrificer the Adhvaryu bestows wealth on him (ibid., 5). Instead of *asme te bandhuḥ MŚS*, II. 1. 3. 42 prescribes the formula *asme ramasva* 'abide in us'. 'Kinship', with all its implications seems also to be the sense in the Kāṇva parallel to *ŚB*, III. 5. 1. 21: Vāk became angry: 'That one [Sūrya] is not my superior by anything, not by "kinship", not by anything . . . .'

Sometimes we find the abstract noun *bandhutā-* 'relationship': *ŚB*, III. 1. 3. 12 where, after the information that ointment from mount Trikakud is a transformation of Vṛtra's eye and so to be used 'to put eye into eye', all kinds of ointment are said to have one and the same *bandhutā-*, so that any ointment may be used. It is clear that the text wishes to state that all kinds of ointment have the same 'descent' and consequently the same effect. See also XII. 6. 1. 38; XII. 8. 2. 18 ff. In *PB*, X. 1. 1 ff. this term—explained as *bandhusamūhaḥ* (Sāyaṇa)—

[1] I refer to W. Caland et V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, Paris, 1906, p. 38 f.

[2] Cf. *TS*, I. 2. 5 f.; VI. 1. 8. 4 f.; *ĀpŚS*, X. 23. 3.

interestingly combines with *āyatana-* 'base, support, resort': the base (resort) and connection of the Stoma of fifteen and consequently the same effect. See also XII. 6. 1. 38; XII. 8. 2. 18 ff. In *PB*, X. 1. 1 ff. this term—explained as *bandhusamūhaḥ* (Sāyaṇa)—interestingly combines with *āyatana-* 'base, support, resort': the base (resort) and connection of the Stoma of fifteen verses is the half-month (which consists of fifteen days).[1] In *BĀU*, I. 1. 2 *bandhu-* combines in a similar way with *yoni-* 'place of origin'.

The meaning 'relation, relative' is for instance clear in *ŚB*, II. 1. 4. 17 *eṣa hy evānaḍuho bandhuḥ* 'since that [fire] is a relation of the ox': cf. VII. 3. 2. 1 *agnir eṣa yad anaḍvān*; XIII. 8. 4. 6 where the latter is said to be *āgneya-* 'of Agni's nature'. We should however remember that in olden times 'relationship' was—and outside the modern West still is to a certain extent—much more than the state of having genealogical or other relations to another person, but 'a form of existence in its own right, from which one cannot release oneself',[2] i.e. communion in the truest sense

[1] For the concept of *āyatana-* see Schayer, op. cit., p. 279 f. and my remarks in *Saṃjñāvyākaraṇam*, Studia Indologica Internationalia, I, Poona-Paris, 1954, p. 10 f. See also Oldenberg, op. cit., p. 117 n.

[2] G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, London, 1938, p. 246, discussing *inter alia*, blood-revenge, levirate marriage, and the heinous crime of murder of relatives from this point of view; one might also recall the taboo on the names of relations ('the reluctance to mention the names of persons connected with the speaker by blood or by marriage can hardly be

of the term, including an intense consciousness of unity.[1]

The above survey of texts may induce us to consider the history of the Greek term *symbolon* and the use of 'symbol' in modern investigations into the structure of religious beliefs and practices. *Symbolon*—which belongs to the verb *symballein* 'to bring together; join, unite; compare; conclude, infer, interpret, understand'—was, in Greek, used *inter alia* to denote 'each of two halves or corresponding pieces of an object which two persons broke between them, each keeping one piece, in order to have proof of the identity of the other'; hence also 'other devices having the same purpose, e.g. a seal-impression on wax', and then 'any token serving as proof of identity; guarantee'; and 'omen, portent, auspicium, symptom'; in the Mystery Religions the word assumed the sense of 'formulaic expression of a secret doctrine,' which, while unintelligible to outsiders was to accompany the worship of the initiate or was believed to contain the essence of their religious truths.[2] One might compare the statement made by

separated from the reluctance evinced by so many people to utter their own names'; see e.g. J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, abr. ed., I, London, 1957, p. 321 ff.).

[1] See e.g. also R. Thurnwald, *Des Menschengeistes Erwachen, Wachsen und Irren*, Berlin, 1951, p. 298 f.; G. A. Reichard, 'Social Life', in F. Boas, *General Anthropology*, Boston, 1938, ch. ix.

[2] W. Müri, *Symbolon*, Bern, 1931; M. Schlesinger, *Grundlagen und Geschichte des Symbols*, 1930; W. Deonna, in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 88, Paris, 1924, pp. 18 ff.; M. Eliade, *Images et Symboles*, Paris, 1952; the same, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*,

Tucci in one of his books on Tibetan religion:[1] For the neophyte the symbol is ' like a magical and irresistible admission into the formless and tumultuous tangle of forces; with the symbol he grasps, dominates and dissolves it'. The later antique philosophers used the term also in connection with myths: the symbolon of a myth is, they hold, not an analogous indication, but a token, in which the divine with its power of salvation is believed to be present. For the Christian apologists, ' symbols were pregnant with messages; they showed the sacred through the cosmic rhythms '.[2] Generally speaking, it may be said that when, in religious practice, relationship is represented by a material symbol ' the symbol is regarded and treated in the same way as the spiritual entity it symbolizes, not because it is thought to be other than it actually is but because it has acquired a spiritual quality which does not belong to it in its own nature without changing its outward and visible form and character '.[3] When a tree becomes a cult object it is not as a tree that it is venerable, but as a hierophany, i.e. a manifestation of the sacred.[4] Thus

London-New York, 1958, *passim;* E. Underhill, *Mysticism*, London, 1911, (1960), esp. ch. vi.; K. Goldammer, *Die Formenwelt des Religiösen*, Stuttgart, 1960, *passim.*

[1] Tucci, *The Theory and Practice of the Maṇḍala*, p. 22.

[2] M. Eliade, 'The Sacred and the Profane', *The Nature of Religion*, New York, 1961, p. 137.

[3] James, *Prehistoric Religion*, p. 233; cf. also E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Nuer Religion*, Oxford, 1956, p. 77, 82, 132 f., 140 f.

[4] See also M. Eliade, in M. Eliade and J. M. Kitagawa, *The History of Religion*, ' Essays in Methodology ', Chicago, 1959.

the symbols of the moon share, in many religions, in the sacred power of that luminary. It is clear that this 'sacramental conception of symbolism' presupposes the existence of an extra-mundane spiritual world standing against and in a particular relation with this world over which it exercises control. A symbol is by no means something quite unessential, as our loose modern mode of expression seems to imply, but rather the encounter between two realities, the secular and the sacred, and evidence of their community or close relationship. It is 'a participation of the sacred in its veritable, actual form: between the sacred, and its form, there exists community of essence'.[1] The symbol creates a permanent solidarity between man and the sacred; it is the lasting union or connection between a mundane event or entity and a trans-mundane spiritual idea, by means of which the believing worshipper can bring the latter within his reach, understand it and exercise influence upon it.[2] Every religious act and every cult object aiming at a meta-empirical reality, all religious facts have a symbolic character, since they refer to 'supernatural' values.[3] Hence also the effectiveness of symbolical acts in religion.[4] It is these

[1] van der Leeuw, *Religion*, p. 447 f.

[2] Cf., e.g. E. Underhill, *Worship*, New York, p. 29; J. Wach, *Vergleichende Religionsforschung*, Stuttgart, 1962, p. 80.

[3] For symbolism in art see e.g. F. Boas, *Primitive Art*, New York, 1955, pp. 88 ff.

[4] See also H. Ringgren, *Israelitische Religion*, Stuttgart, 1963, p. 196.

ideas and convictions, these connections with and references to the unseen powers and supramundane values, this symbol value of religious facts which in India give rise to the *bandhu-* concept.

One should hesitate to subscribe to Schayer's view that this 'symbolism' is 'magical' in nature. Some scholars have indeed made too lavish a use of this term. We had better say, with Goode,[1] that any given 'magical' or religious system 'is concretely not to be found at either extreme, theoretical pole [pure magic or pure religion], but somewhere between the two', that is to say magic and religion represent a continuum, and are distinguished only ideal-typically. Although in this '*bandhu-* theory' and the rites presupposing it 'magical' elements are not necessarily absent, the religious characteristics turn the scale: The Vedic rituals are not thought of as directed against society, but on the contrary as indispensable means of maintaining the universal order; they must be carried out as part of the structure of the universe; their time relations are fixed; the officiants are to the highest degree concerned with the intrinsic meaning of the ritual, maintaining by a knowledge of the *bandhu-s* the proper relationship with the powers.

The term under consideration occurs also to indicate relations between powers, phenomena, divine or human persons. I would hesitate to contend that

[1] Goode, op. cit., p. 52 f. I would however hesitate to define the magical elements in the Vedic ritual on the basis of the criteria mentioned by this author.

this use is more 'original'. 'As long as there is water in the vital airs', *ŚB*, V. 3. 5. 16, quoted by Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara on *VS*, X. 6, says, 'so long [man] speaks with speech' and hence water is called (*VS*, X. 6) *vāco bandhuḥ* 'the relative of speech'. There obviously is a connection (*bandhu-*) between water and speech. I would not follow Griffith[1] and Eggeling in translating 'friend of speech'. Places such as *AV*, V. 11. 11 exhibiting an application of *bandhu-* to a mythical person are not essentially different: here Father Atharvan—i.e. the mythical priest who is said to have been the first to institute the worship of fire, etc. and to have divulged the *Atharvaveda*—is called a *bandhu-* of the gods (cf. st. 10). Man is a *mṛtyúbandhu-* (*ṚV*, VIII. 18. 22; X. 95. 18), which—though often regarded as a determinative compound—may mean 'one whose relation [to the unseen] is death'.[2] That knowledge of a *bandhu-*, also in case it is the 'relation' of an evil being (see also *AV*, V. 22. 8), enables an officiant to wield power over it, appears from *AV*, V. 13. 7. *AV*, X. 10. 23, dealing with the barren sacrificial cow which is extolled as the primeval being and stating that she has been brought into the world by Varuṇa, says: 'that is her *bandhu-*', her origin with which she remains mysteriously connected. Dream addressed to as a person, is not only stated to come out

[1] R. T. H. Griffith, *The Texts of the White Yajurveda*, Benares, [2]1927, p. 96.

[2] Otherwise A. Bergaigne, *La Religion védique*, Paris, 1878, I, p. 36, n. 1.

of Yama's world (*AV*, XIX. 56. 1) but also to revel in heaven with the highest *bandhu-*; likewise, the highest power with which it is mysteriously connected (st. 5). As far as I am able to see a place such as *ṚV*, III. 60. 1 admits of a similar explication: here the Uśij (a special class or group of poets) is said to have acquired knowledge of definite doings of the Ṛbhu-s by his 'mind' (*manasā*),[1] by his *bandhu-* —which here is the connection with, or relation to, the Ṛbhu-s ('spiritual relation', Renou) [2] rather than 'blood-relationship'—[3] and by his knowledge (*vedasā*). Another poet considers himself able to destroy inimical power on account of his *bandhutā-* (*ṚV*, IV. 4. 11). This may mean, because he is a son of Gotama, from which 'this came to him' (the same stanza), or rather, because of his 'mysterious relations' to the divine powers, *in casu* the Vṛtra-killing Indra.[4] Compare also *ṚV*, III. 54. 16 *nā́satyā me pitárā bandhupṛ́chā* 'the Aśvin-s are my fathers [i.e. they say that they are my fathers], when they are inquired of about their relationship'. In contradistinction to Renou I am neither sure about the secondary character of this 'meaning' of this word, nor of its original use to denote 'blood-relationship' only.

[1] For the function of *manas* in receiving inspiration, wisdom, supranormal knowledge, see my book *The Vision of the Vedic Poets*, The Hague, 1963, *passim.*

[2] Renou, *Journal Asiatique*, 241, p. 172.

[3] Thus K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-veda übersetzt*, Cambridge, Mass., [2]1951, p. 407.

[4] Similarly, Renou, loc. cit.

There are other places in the *Ṛgveda* in which the typically Brāhmaṇa use of *bandhu-* may more or less clearly be recognized. The gods are (X. 72. 5) said to be *amṛtabandhu-* 'related to (the power of) immortality'; Purūravas is (X. 95. 18) *mṛtyúbandhu-*; the patrons of the sacrifices are *vājabandhu-* (vocative). Heaven is Viṣṇu's *bandhu-* (I. 154. 5), not exactly, I think, as Renou would regard it, because it is the god's residence, but because the god who is active in the universe (st. 1-4) is closely and mysteriously connected with 'heaven' which stands for transcendence, infiniteness, powerfulness. It seems even possible to eliminate from VIII. 21. 4 where Indra is called *bándhumant-*, the inspired priestly poet *abandhu-*, any other sense: the god knows the connections, the poet is unaware of them. In X. 129. 4 the sages found in their heart the *bandhu-* of the existent in the 'non-existent' (i.e. something like: of the 'cosmos' or 'organized universe' in the 'chaos' or 'destructive cosmic condition').[1] As to X. 144. 5 Renou is no doubt right in interpreting the words *enā́ jāgāra bandhútā* as follows: 'through him [Soma] the system of correlations was awake [evident]'. Soma indeed is one of the great imparters of inspiration who make man see the interrelations of the mundane and supramundane phenomena.[2]

[1] See *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 181; W. Norman Brown, 'The Rigvedic Equivalent for Hell', in *JAOS*, 61, pp. 76 ff.

[2] See *The Vision of the Vedic Poets*, pp. 31 ff., 36 ff.

SANSKRIT *BHAGINI*-„SOEUR"

Le mot sanskrit *bhaginī*- „soeur" a été dérivé par Boehtlingk et Roth, Dict. de St.-Pét. 5, 174, de *bhaga*- „fortune, bonheur": „Schwester: die Glückliche, insofern sie nicht allein steht, sondern einen Bruder hat". Je ne veux pas attacher beaucoup d'importance à l'objection qu'une jeune fille peut être la soeur de ses soeurs sans qu'elle possède un frère: dans les circonstances culturelles de l'Inde antique le point de vue de l'homme a presque toujours prédominé. Par contre, il me semble que le berceau du mot, qui se trouve d'abord dans les textes épiques et dans le Mānavadharmaśāstra, ferait supposer une dénomination moins 'élevée', moins abstraite et éthique. Le mot *sodara*-, f. *sodarī*-, qui s'emploie pour désigner le frère utérin, la soeur utérine, est un dérivé de *udara*- „ventre, sein". De même, les mots grec ἀδελφός „frère", ἀδελφή „soeur" se rattachent à δελφύς „matrice", comme skt. *sagarbha*- (à côté de *sagarbhya*-) „né de la même matrice", qui y correspond exactement, est dérivé de *garbha*- „matrice". On peut comparer aussi gr. ὁμογάστωρ, ἀγάστορες (ἀδελφοὶ δίδυμοι), qui se rattachent à γαστήρ „ventre, estomac", le mot ossète *änsuwär* „frère", qui contient *suwär* „matrice" et, dans les chansons populaires de la Russie, les expressions *edinoutróbny*; *odnoutróbny* „frères et soeurs", dans lesquelles on voit *utróba* „corps". Il y a encore d'autres noms de parenté indo-européens dont on peut établir une origine aussi franche et peu prude que concrète et rationnelle: le lat. *fīlius* „fils" qui est de la famille de *fecundus* „fécond", de *fētus* „fécondé", *fēta* „(femelle) pleine, grosse de" etc. a passé du sens de „enfant à la mamelle, enfant qu'on élève" au sens de „fils"; au même groupe se rattache lat. *fēmina* „femelle, femme par opposition au mâle", qui est le reste d'un participe présent moyen de *dhē*- et signifie littéralement „qui allaite".

Or, dans l'archipel indonésien est répandu l'usage de s'adresser aux petits enfants, qui sont souvent entièrement nus, par des noms soit identiques aux mots désignant les parties sexuelles, soit dérivés de ces termes. En javanais *nḍuk,* qui est un mot pour appeler une petite fille ou pour s'adresser à elle, est une abréviation en usage dans le language parlé et familier, de *gĕnḍuk* par lequel on appelle ou désigne une jeune fille et ce *gĕnḍuk* peut être rapporté à une racine *ḍuk, ruk,* d'où le mot vulgaire *turuk* „les parties sexuelles de la femme". Le javanais *ṭolé* (ou *lé* qui est plus familier) „petit garçon, gosse" (quand on adresse la parole à un petit garçon) est une abréviation de *konṭol-é* (*-é* désigne à l'origine la notion du pronom possessif de la troisième personne) „scrotum"; on emploie ces mots de préférence pour s'adresser à ses propres enfants. Dans la langue sunda, qui est particulièrement proche du javanais, on trouve *ĕntol* 1e comme abréviation ou forme courte de *kontol* „scrotum", 2e comme nom pour s'adresser d'une manière aimable et bienveillante aux petits garçons. Les langues de Célèbes nous offrent plusieurs exemples. En mori *sele* indique le vagin, *sele-sele* une petite fille; *tee-tee* qui est un nom pour appeler une fillette (<**tele-tele*) peut être rapproché du mot gorontalo *tele* „parties sexuelles féminines" et du parigi *tile* „vagina"; le mori *ede,* servant de nom pour désigner les gosses et de nom propre de garçons, s'est formé, par suppressions de *k* initial, de *kede* „gosse(s)", mais aussi „membre viril" [1]. Le mot *tele,* que nous avons déjà mentionné, est devenu dans la langue bare'e un nom de fille. Chez les Toradja *eti* qu'on rapproche de *leti* „vagin" est un cri pour appeler une jeune fille, et dans les dialectes mamuju (mamoudchou en orthographie française) on trouve *saso* „gosse" < *aso* (répétition de la consonne initiale de la seconde syllabe, mot enfantin) qui est une abréviation de *laso* „membre viril", et *dedi* et *lai* „filette" qui ont été rapprochés par Adriani et Kruyt de bare'e *leti* „vagin" et bugi (boughi) *lĕsi* „vagin" [2]. En bare'e *to boke* désigne une petite fille: *to* „homme, personne", *boke* „fissure, fente".

En macassar *lāso* „membre viril" est employJ aussi comme

[1] S. J. Esser, Klank- en vormleer van het Morisch I, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 67, 3 (1927), pp. 87; 57; 38.

[2] N. Adriani et Alb. C. Kruyt, De Bare'e-sprekende Toradja's van Midden-Celebes, III (Batavia 1924-14), p. 61; 153. Cf. aussi bare'e *dolu* „testicule", employé comme appellation ou nom propre de garçons.

cri ou interjection exprimant la joie ou une réprobation amicale; l'auteur du dictionnaire, Matthes [3], compare cette expression avec le néerlandais *jongen(s)!* (± „ah oui, mais non, mazette etc."). Je remarque par parenthèse que le macassar *saribăttaṅ* „frère, soeur" a été dérivé par le même savant de *sa-ri-băttaṅ* „né de la même matrice" [4] et qu'en gajo (Sumatra) l'expression *ṅiku si kutañakön*, littéralement „mon frère puîné auquel je donne des coups de pied (c.à.d. quand il se trouve dans la matrice)" désigne le frère qui vient immédiatement après celui qui parle [5]. En néerlandais *lul* „penis" et *klootzak* „scrotum" sont parmi les voyoux des injures ou des simples noms dédaigneux. Une servante fâchée s'écria un jour: „.... *die klootzakken*" c.à.d. „ces polissons" [6]. En langue sasak (Indónesie) *lisit* „cunnus" est aussi employé pour injurier une femme. En persan le mot (arabe) عورة (*'aurat*) „pudenda, la partie du corps comprise entre le nombril et les genoux" s'emploie pour désigner „épouse, femme".

Par conséquent, il me semble possible de dériver skt. *bhaginī* de *bhaga-* „les parties sexuelles féminines" et d'admettre pour ce mot, à titre d'hypothèse, la signification originale „celle qui, au sein de sa famille, est caracterisée par son sexe féminin". Je me souviens d'une petite fille, qui, en voyant son frère cadet dans le bain, s'écria: „Ah, Willy avec ton petit membre!" Qu'on compare aussi le mot sanskrit *nagnikā* „jeune fille qui, n'étant pas encore pubère, peut être nue en public" et des expressions comme *susroṇī-* „femme aux belles hanches".

Le mot *bhaga-* „sexe féminin" n'est probablement pas étranger au composé *subhagā* en sens de „fille, catin", littéralement „bien pourvue d'une vulva, avec une belle vulva" [7].

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[3] B. F. Matthes, Makassaarsch-Hollandsch Woordenboek² (1885), p. 702.
[4] Matthes, o.c. p. 776.
[5] G. A. J. Hazeu, Gajosch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek (1907), p. 558.
[6] Voir aussi G. J. Held, Papoea's van Waropen (Leiden 1947), p. 84.
[7] Voir aussi J. J. Meyer, Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation (Zürich-Leipzig 1937), III, p. 339.

BHUVANA-

In another publication I had the opportunity, to argue, at some length the well-known question of the apparent multiplicity of meanings and connotations ascribed in our dictionaries to many Sanskrit words.[1] Therein, I arrivedat the conclusion that in many cases this so-called polysemy is likely to be illusory, because our modern languages do not furnish us with the means of rendering by one single term an 'idea' or 'concept' which was characteristic of the ancient Indian culture, or which, speaking more generally, was closely connected with lines of thought which are, for centuries, no longer ours. In translating—and especially in translating texts—reflecting the views on the world or life of ancient peoples, we should be constantly aware of the many differences in the entire range of culture between the two milieus to which the languages from, and into, which we are translating, belong. Languages are, indeed, not only devices for communicating facts or reporting experience ; they are also ways of defining, analyzing and categorizing experience, of organizing through their structural semantic systems the world of experience in which their speakers live, and of creating, so to say, an intermediate world between the objective world and the speakers.[2] Vocabulary being a way in which a community classifies the sum total of its experiences, the senses of the words, being largely a result of that classification, are therefore to a considerable extent culturally and traditionally determined, varying from culture to culture. Hence the difficulty, and in many cases, the impossibility of finding exact translations of terms relating to ancient Indian religion and view of the world. Our lexicographers have to cope

1. J. Gonda, 'Some notes on the study of ancient Indian religious terminology', *History of Religions*, I, (Chicago, 1962), pp. 243 ff.

2. One might, for instance, consult E. Sapir, *Selected writings*, (Los Angeles, 1949), pp. 160 ff., 389 ff. ; B. L. Whorf, *Four articles on metalinguistics*, (Washington, D. C., 1949) ; H. Hoijer, 'The relation of language to culture', *Anthropology Today*, ed. A. L. Kroeber, (Chicago, 1953), pp. 554 ff. ; L. Weisgerber, *Vom Weltbild der deutschen Sprache*, (Düsseldorf, 1950).

with this difficulty by providing a number of equivalents for aspects of a Sanskrit word which, as such, is untranslatable. In doing so they create, while placing their 'partial translations' in a certain order, the impression of semantic developments. In attempting to transpose aspects of the ancient concepts into our categories—*i.e.* into the categories for which our languages have words—they often overlook the fact that they are not establishing cases of semantic change or differentiation but describing logical or psychological relations between these categories, or enumerating contextual variants of an ancient term. Other scholars however prefer to ignore the difficulty and, so, adopt what they believe to be passe-partout translations. Thus, according to Lüders[3] *ṛta-* always means 'truth', according to H. P. Schmidt[4] *vrata-* is 'vow'. The result is either a misapplication of our modern terms or an imperfect understanding of the Sanskrit term and the ancient Indian concept, or both.

This difficulty is complicated by the fact that besides many important terms for which we have no exact equivalents, there are in Sanskrit numerous words which at first sight impress us as being in a greater or less degree, synonyms. Now, if we describe only those words as synonymous which can replace one another in any given context, without the slightest alteration either in cognitive or in emotive import, "it is almost a truism that total synonymy is an extremely rare occurrence."[5] Most so-called synonyms are homoionyms (pseudo-synonyms) and these are either coextensive in sense and inter-changeable in some contexts but not in others (compare, in English: *help-aid-assistance)* or co-extensive and interchangeable from the cognitive but not from the emotive and evocatory angle (*cf.*, *e.g.*, *liberty-freedom*). The relation between pseudo-synonyms may, moreover, be subject to change in course of time. In many cases, however, we had better avoid even the term pseudo-synonyms, because a close examination of the meanings of two or more words which in ancient (Indian) or modern dictionaries or commentaries are traditionally, or for convenience, regarded as interchangeable, actually have, or had in the early texts, too little in common to be called pseudo-synonyms.

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3. H. Lüders, *Varuṇa*, (Göttingen, 1951-59), *passim*.
4. H. P. Schmidt, *Vedisch 'vrata-' und awestisch 'urvata-'*, (Hamburg, 1958)
5. S. Ullmann, *The principle of Semantics*, (Glasgow 1951), p. 108.

As a case in point, attention may be drawn to a group of words commonly translated by 'world'. According to V. S. Apte's *English-Sanskrit Dictionary*,[6] the word *viśvaṃ*, *jagat*, *bhuvanam*, *lokaḥ*, *carācaram*, *triviṣṭapam*, *brahmāṇḍam* are equivalent to the English 'world' (in the sense of 'universe'). On closer inspection, however, it appears that these terms cannot—even if one would disregard their emotive and evocatory connotations—be simply substituted, one for the other, in all contexts. Whatever be the opinion of lexicographers, *loka-*, *bhuvana-* and *jagat-* have, each of them, their own meaning and their own connotations. These meanings may have been vague for the Vedic man himself—vagueness of the sense is, though variable, an inherent feature of sense in general, because it is a consequence of the process of abstraction by which our 'concepts' are evolved[7]—, and for us beyond perfect definition, so much is clear that each word had, generally speaking, its own field of applicability and that a thorough and methodical examination of the relevant text-places may guide us to a better, though approximate, understanding of these terms.

This brings me to the last of this series of introductory remarks. The study of each of these terms which, though different in sense, supplement each other or view the universe or its provinces from different angles, does not form, from a linguistic point of view, a whole in itself. The existence, in linguistic reality, of more or less coherent groups of lexical entities, of more or less "closely knit and articulated parts" of the total vocabulary of a language in which the significance of each unit is determined by its neighbours cannot be denied. The semantic areas of these words reciprocally limit one another, dividing up and covering the whole sphere or 'semantic field' between them.[8] That means that in instituting a semantic investigation with regard to one unit, one should not neglect to examine the meanings of its neighbours. In short, one should inquire

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6. V. S. Apte, *The Student's English-Sanskrit Dictionary*, (Bombay, 1920), p. 498.

7. Ullmann, *op. cit.*, p. 93, who remarks, *inter alia* ; "even the reference called up by proper names is a mere 'schema' : what we think of when we hear the name 'Napoleon' is a telescoping of the artillery officer at Toulon, the victor of Austerlitz, the exile of Saint Helena, and so on".

8. I refer to Ullmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 152 ff. ; J. Trier, 'Das sprachliche Feld' *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung* 10 (1934) 428 ff.

into the whole 'semantic field' to which the term belongs.[9] That is why, in continuation of a study of the meaning of the term *loka-* in the Veda,[10] which for practical reasons could not include a discussion of other words, I publish in this article, as briefly as possible, the results of the examination of the meaning of *bhuvana-* in the Veda, reserving other words of this group for consideration in other articles.

The difference between *loka-* which, generally speaking, is a variant in the comparative study of religions of the well-known 'resting-place in universal extensity", a recognized 'position' to which man aspires (*e.g.*, by ritual means), a sphere of safety or contact with power, a special level of existence,[11] and *bhuvana-* is clear in places such as *TB* 3, 12, 3, 2, where the goddess Śraddhā is implored to give a sphere of existence which is beyond the power of death (*lokam amṛtam*), being a mistress and a ruler of the world (*bhuvanasyādhipatnī*) ; "that is why", the commentary adds, "she is able to give the man who prays a *loka-*", *i.e.*, a sphere of existence with a specific value, which often has no material existence in the phenomenal world. In *TB* 2, 8, 8, 4 all beings (*viśvā bhuvanāni* ; *sarvalokanivāsina ete prāṇinaḥ*, comm.) are said to have been placed or fixed upon Speech (*Vāc*), who in § 5 is implored to place those speaking in the sphere of ritual and religious merit (*sukṛtasya loke* ; *karmaṇaḥ phalabhūte*, comm.). Compare also *TB* 3, 1, 1, 7 and *JUB* 3, 17, 6 ff. enumerating *bhuvanādi, lokāḥ. diśaś catasraḥ*. In *TB* 3, 7, 6, 14 the man who wishes the sacrificer ill is cursed to be "driven away from the world" (*ápa tám indrā́gnī bhúvanān nudetam*) ; this must mean that he will be deprived of physical existence. To be deprived of one's *loka* is another thing : *PB* 6, 7, 21 f., "He should chant after putting down the bunch of grass (on the ground), to prevent the sacrificial substance from being spilt. But (in doing so) he holds the sacrificer away from the 'world of heaven' (*svargāl*

9. One should moreover keep in mind that this situation—that is, in general, the interrelation of a group of semantically related terms, the structure of a semantic field, is not constant. It is subject to change, because the meanings of its components will, in the course of time, change with the result that the lines of demarcation between semantic neighbours will also change in one respect or another.

10. J. Gonda, '*Loka*, world and heaven in the Veda,' to be published in the *Transactions of the Royal Dutch Academy*, Amsterdam.

11. See, *e.g.*, G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation*, (London, 1938), ch. 57.

lokāt)" ; 7, 3, 24, "if it were..., he would expel the sacrificer from 'the world of heaven'."

The terms *bhuvana-* and *loka-* may, for instance, in connection with the sun which moves in this universe, apply to the same concept, for instance *ŚB* 14, 1, 4, 10 explaining *VS* 37, 17, *ávarīvarti bhùvaneṣv* (places of existence) *antaḥ* by *eṣu lokeṣu varīvarty amānaś carati* (Uvaṭa observes : *bhuvaneṣu, triṣu lokeṣu*). This does not, however, mean that both terms necessarily evoked exactly the same thoughts and sentiments. Nor can it be contended that any word-group containing *bhuvana-* is synonymous with a corresponding phrase with *loka-*. When, for instance, *ŚB* 13, 1, 2, 3, reads *bhuvanaṃ taj jayati-*, the author refers no doubt to political and military conquests—the *aśvamedha* (which means royal sway : 13, 1, 6, 3) being performed by a victorious king of uncontested authority ; compare also *TB* 3, 8, 3, 5, "he obtains abundance or opulence (*bhūmānam*)"—rather than the sort of conquest denoted by the corresponding expression *lokaṃ jayati* (*cf.* also 1, 2, 5, 1).[12]

Although *bhuvana-* is usually said to mean 'world', lexicographers differ with regard to particulars.[13] According to Monier-Williams, "being, living creature, man, mankind" have, for some reason or other, to precede "world, earth ; place of being, abode ;" according to Apte[14] the 'meanings' are "world, the earth, heaven, being, man..." Grassman[15] gave : "Wesen" (being, either living or lifeless) ; "world". Geldner's[16] translations lack consistency. In Whitney's *Atharvaveda*[17] the term is alternately translated by "being" (*AV* 5, 11, 4), "existence" (10, 8, 7 ; 11, 4, 22), "creation", "existing things" (4, 11, 2) etc. In Lakshman Sarup's translation of the *Nirukta*,[18] 7, 25, which in explanation of *ṚV* 10, 88, 1, *bhármaṇe bhúvanāya devá dhármaṇekáṃ... aprathanta*, no doubt, incorrectly, has *bharaṇāya ca bhāvanāya* (fur-

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12. I refer to my publication on *loka-*, fn. 10, *supra*.

13. The following quotations are also to illustrate part of the above remarks.

14. V. S. Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, ed. P. K. Gode and C. G. Karve (Poona, 1958), p. 1202.

15. H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, col. 941.

16. K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, 3 vols., (Cambridge, Mass., 1951).

17. W. D. Whitney—Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharva-Veda Saṃhitā*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1905).

18. Delhi-Varanasi-Patna edition, 1962.

thering) *ca dhāraṇāya ca*,[19] these words are rendered by "(maintenance), existence (, and support)" ; in 10, 46 (*ṚV* 10, 114, 4) *bhuvana-* is said to mean "universe" ; the plural is translated by 'worlds' (7, 29) ; "created beings" (10, 26). It is therefore, to a certain extent, intelligible that Lommel[20] concluded that it is so difficult to determine the wide *bhuvana-* concept that one might be tempted to render it etymologically and say it is the Greek *physis* which is, according to the context in which it occurs, translated, *inter alia*, by "natural form or constitution of a person or thing as the result of growth; the regular order of nature ; nature ; creation ; creature etc.' "However, although both words have the root *bhu-* in common, the suffix of the Greek word (*-si-* from *-ti-*) has a connotation of its own (the idea conveyed by the root is realized as an actuality),[21] which may not be overlooked. The question with which we are confronted is, in a few words, this : What is the nuclear or central meaning of the term of which the 'meanings' appearing in translations or dictionaries are contextual variants ? That is, what is the definition of the Vedic concept for which the term *bhuvana-* was the symbol ?

Etymologically speaking, the term *bhúvana-* may have expressed, as a central or nuclear meaning, "the place of becoming," an idea which may include that of "place (or, persons) in which becoming (prospering, growing, being, existing) takes place, or has taken place". This is not widely different from the explications found in commentaries (*e.g.* on *AV* 18, 1, 17) : *bhavanty atra prāṇino 'prāṇinaś ceti bhuvanam*, or (on *AV* 2, 1, 3) *bhavanti, sattāṃ labhante utpadyante*. One might compare, *e.g.*, *śáyana-* which does not only mean "the act of lying down or resting," but also "a couch, bed, sleeping-place" ; *deva-yajana-* "place of worship or offering" (*cf.* OPers. *ā-yadana-* "place of worship" ; *vṛjána-* (incidentally *vṛ́jana-*) "enclosure, cleared or fenced place", esp. "sacrificial enclosure", but also "pasture or camping ground, settlement, town or village and its inhabitants" ; *dhúvana-* "place of execution" ; *sthāna-* "place of standing or staying, any place, locality, abode, site, house etc."[22] It may be observed that the verb *bhū-*, though expressing the general sense of "becoming,

19. The meaning no doubt is "in order to maintain and sustain the world" (double dative ; *cf.* *ṚV* 9, 83, 3).

20. H. Lommel, in the periodical *Numen* 2, (Leiden, 1955), p. 204.

21. J. Holt, *Les noms d'action en '-sis' (-tis)*, Thesis Aarhus, 1940 ; compare also G. Liebert, *Das Nominalsuffix -ti- im Altindischen*, (Lund, 1949).

22. See, *e.g.*, W. D. Whitney, *A Sanskrit Grammar*, (Leipzig, 1924), § 1150, sn. 1 ; J. Wackernagel—A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2, (Göttingen, 1954), p. 186.

springing, being" ("being not taken as inherent in a creature, but as being which is dependent on circumstances and is of a temporary nature"),[23] is also used in connection with subjects which modern man would regard as inanimate, no hard-and-fast line being, in Vedic times, drawn between the living and the lifeless.[24] Thus it reads, *ṚV* 10, 110, 9 ; *VS* 29, 34 etc., that the god Tvaṣṭar framed Heaven and Earth, the Parents, with their forms and *bhúvanāni víśvā*, which here may, of course, include the living as well as the lifeless. Part of the phrases containing the term *bhuvana-* in the singular contributed no doubt to the prominence of the meaning "world" (*i.e.*, the universe, and especially the earth, including its inhabitants) : definite gods are called lords, herdsmen or kings of the *bhuvana-* (*e.g.*, *ṚV* 10, 128. 7 ; 10, 17, 3 ; 9, 96, 10 etc. ; *cf.* also 9, 86, 5 ; 28 ; 36 ; *ŚB* 3, 3, 4, 14 ; 5, 2, 1, 2 ; 9, 2, 3, 12 ; 9, 4, 1, 16).[25]

The relations to the root *bhu-*, *bhū-* have always been clear. For instance, in *Nirukta* 10, 46 the words *ṚV* 10, 114, 4, *sá idám víśvaṃ bhúvanaṃ vi caṣṭe* are explained : *sa imāni sarvāṇi bhūtāny abhivipaśyati*, and *bhūtajātāni* "classes, various aggregates of existing entities, esp. of living being of any kind, but also of material entities"[26] and *bhūtagrāma-* "the host of beings, entities" are frequent explanations of *bhuvanāni* (*e.g.*, Sāyaṇa on *ṚV* 1, 160, 2 ; comm. on *AV* 2, 34, 2 ; Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara on *VS* 13, 18).

The etymological relation to *bhū-* and the meaning "place of existence" is quite evident in *ŚB* 1, 4, 1, 17 *kvāhaṃ bhavāni* :: *ata eva te prācīnaṃ bhuvanam* "where am I to abide ?" ("what is to become of me ?)" : : "To the east of this river be thy abode" (Eggeling). In *VS* 13, 18 ; *ŚB* 7, 4, 2, 7 Aditi who is identified with *bhū-* "the earth as place and substance" and the likewise etymologically related *bhūmi-* "the earth as soil" is also said to support *viśva- bhuvana-* (*bhūtagrāma-*, Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara).[27] The term is otherwise associated with a

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23. *Cf.* Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, col. 942.

24. I refer to my book *Die Religionen Indiens*, I (Stuttgart, 1960), p. 29.

25. The singular and the collective, so-called plural may occur in the same sentence : *ṚV* 6, 58, 2 where Pūṣan is glorified, being *bhúvane víśve árpitaḥ* and looking attentively at the *bhúvanā*.

26. A brief survey of the 'meanings' of *bhūta-* is given by F. Edgerton, in *The beginnings of Indian Philosophy* (London, 1965), p. 342.—*Cf.*, *e.g.*, also *TB* 2, 4, 8, 5 ; 2, 5, 4, 5 ; 3, 7, 10, 4 ; 3, 7, 9, 9.

27. According to *VS* 9, 5 ; *ŚB* 5, 1, 4, 4, *idáṃ víśvaṃ bhúvanam* (*bhūtajātam*, Uvaṭa) is settled on the earth : "all being" (Eggeling). The same explication (*bhūtajātāni* "sorts of beings") is given on *VS* 9, 24. *Cf.* also *VS* 11, 23 ; *ŚB* 6, 3, 3, 19.

derivative of *bhū-* in *ṚV* 10, 149, 3 *ámartasya bhúvanasya bhūnā́* "with the abundance (aggregate) of ..."

In *AV* 4, 11, 1 *víśvaṃ bhúvanam* is, no doubt, a comprehensive term comprising the tripartite universe and the six directions and their 'contents' ; thus in 10, 7, 35 it is the whole of creation which has entered the *skambha-* or frame of the universe;[28] in 10, 8, 7 it is said to have been generated, in 13 this process is ascribed to Prajāpati, the lord of creatures, who 19, 20, 3 is *bhúvanasya pátiḥ* ; but 4, 26, 5 *víśvā bhúvanāni* "all beings" are said to be within heaven and earth (*cf.* 11, 2, 11), and 7, 87, 1, they are shaped by Rudra who entered the herbs and plants. The mystic or primeval cow which is one-footed, two-footed, four-footed, eight-footed etc. is called "a series (*paṅkti-*) of *bhúvana-* from which flow the oceans" (9, 10, 21 ; 13, 1, 42), *i.e.*, of "a place of existence and creation."

For this frequent combination of *bhuvana-* with *viśva-*, the adjective for analytical and enumerative totality, as opposed to *sarva-* which refers to synthetical totality, completeness, wholeness and integrality, compare also *ṚV* 1, 73, 8, *víśvam bhúvanam* "all existence", followed by "heaven and earth (and) the intermediate space," *cf.* 5, 85, 3 ; 10, 125, 8 ; 1, 102, 8 and 9, 110, 9 (climax) ; 2, 27, 4, combining with "what moves and stands". It is large and wide (1, 108, 2), the whole of creation, the whole universe as far as the sun shines (1, 92, 4 ; 4, 14, 2 ; 7, 76, 1). However, in 10, 107, 8 it is the world with the exception of the heavens (*svaḥ*). In 1, 113, 4-6 (plur.) ; 1, 123, 2 (sing.) the expression applies to living beings which are said to wake up ; protection against *viśva- bhuvana-* no doubt means against "all creatures (living in the world)" (1, 134, 5, *cf.* Sāyaṇa) ; *cf.* 1, 31, 2 ; 3, 46, 2 ; 10, 17, 1 ; 10, 37, 9.

Sometimes no clear distinction between animate and inanimate is made : 8, 97, 14 all *bhuvanāni* and heaven and earth tremble for fear ; cf. 10, 27, 22. *Cf.* also 10, 82, 6 etc. In 1, 154, 4 the threefold earth and heavens are followed by *bhúvanāni víśvā* ; 1, 64, 3, analyzes the idea in 'heavenly' and 'terrestrial' ; in 1, 35, 5 this phrase obviously denotes an idea of wider compass than 'races of men'. For the plural see also *ṚV* 2, 3, 1 ; 2, 10, 4 ; 3, 55, 19 ; 3, 62, 9 ; 7, 13, 3 ; 8, 51, 4 etc. ; *PB* 12, 13, 32. In places such as *VS* 9, 24 (*cf. TS* 1, 7, 10 ; *AV* 3, 20, 8) "the impluse of vigour spread over heaven, earth and all beings-in-the

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28. See *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, pp. 33, 181.

world (*viśvā bhúvanāni*) as sovereign" the explication *sarvāṇi bhūtajātāni* (comm.) is no doubt adequate. See also *ṚV* 1, 108, 1 ; *VS* 4, 30, where Soma is described as "approaching" (or "pervading", Mahīdhara) all beings in the world ("all living creatures", Griffith). The words *ṚV* 2, 40, 5 *víśvāny anyò bhúvanā jajāna* are explained by the comm. on *TB* 2, 8, 1, 6 as *somaḥ ... oṣadhidvārā ... utpādayāmāsa* ; *JUB* 3, 4, 3, 6; 7 *bhuvanādi sarvam* is on the other hand meant to indicate the whole universe.

That *bhuvana-* may also refer to the "inhabitants of creation", *i.e.*, to the "living creatures, mankind, or man", is, on the one hand, a corollary of the absence of a hard-and-fast boundary between the living and the lifeless and, on the other hand, a semantic phenomenon of the same type as the use of the English *room* in the sense of 'people in a room' ; of *house* in 'the House was excited by the news' ; the French *le monde* 'world ; people' (from Lat. *mundus* "the world, universe, the inhabitants of the earth, mankind") is in dialects also used for "a single individual."[29] Comparable Sanskrit examples are : *grāma-* "an inhabited place ; the inhabitants of a place" ; *sārtha-* "caravan (travelling company of traders)", but *Mbh.* 3, 61, 117 "the people belonging to the caravan" : *tathoktā tena sārthena ...pratyuvāca ...janapada-* "the place, station, abode of men, people, subjects ; country, kingdom" and (sg. or plur.) "nation, people, subjects of a ruler" ; *vṛjana-* (see above, *cf.*, *e.g.*, *ṚV* 10, 42, 10). Thus, this whole *bhuvanam* gathered after hearing the news that Tvaṣṭar's daughter is to be married (*ṚV* 10, 17, 1). Also, in connection with Prajāpati, "who rejoices in his offspring (*prajayā*)", the phrase *bhúvanāni viśvā* may first and foremost refer to the living creatures.

Interestingly enough, the *gandharva* who, in all probability, was a genius concerned with conception and procreation and a guardian of the womb,[30] is in *AV* 2, 2, 1 and 2 described *bhúvanasya pátiḥ*. I venture to prefer a literal translation "lord of the place of becoming, of growth" to the commentator's *pṛthivyādilokasya vṛṣṭyādinā poṣakaḥ*. As is well known, the term *pati-* was used to indicate the personal aspects of divine powers manifesting themselves in a special field or sphere : *kṣetrapati-*, *āśāpati-* etc.[31] However, the same phrase applies (*cf.* *AV* 13, 3, 7) to the ruddy one (the sun) considered

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29. See E. Gamillscheg, *Französische Bedeutungslehre*, (Tübingen, 1951), p. 93, for other examples.

30. Compare *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 101.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

the lord of the universal place of becoming (*cf.* 13, 1, 1 where the ruddy one is said to have generated this all) and *ṚV* 10, 128, 7 to a creator god who, according to Sāyaṇa—explaining *bhuvanasya* by *kṛtsnasya bhūtajātasya*—is identical with Indra in the corresponding stanza *AV* 5, 3, 9 where Savitar seems to be meant. Modern commentators[32] have not dwelt on the phrase *bhuvanasya pati-* "lord of the field of creation" when used in connection with *Soma* (*ṚV* 9, 31, 6 ; 9, 97, 56; *cf.* 40) and explained by Sāyaṇa as *bhūtajātasya svāmin-pālaka-*. In view of the general function of the god who is a king of plants and herbs, of the waters and of gods and men, the power which gives life to all beings and the vital element in them,[33] the probabilities are that the emphasis here also is on the live part of creation. *Soma* indeed is "the life-giving power manifesting itself in the cyclical processes of fertility, the fluid principle of continuity of life......", his realm "the whole cosmos viewed in the perspective of the cyclical recurrent process of growth, decay, new growth, in which process he manifests his royal power."[34] *Cf.* *ṚV* 9, 86, 5, *viśvasya bhúvanasya rājasi* ; 28, 36, 37 ;[35] 46 ; 9, 86, 30 ; 9, 94, 3. The same divine power is (*ṚV* 9, 83, 3) said to bear the *bhuvanāni* which, in my opinion, is "the beings" (*cf.* Sāyaṇa) rather than "the worlds" (Geldner, Renou).

When the gods are said to rule *bhuvanasya* (*ṚV* 10, 63, 8) this means, no doubt, "the whole world", as appears also from the addition *viśvasya sthātúr jágataś ca mántavaḥ*, but the context does not prevent us from considering that this world is the field of the activity of the gods which is the cause of its growth and prosperity ; on the contrary, the gods are addressed as setting their hearts on (the well-being of) all that stands and moves and implored to protect those speaking.

It is in harmony with the etymological meaning of the term that it is frequently used in passages dealing with creation, disposition, arrangement or development of the world. Thus, Agni is stated in *ṚV* 3, 16, 4 to create *viśvā bhúvanā* (*cf.* *ṚV* 7, 5, 7) which, therefore, may

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32. K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-veda*, III, (Cambridge, Mass., 1951) ; S. S. Bhawe, *The Soma-hymns of the Ṛgveda*, II, (Baroda, 1960) ; L. Renou, *Etudes védiques et pāṇinéennes*, VIII and IX, (Paris, 1961).

33. See, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 65.

34. J. C. Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, (Thesis, Utrecht, 1957), p. 75.

35. H. Lommel, 'König Soma', *Numen* 2 (Leiden, 1955), 196 ff.

be regarded as the place in which the creative energy of the god manifests itself; 2, 23, 17 (*VS* 29, 9) the primeval fashioner Tvaṣṭar[36] (*cf.* 3, 55, 19) is said to have created Bṛhaspati out of all beings or creatures; in *ṚV* 4, 42, 3 the same god has produced and urged on all beings and entities.[37] Compare also *ṚV* 2, 35, 2; 2, 40, 5 and 10, 45, 6, *viśvasya ketúr bhúvanasya gárbhaḥ* (Agni); *ṚV* 1, 164, 36, where even primeval beings (ṛṣis or Aṅgirases) are engaged in distributing the seed of the 'world'. Agni Vaiśvānara places his germ (*garbham*) in the beings (*bhuvaneṣu ṚV* 3, 2, 10, *cf.* 10, 21, 8, where, in all probability, the plants are meant); *ṚV* 1, 157, 5 the Aśvins perform the same act with regard to the female animals (and) all beings, which are, here, places characterized by creation. Compare *ṚV* 7, 33, 7 where a threefold divine power is said to bring its semen (*retaḥ*) into the 'worlds' (*bhuvaneṣu*) which, according to Sāyaṇa, are heaven, earth and intermediate space: 10, 82, 3 (in connection with Viśvakarman, the creator); 10, 82. 6 (cf. 7, 101 4) "the One on which *viśvāni bhúvanāni* (not only living beings, as is supposed by Geldner) are founded." Other places of interest are *ṚV* 1, 164, 13; 6, 70, 1; 7, 82, 5; 10, 72, 7; 10, 81, 1; 4, 10, 88, 2; 5; 12; 10, 110. 9; 10, 128, 7, *VS* 17, 99. Compare, *e.g.*, also *TS* 3, 1, 4, 3 *bhúvanasya retaḥ* "seed of being (existence)"; 4, 7, 11, 2 *bhauvana-* "offspring of *bhuvana-*" and similar expressions. *TS* 4, 2, 9, 6 *ábhūd idáṃ viśvasya bhúvanasya vā́jinam* "there has come into being this abundance of generative power[38] of all the world"; *TS* 1, 7, 10, 1 *vā́jasyedáṃ prasavá* ("the instigation of generative power") *ā́ babhūve mā́ ca viśvā bhúvanāni sarvátaḥ*; the world emanated by Prajāpati, all that the First Principle emanated is *bhuvanam* (*PB* 4, 1, 15; *sarvaṃ jagat*, comm.; *JUB* 4, 22, 12 f.). The term is, however, applied also to the 'universe' consisting of the sun, the months, the seasons, the three lokas (*PB* 4, 6, 3). "Aditi (the earth, comm.), on which this universe of life has settled" is Griffith's[39] translation of *VS* 9, 5......*yásyām idáṃ viśvaṃ bhúvanam āvivéśa*. *Cf.* also 13, 18. There can be no doubt

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36. See W. Norman Brown, 'The creation myth of the *Rig Veda*', *JOAS* 62 (1942) 85 ff.

37. Compare Sāyaṇa; Geldner's interpretation seems less probable.

38. For *vājinam*, which, here, is substantivated, see J. Wackernagel—A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2, (Göttingen, 1954), p. 350; for *vāja-* compare my *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, Utrecht, 1954, pp. 48 ff.; R. T. H. Griffith, *The texts of the White Yajurveda*, (Benares, 1927), p. 142 (*VS* 13, 39), translates the word by "energetic spirit".

39. Griffith, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

whatever that in the cosmogony of *ṚV* 10, 149, 3 the 'world of the gods' is meant; "afterwards (*i.e.*, after the earth etc.) the other (part of creation which is) worthy of worship came into existence with the multitude of the 'immortal' world (*ámartasya bhúvanasya bhūnā́*), *i.e.*, "of the loka called heaven" (Sāyaṇa). In connection with cosmological and other phenomenal events or situations, the *bhúvanāni viśvā*, *ṚV* 1, 164, 13; 14, are said to stand or to have been placed on the wheel of the year.

In *AV* 2, 34, 2, which is to accompany the sacrifice of an animal the gods are requested to set free the semen (*retaḥ*) of "that in which becoming takes place" (*bhúvanasya*) and to grant progress to the sacrificer. According to the commentary *retaḥ* refers to the victim which is to be left by the gods and which, by means of the sacrificial ceremony, will be a cause of productiveness for the whole aggregate of beings.

Although "world, universe, creation" might be suitable translations, the connection of the *bhuvana-* concept with organic life and growth may also be inferred from places such as *TB* 1, 2, 1, 15 (*ĀpŚS* 5, 8, 5) "O Jātavedas, pour here out the seed (*retaḥ*) of creation which will arise from *tapas*......". In *AV* 13, 1, 14 and 37 the poet intends to describe or proclaim the navel (*i.e.*, the place of origin) of the ruddy one (the sun) in the greatness (majesty: *majmáni*) of the *bhuvana-*. Since the ruddy one is in st. 1 said to have generated "this all" (*viśvam idám*, *i e.*, the universe), and the gods are in st. 25 stated to have produced emanations (*cf.*, e.g., also st. 52), and since, moreover, the 'birth' of the universe from its centre or navel is a well-known idea,[40] here also the connection with the etymological sense of *bhuvana-* seems clear. The prayer *AV* 12, 1, 31, *mā́ nì paptaṃ bhúvane śiśr iyāṇaḥ* addressed to the Earth was, probably, to prevent the person speaking from losing his points of support in the 'world' of becoming and creation.[41] *AV* 18, 1, 17 water, wind and herbs are placed in one *bhuvanam*.

Not rarely, however, the term clearly applies to living beings or to the population of the world: In *ṚV* 5, 83, 4 rain refreshes "all the world" (*i. e.*, all beings); in 5, 40, 5 the *bhuvānani* are able to perceive; in 6, 5, 2 they are produced by the earth; in 7, 5, 7 they are created or generated; in 4, 51, 5 *bhuvanāni* occurs together with "two-footed

40. M. Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, (New York, 1961), p. 44.

41. Not with H. Beckh, *Der Hymnus an die Erde*, (Stuttgart, 1934), p. 29: "... der ich so im Weltall fest verankert bin".

and four-footed beings, any living being" ; in 4, 53, 4 it is followed by *bhúvanasya prajābhyaḥ* "for the creatures of the world" ; in 10, 82, 3 they come to put questions to Viśvakarman. In *ṚV* 2, 35, 8 the *bhuvanāni* and the plants are said to propagate themselves. However, the entities (water, milk etc.) with which the *soma* is moistened are, in all probability, meant in 9, 70, 1.

It is worthy of attention that these "creatures" are not necessarily human beings. In *ṚV* 4, 56, 3 the anonymous creator of heaven and earth is called an artist (*bhuvaneṣu*) ; in 1, 109, 6 the gods are included (Indra and Agni surpass all other *bh.*). In *ṚV* 1, 98, 2 (Agni lord of *bh.*) the plants also seem to be meant (*cf.* 2 ; 6, 12, 3 ;[42] 6, 5, 2 (the earth produces *v. bh.*) refers chiefly to plants and herbs.

One might take the singular, with Sāyaṇa (*bhūtajāta-*), in cases such as *ṚV* 10, 17, 3 where Pūṣan is described as the herdsman of the *bhuvanam*, to refer primarily to the living creatures ; 6, 47, 3 (in both cases Geldner gives "world").

In a prayer addressed to some great gods to fill those speaking with the same stem (*soma*) upon which they feed themselves (*AV* 7, 81, 6) these gods are called *bhúvanasya gopā́ḥ* "herdsmen (protectors) of (the inhabitants of) the world". The very term "herdsman" evokes in the first place the image of a crowd of living beings which needs tending. The same phrase applies to the sun (*AV* 13, 2, 2), to Pūṣan (*AV* 18, 2, 54=*RV* 10, 17, 3 ; *TS* 4, 6, 3, 3), to Soma and Pūṣan (*ṚV* 2, 40, 1), to the Earth (*AV* 12, 1, 57), to Brahman (*PB* 25, 18, 5), to Indra and Agni (*TB* 3, 1, 1, 11), to Agni (*TS* 1, 5, 11, 2), to the Viśve devāḥ (*TB* 3. 10, 6, 1) ; to the stones for pressing out the *soma* (*TB* 3, 7, 9, 1 : *ĀpŚS* 12, 3, 2 where the commentary on *TB* improbably explains : *karmaniṣpādanena lokasya pālakāḥ*) ; *cf.* also *ṚV* 1, 164, 21 ; *JUB* 3, 2, 2 ; 11 ; *ChU* 4, 3, 6. In *ŚvU.* 4, 15 *bhuvanasya goptā* is followed and explained by "the lord of all things, hidden in all beings" (*cf.* 6, 17).

The term under examination may therefore indicate the whole aggregate of what has come, and is coming, into being. The word group *bhúvanāni rodasī* denotes heaven and earth and the world (and its inhabitants) between them ; in *ṚV* 3, 3, 10, Agni, just born, is said to have filled these. Hence the statement (1, 160, 2) that Father (the heaven) and Mother (the earth) protect the *bhuvanāni* ; *cf.* 1, 160, 3.

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42. *Cf.* also K. F. Geldner—J. Nobel, *Der Rig-veda*, IV, (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), p. 15.

In the 'hymns' *AV* 10, 7 and 10, 8, which exhibit some terminological similarities,[43] the phrase *bhuvanasya madhye* occur in st. 38 and 15 respectively in connection with *brahma* which here is considered a "marvellous phenomenon" (cf. *KenaU* 3, 2);[44] in this *brahma*, which on the waving primordial chaos (*salilásya pr̥ṣṭhe*) makes effort (*krānta-* +loc.) for *tapas* (in order to start creation; *cf*. *R̥V* 10, 129, 3), rest, in the midst of 'the place of becoming'-"creation" (Whitney—Lanman)—, all the gods (divine powers) like the branches of a tree round about the trunk. Here, the universe, which *brahman*, as the cosmic tree, (*cf*. *KaU* 6, 1; *BhG* .15. 1 ff.) is to fill with creation, is aptly called the *bhuvana-*. The phrase *bhuvanasya madhye* means, according to the commentator on *TB* 2, 4, 5, 7 (*cf*. *MS* 4, 12, 6; *AV* 7, 110, 2) "everywhere" (*sarvatra*). The *haṃsa* or highest self which destroys ignorance etc. is *ŚvU* 6, 15 said to be "in the midst of this world." According to *TS* 4, 2, 10, 2 "this ocean, the spring of a hundred streams, expanded in the middle of the world". —The sacrificial bed (*vedi-*) is quite intelligibly[45] in the middle of creation *TB* 1, 2, 1, 27; 3. 7, 6, 4: *ĀpŚS* 4, 5, 1 etc.). Sacrificial worship (*yajña-*) is *VS* 23, 62 stated to be *bhuvanasya nābhiḥ* because according to a śruti text (*ŚB* 1, 9, 2, 5) quoted by the commentaries creatures are born from it.[46] Compare *TB* 3, 9, 5, 5. In *TB* 2, 4, 8, 5 sacrifice is said to be the womb (*garbha-*) of creation (*bh.*).

An ample discussion of all Vedic occurrences would be a superfluity; yet, attention may be drawn to some other interesting places. The translation "world and its inhabitants" seems required in cases such as *R̥V* 2, 17, 4 where Indra is stated to grow greater or higher than *viśvā bhuvanā*, (the so-called plural form indicating the collective idea); 2, 34, 4 describing the Maruts as refreshing the world (Sāyaṇa's explication *udakāni* —*cf*. *Nirukta* 10, 34—is incorrect). See also 1, 92, 9; *TS* 5, 1, 11. 4. The concrete meaning "world" has, however, also a wide area of occurrence. *Cf*., *e.g*., *R̥V* 1. 164. 31; *VS* 37, 17 in connection with the sun or the vital breath,[47] which travels *bhúvaneṣv antáḥ*; *R̥V* 10, 81, 4; *TS* 4, 7, 13, 2. The word *bhuvana* is used to indicate the medium in which the lunar asterisms

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43. L. Renou, *Etudes védiques et pāṇinéennes*, II, (Paris, 1956), p. 84.

44. P. Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda*, (Darmstadt, 1963), p. 204.

45. See M. Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return*, (New York, 1954), pp. 10 ff.; Gonda, *The Savayajñas*, (Amsterdam acad.), p. 293.

46. *Cf*. S. Lévi, *La doctrine du sacrifice*, (Paris, 1898), pp. 81 f.

47. See Geldner, *op. cit*., I, p. 233.

are moving and hastening (*ĀV* 19, 7, 1). In *ṚV* 4, 53, 2 ; *KB* 21, 4 *divo dhartā bhuvanasya prajāpatiḥ* 'sky' and *bhuvana-* obviously are complementary entities. In *TS* 4, 2, 11, 1 "all worlds" is complementary to mountains and streams: *prá síndhubhyaḥ prá giríbhyo mahitvā́ préndrāgnī víśvā bhuvanāty anyā́*, but in *TS* 5, 5, 9, 3 Rudra is said to be in the fire, in the waters, in the plants, and to have entered all beings (*v. bh.*) ; *cf.* also 1, 3, 14, 3.

At *ṚV* 3, 55, 10 *c* the meaning of the *víśvā bhuvanāni* known by Agni (as a witness) cannot be disconnected from that of *dhāman* in *b* which refers to Viṣṇu's manifestations or plural presence. The plural of the latter terms may have conditioned that of the former : anyhow, *bhuvana-* admits of a plural in another sense than "creatures". *Cf.* also 10, 82, 3.

The plural may, however, be due, also, to a tendency to emphasize the vastness of the world, *e. g.*, *ṚV* 4, 16, 5. Indra filled the heaven and earth and surpassed 'all worlds' in greatness (pluralis extensivus) ; 8, 92, 6 ; 8, 100, 4 (or "beings" ?) ; 10, 125, 8. Compare also 10, 81, 4 (creation) ; 9, 84, 2 ; 9, 94, 2 "the fields of creation, the (entire) universe" ; 9, 86, 30.

In contradistinction to *yamaloka-* which is the sphere into which the deceased may be admitted, *ṚV* 1, 35, 6 uses in connection with the heaven known as Yama's world (*pitṛpater gṛhe*) the term *bhuvana-*.[48]

From passages such as *JB* 1, 105 we are justified in concluding that *bhuvana-* also was a comprehensive term to indicate what is often called the tripartite universe, the three *lokas* heaven, earth and intermediate space (together with the quarters of space) : *devāsurā vā eṣu lokeṣv aspardhantāsmin bhuvane...(devāḥ). imāṃl lokān ājayan, imam eva lokam..., antarikṣam...amum..., diśaḥ.* From places such as *ṚV* 1, 143, 4 ; 1, 164, 34 it may indeed be inferred that the *bhuvana-* is larger than the earth ; *cf.* also 1, 185, 5 ; *TB* 3, 3, 9, 10 (*ĀpŚS* 2, 1, 3). from other texts, however, that it is the scene of the life-processes in nature and mankind. Rudra, the god of uncultivated nature,[49] is its ruler (2, 33, 9) and father (6, 49, 10) ; Indra, the god who established the cosmos and represents or wields the creative and inaugurative energy, its king (3, 46, 2 ; *cf.* 8, 37, 3) ; *soma*, the divine

48. See also Lüders, *Varuṇa*, (Göttingen, 1951-59), p. 60, whose interpretation remains uncertain.

49. See *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 89.

vital juice, Prajāpati, the creator and lord of creatures, Savitar, "the creator of creators", or Dhātar, the generator and orderer of the world, its lords (*RV* 5, 51, 12; *TS* 3, 4, 8, 6; 4, 7, 14, 3; 3, 3, 11, 2), Dawn, whose light is blessing, its mistress (*ṚV* 7, 75, 4).

In commentaries etc. which were in need of 'synonyms' to explain all the words of a text, the differences between *bhuvana-* and other terms for "world" are not always observed. Thus, *bhuvana-* is explained by the commentator on *PB* 4, 1, 15 as *sarvaṃ jagat*, on 4, 6, 3, *ṚV* 1, 164, 36, *TB* 3, 7, 10, 6 as *lokaḥ*; *TB* 3, 7, 6, 14 as *sarvalokaḥ*; 3, 9, 5, 5; 3, 12, 9, 7 as *sarvo lokaḥ* and *sarvajagat*; *viśvāni bhuvanā(ni)* is explained by Sāyaṇa on *ṚV* 2, 17, 4; *TB* 2, 7, 12, 2 as *sarvān lokān*, similarly 2, 8, 5, 5; *viśvaṃ bhuvanam*, *TB* 3, 7, 10, 2 as *sarvaṃ jagat* and *ṚV* 2, 40, 1 as *kṛtsnam jagat*; *viśvā bhuvanāni* by Mahīdhara on *VS* 4, 30, as *lokān*; *bhuvanam* alone *TB* 2, 8, 6, 7 as *goloka-* "cow-world"; etc.

THE MEANING OF SKT. *MAHAS* AND ITS RELATIVES

As is well-known the translations of many Vedic words as they are given in the great dictionaries by Grassmann, Boehtlingk and Roth etc. are often either open to controversy or unquestionably incorrect. This statement is not to attach blame the highly meritorious authors of these books, who have laid all Sanskritists under a heavy obligation by their unselfish devotions and great scholarship. They were pioneers and could not always foresee what succeeding generations which stand on their shoulders, would discover and bring to light. That the above remark applies especially to those many works which relate to the religions, 'Weltanschauung' and spiritual life of the ancient Indians will hardly need substantiation. This is one of the provinces of Sanskrit scholarship which have, during the century elapsed since in 1855 volume I of the Petrograd Dictionary was published, so often and so profoundly been investigated into that our insight into the main concepts and their mutual relations, and hence our opinions about the words denoting these concepts and relations have in many respects been thoroughly modified. In this particular field, ancient Indian semantics, linguistic and philological studies often have to go hand in hand with the study of religion and 'Weltanschauung'. The changing views of the successive generations of scholars and also the various opinions of contemporaneous authors about the latter subjects, are not rarely reflected in the semantic comments made on important elements of the ancient Indian vocabulary. Much, however, still awaits investigation.

A term which does not seem to be devoid of interest is the Vedic and post-Vedic *mahas*. According to Roth[1] there were two homonymous nouns: 1 *máhas* meaning "joy, gladness", "festival", and "sacrifice", and 2 *máhas* in the sense of "greatness, might, magnificence" and "abundance". This view obviously was endorsed by Grassmann.[2] Others however regarded both words as identical.[3] This point—*viz.* are there two nouns *máhas* or not?—is not only of interest for Sanskrit scholars, because some authorities have connected *máhas* "festival" (German: "Feier, Fest") with the Latin adjective *mactus* "glori-

[1] Petrograd Dictionary, V, 615 f.

[2] H. Grassmann, Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda (1872), 1018.

[3] Thus, e. g. M. Monier-Williams, A Skt.-Engl. Dict., 794; K. F. Geldner, Der Rig-veda in Auswahl, I, Glossar, Stuttgart 1907, p. 134.

fied, worshipped, adored ".[4] This etymology was however rejected by others who had *mactus* derive from a non-existent verb **magere* in the sense of "increasing, augmenting" which must have belonged to Lat. *magnus* "great".[5] The question is, in Latin also, complicated because the verb *mactare* means not only "to honour esp. a deity with sacrifices, to magnify, to glorify", but also "to sacrifice, to immolate (a victim, object)". Some scholars have even concluded there to be a double origin, that is to say: the original existence of a pair of homonyms.[6] If therefore one could succeed in clarifying, to a certain extent, the above problem of Sanskrit etymology and lexicography, there might be some hope of deepening our insight into the 'original meaning' of the Latin words, if indeed acceptance may be gained for their etymological relationship. Any progress in this respect would be welcomed, because the comparatively high number of important Aryan-Italian or Indo-Latin equations bearing on social, juridical, or religious 'concept' has, since the French scholar Vendryes collected many of them,[7] not ceased to engage the attention of those scholars who are interested in the origins of Roman culture and the spiritual life and philosophy of our Indo-European ancestors.

In this article I shall endeavour to show that the two nouns *máhas* given in the Petrograd Dictionary and elsewhere are really one and the same. Some remarks which do not aim at completeness will be added in order to illustrate the argument and to throw some light upon the idea expressed by this term and by the root *mah*—which it contains.

It is, in my opinion, indeed beyond doubt that there is only one word *máhas* in ancient Indian. This word means, generally speaking, "greatness" with the implications, which so often belong to terms for this idea, of "importance, possession of high qualities, eminence in power, genius, or ability, exaltation, superiority, majesty, and especially, superiority to the common human conditions of life." It is used in connection with Indra, the Maruts and other gods; it is the 'greatness' that characterizes those powers which are superior to normal earthly existence and are able to achieve exceptional deeds. Sāyaṇa

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[4] Thus, e. g., A. Walde—J. Pokorny, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen, II, Berlin-Leipzig 1927, p. 259; otherwise J. Pokorny, Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Bern 1954, p. 708.

[5] The reader might be referred to A. Walde—J. B. Hofmann, Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch³, II, Heidelberg 1940 etc., p. 4 f.

[6] See A. Ernout et A. Meillet, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine³, Paris 1951, p. 670.

[7] J. Vendryes, Les correspondances de vocabulaire entre l' Indo-iranien et l' Italo-celtique, Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris 20 (1918), p. 265 ff.

often explains the term by *tejas*. As is well-known, the meaning of this term, which etymologically belongs to *tij*—" to be sharp ", *tigma*—" sharp, pointed; fiery, intense, violent etc. ", and which has not lost such ' concrete ' meanings as " sharp edge (of a knife etc.), top, point of a ray of light or flame etc. ", is, however, not exhaustively defined by the above translations ; it expresses also ideas such as " fiery energy, ardour, spirit, efficacy ; spiritual, moral or magical power or influence ; glory, dignity, majesty ; (magical) potency ". [8] That is to say : in translating these terms by these English ' partial equivalents ' we make, consciously or without knowledge of what we are doing, an attempt to give a present day reader an idea of one or more aspects of rich ' concepts ' which were, by the ancients themselves, never in a modern scientific way logically defined nor analyzed in all its aspects and applications; ' concepts ' which needs must impress us that is : logically thinking modern scholars—as vague because they were, so to say centres around which the tentative religious and ' philosophical ' thoughts of the ancients, by amplification and assimilation, attempted to penetrate the mysteries of the world, life, and the infinite. [9]

In another publication [10] it has been shown that the Ancient Indian neuter nouns in—*as*, and their etymological counterparts in the other ancient Indo-European languages in general, denoted, broadly speaking, potencies, ' power-substances ' which empirically, or within some form of experience, were supposed to be present in persons, objects and phenomena, and by virtue of which these were considered to be powerful, effective, influential, endowed with something which is beyond the bounds of understandable common experience and which may rather vaguely be described as a kind of energy that, though on the one hand believed to exist more or less by itself, on the other hand co-operated with similar powers, attached itself to living beings, manifested itself in various forms, living and lifeless. However, hard and fast lines between animate and inanimate, between persons and impersonal power, between ' concrete ' and ' abstract ' or idea and manifestation, in the modern sense of these terms, and in any modern way of making such distinctions, were not drawn. [11]

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[8] For tejas see the publication (in Dutch) by the late Professor J. Ph. Vogel, Het Sanskrit woord *tejas* in de betekenis van magische kracht, Amsterdam 1930.

[9] For this ' vagueness ' see also the remarks made by Miss Dr. J. M. van Gelder, Der Atman in der Grossen-Wald-Geheimlehre. The Atman in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad (The Hague 1957).

[10] J. Gonda, Ancient-Indian *ojas*, Latin **augos* and the Indo-European noun in *-es-/os*, Utrecht 1952.

[11] See also J. Gonda, Some observations on the relations between ' gods ' and ' powers ' in the Veda, The Hague 1957, passim. Since scholars who, like Professor Paul Thieme (see Indo-Iranian Journal, 2 (1958), p. 233, are not at

Indra was believed to carry *sahas* "overwhelming or victorious power" and *mahas* (= *tejaḥ*, Sāyaṇa) in, or on, his body, the *vajra*—in his hand, *kratu*—"intentional efficiency" or "resourcefulness, inventiveness"[12] in his head (ṚV. 2, 16, 2). The term *mahas* occurs several times in connection with the Maruts who are 5, 60, 4 described as having adorned themselves with golden ornaments and with their 'autonomies'[13]; being distinguished *(Śreyāṃsaḥ)* and energetic *(tavasaḥ)* they have with a view to prosperity and pre-eminence[14] applied manifestations of *mahas* in, or on, their bodies. This passage is instructive in connection with the parallelism between, and 'non-distinction' of, what we would call concreta and abstracta: *varā ived raivatāso hiraṇyair abhi svadhābhis tanvaḥ pipiśre/śriye śreyāṃsas tavaso ratheṣu/satrā mahāṃsi cakrire tanūṣu.* In interpreting the stanza Sāyaṇa again resorts to *tejāṃsi*: *sarvābharaṇair udakais copetāḥ rathān adhiṣṭhāya śarīreṣu tejāṃsy adhārayann ity arthaḥ.* The main point is clear: the Maruts after having adorned themselves with their *alaṃkāras*, which are to prepare them properly for performing their functions,[15] mount their chariots in order to bring rain to mankind; the 'quality'—or, rather, powerful entity—required for this beneficent and important activity is *mahas*. Geldner according to whom the term under discussion means 'Herrlichkeiten' is—as often elsewhere—in translating 7, 56, 14 inconsistent: the *mahāṃsi* which make their appearance from the depth are not "Standeszeichen" (insignia of rank or order "), but those qualities which constitute their 'greatness', whether they are visible—or rather: generated by visible *alaṃkāras*—or not. This point remains dubious because the interpretation of

home with such subjects as (cultural) anthropology and the comparative science of religions, may misunderstand what is meant by modern—see *e.g.* G. van der Leeuw, La structure de la mentalité primitive, Paris 1940; the same, L'homme primitif et la Religion, Paris 1940—it may be recalled to memory that this term is used here in a 'structural', not a chronological sense.

[12] Some remarks on this term are made in a treatise on *māyā* in the Veda, published in Four studies in the language of the Veda, Disputationes Rheno-Trajectinae III, note 261.

[13] For *svadhā* see the bibliographical references collected by L. Renou, Etudes védiques et paṇinéennes, III, Paris 1957, p. 51.

[14] The text has *śriye*, for which see Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, Utrecht 1954, ch. II.

[15] For *alaṃkāra*—see an article in the New Indian Antiquary, F. W. Thomas Comm. Vol., Bombay 1939, p. 97 ff. As is well-known, an outward 'token' was often supposed to generate or renew the 'power concept' which it represented.

1, 165, 5 is not definitely settled: Sāyaṇa, Windisch[16] and Geldner[17] may be right in connecting *mahobhiḥ* closely with *tanvaḥ śumbhamānāḥ*. Sāyaṇa however offers in addition to the above another interpretation: *mahobhis svamahattvena yuktā vayam..upa yujmahe* "endowed with our greatness we harness the antelopes" which is more acceptable from the point of view of versification. Anyhow, the explication furnished by the ancient commentator is worth quoting: *mayobhih tejobhiḥ...śumbhamānāḥ dīpayantaḥ harṣaṃ prāpnuvānā ity arthaḥ.* It shows that, for him, there was a close connection between *mahas* = *tejas* and *harṣa*—"excitement, pleasure, happiness".

In 7, 58, 2 *pra ye mahobhir ojasota santi* the very combination of *mahas* and *ojas* "creative energy, vital power etc." in which these gods are said to excel shows that both power-substances could, in a way, be considered complementary. In 5, 58, 5 these gods are called *akavā mahobhiḥ* "giving lavishly[18] evidence of their greatness": here *mahas* is again a quality enabling the gods to confer benefits upon mankind. Similarly, 3, 4, 6 *yathā no mitro varuṇo jujoṣad/ indro marutvāṃ uta vā mahobhiḥ.* The epithet *vimahasah* (Maruts) is explained by Sāyaṇa (ṚV. 1, 86, 1): *viśiṣṭaprakāśāḥ* and (5, 87, 4) *viśiṣṭabalāḥ.*

Passages such as 4, 14, 1 *uṣaso...rocamānā mahobhiḥ* can hardly be translated otherwise than: "dawns...radiant by their majesty, *i.e.* by their superior splendour". Similarly 6, 64, 2. In being clarified Soma likewise shows its majesty: 9, 96, 21 *pavasvendo pavamāno mahobhiḥ*; Sāyaṇa is no doubt mistaken: *mahobhiḥ pūjakair ṛtvigbhiḥ.* The winds and the streams are 9, 31, 3 said to enhance Soma's *mahas* (*mahatvam*, Śāyaṇa).

"Might, majesty, superiority" must be the shade of meaning in 5, 52, 3 *marutām adhā maho/ divi kṣamā ca manmahe* (*tejaḥ*, Sāyaṇa): the Maruts are, according to the text, able "to leap over the nights", by which they no doubt furnish evidence of their 'greatness'. In 5, 59, 6 the same gods are stated to have grown, increased or become powerful by *mahas* (*mahasā vi vāvṛdhuḥ*): this must mean that the special sort of power called *mahas* was the determining factor in their having increased and being "great".[19] By their *mahas* the gods are said to be prudent and to guard the right courses of conduct: 1, 90, 2. Associating *mahaḥ* and *mahimānam* "greatness" the poet of 8, 65, 4 expects

[16] E. Windisch, Die Gespanne der Götter, Album Kern, Leyden 1903, p.139.

[17] K. F. Geldner, Der Rig-veda übersetzt, I², Harvard 1951, p. 238.

[18] See also K. Hoffmann, Zwei vedishe Wortsippen, Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, 10, München 1957, whose different interpretation is not convincing; Renou, Etudes védiques et paṇinéennes, IV, Paris 1958, p. 49.

[19] I would be inclined to reject Geldner's translation (Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 67): "in voller Grösze angewachsen" ("grown in greatness").

these powers or qualities of the god Indra to be brought by his horses and chariot: that is to say, the horses carrying Indra will bring with him, his characteristic qualities, functions, *i.e.* the powers inherent in him.

In 10, 154, 2 (= AV. 18, 2, 16) the word occurs in connection with the deceased, who made *tapas* " asceticism " their *mahas*; in 10, 94, 10 in connection with the pressing-stones; Vāj. Saṃh. 3, 20 (cf. Śat. Br. 2, 3, 4, 25) with a cow. That *mahas* may also belong to inimical beings appears from ṚV. 5, 28, 3 " trample on the greatness of them who are enemies ". Although this is what we expect, it is worth-while to make mention of this occurrence.

It is doubtful whether Geldner is right in assuming 1, 175, 1 *apāyi te mahaḥ pātrasyeva/ harivo matsaro madaḥ* to mean " thou hast drunk the intoxicating liquor as much as is the greatness of the goblet, *i.e.* as is contained in it ". Is Sāyaṇa right: the greatness is the great Soma (*mahān...somaḥ*) itself? Cf. Ath. V. 4, 25, 6 where Soma is called *mahasvat*—" possessed of, rich in, greatness " (*mahasvantaṃ matsaram*); this may probably refer to Soma's being the draught of 'immortality' and to his stimulating force, to his power to make gods and men cheer up. Thus *mahas* may imply " a subjective feeling of superiority and cheerfulness ". See also Vāj. Saṃh. 21, 42 *śaṣpair...tokmabhir lājair mahasvantaḥ* (sc. *somāḥ*): *mahābhāgyayuktāḥ mahātarpaṇīyāḥ* (Uvaṭa); TBr. 3, 12, 3, 4.

The interesting passage 7, 43, 4 has been differently translated: after an invitation addressed to the gods to accept the homage and worship, the poet continues: *jyeṣṭhaṃ vo adya maha ā vasūnām/ ā gantana...*: whereas the Petrograd Dictionary and Grassmann held *mahaḥ* to mean " plenty, abundance (sc. of soma) " Geldner preferred " feast, festival ": " do ye come today to your most excellent feast, O gods " This amounts to the same interpretation as Renou's " manifestation de grandeur ".[20] It is indeed hardly open to doubt that *mahas* refers, in this passage, to the religious ceremony at which the hymn was to be recited. In 10, 130, 4 the song of praise is doubtless conceived as the generator of *mahas*: *anuṣṭubhā* (sc. *sam babhūva*) *soma ukthair mahasvān* " Soma associated himself with the anuṣṭubh metre when he was celebrated " or more literally: " became rich in *mahas* (cf. AV. 4, 25, 6) by songs of praise ". Here Pañcar. 3, 8, 14 must be quoted: *harim arthayed atha kṛtaprasarāñjalir āsyato 'sya visarec ca mahaḥ*, where the words pronounced in honour of the god themselves are clearly meant.

In this connection AV. 11, 4, 5 is of no mean interest: *yadā prāṇo abhyavarṣīd/ varṣeṇa pṛthivīṃ mahīm/ paśavas tat pra modante/ maho vai no bhaviṣyati* which literally means: " when breath has rained with rain upon the great

[20] Renou, *o.c.*, IV, p. 105. Sāyaṇa: *maṃhanīyaṃ* (= *pūjanīyaṃ*) *dhanam*; Mādhava: *mahattvam asmān.*

earth, then the cattle are delighted: 'verily there will be greatness for us'". Is this greatness, however, not at the same time an event full of joy, a feast, and that in both aspects of the term, for the beneficiaries, a reason for rejoicing, a repast, a means of becoming greater, and for the being or entity which brings the *mahaḥ* about, the production or generation of useful power? For originally and essentially festivals are not merely occasions to give expression to joy, but events bearing upon the cyclical life of nature—with the inclusion of human life—especially upon the growth of cereals. [21]

Another text that, if I am not mistaken, has been misunderstood is Taitt. Saṃh. 4, 3, 13, 5 where the Maruts are addressed as follows: *purvībhir hi dadāśima/ śaradbhir maruto vayam/ mahabhiś carṣaṇīnām* which does not exactly mean [22] "for in autumns gone by we have paid homage, O M., with the means of mortal men", but "...by the means of generating, producing, adding, renewing 'greatness'..." Instead of *mahobhiḥ* the parallel passage in the ṚV. 1, 86, 6 has *avobhiḥ* which I would explain [23] as "furtherance (of the interests of the gods by men)"; cf. ṚV. 3, 32, 13 where the sacrifice is, in all probability, called an *avaḥ* (cf. st. 12d); 2, 11, 11.

A close connection between *mahas* and cattle appears also in ŚB. 11, 8, 1, 3: Prajāpati after having made the three provinces of the universe firmly fixed exclaimed: "*mahaḥ*" which, the text adds, means "cattle" *sa maha iti vyāharat. paśavo vai mahas. tasmād yasyaite bahavo bhavanti bhūyiṣṭham asya kule mahīyante* "he then exclaimed *mahas* ("greatness", Eggeling 24) wavering between "wealth" and "joy") means cattle, whence they (*i.e.* people, Eggeling less probably: cattle) thrive ("or perhaps: they enjoy themselves" Eggeling) exceedingly in the homestead of one who possesses many of them". [25]

There are also other words in *-as-* which express—to use the familiar linguistic terminology—a more 'concrete' sense. Although it is often very difficult to maintain, in translating, the distinction between 'abstract' and 'concrete' meanings which in the times of the poets did not exist as it exists to the modern scientific mind, attention may for instance be drawn to *śravas* which does not only denote "glory", but also "glorious deed", and the "glory consisting in an

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[21] Cf. Sanskrit *utsava*—'festival' in India antique, A volume of oriental studies presented to J. Ph. Vogel, Leyden 1947, p. 146 ff.

[22] Thus A. B. Keith, The Veda of the Black Yajus School, Harvard 1914, p. 338.

[23] Geldner, *o.c.*, I, p. 111 otherwise.

[24] J. Eggeling, The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa...translated, V, Oxford 1900, p. 126.

[25] Compare also Sāyaṇa: *yata ebhiḥ paśubhir mahīyate* ("one thrives"), *ata ate mahaḥ*

endowment or in gaining a prize ", that is to say : a manifestation or materialization of the power *śravas* : cf. *e.g.* ṚV. 1, 92, 8 ; 3, 1, 16 ; 4, 41, 9 ; 8, 99, 2. Manifestations of *śravas*, for instance heroic deeds, victories in races etc. produce at the same time *śravas* " fame or renown ". The noun *yaśas* " glory, renown, honour, dignity " not rarely refers to those objects or circumstances from which man derives honour, and which may therefore be regarded as manifestations of this idea, or rather power-substance. [26] This renown may for instance derive from the possession of many heroic sons : 4, 32, 12 and elsewhere *vīravad yaśaḥ* ; 10, 36, 10 *rayimad vīravad yaśaḥ* " renown through property and sons ". Mention may also be made of *avas* " aid, furtherance, favour etc. " which seems ṚV. 3, 32, 13 te be used in connection with the sacrifice, which is, then, considered a means to render assistance ; *cakṣas* is not only something to like our " visual faculty ", which is however also considered substantial and powerful entity or receptacle of power ; it may also denote the " eye ", and the " clear or radiant sight " made possible by the eye (cf. 1, 48, 8). Similar observations could also be made in connection with words belonging to other morphological classes : *karman*—for instance admits on the one hand of the translation " deed, work, action " and on the other hand of : " the consequences of acts, being a power ruling the life and determining the destiny of the doer " ; *karman*—was however also conceived as a substantial potency which can be detached from the doer, who can, however, meet it again. [27] It may therefore reasonably be assumed that *mahas* denoting, in general, the power-substance representing the idea expressed by the root *mah-* could mean not only " greatness, majesty " as a substance, power or quality, but also as an action producing ' greatness '—*i.e.* a rite or religious festival, and its results or consequences.

That this argument is not merely based on linguistic deductions or on what would in the eyes of those philologists who work along traditional lines probably be speculations suggested by the students of the comparative history of religions, may become apparent from Śat. Br. 1, 9, 1, 9 ff. After having, in the preceding paragraphs, stated that the man who sacrifices, *i.e.* who produces the sacrifice, pleases the gods, the author enumerates a number of similar formulas : *agnir* (*somaḥ etc.*) *idaṃ haviḥ ajuṣatāvīvṛdhata maho jyāyo ' kṛteti* " A. (S. etc.) has graciously accepted this oblation, he has grown (in power or strength), he has acquired superior greatness ". Whilst pronouncing these

[26] For power-substances (in German ' Daseinsmächte ') see also H. von Glasenapp, Entwicklungsstufen des indischen Denkens, Halle (S.), 1940, ch. I, who is (p. 18) right in stating that in this view of the world the power which brings about a result and the material basis on which this power functions are neither separated, nor — we may add — always distinguished in terminology.

[27] See also S. Rodhe, Deliver us from evil, Lund-Copenhagen 1946, p. 205, s. v. ; von Glasenapp, *o.c.*, p. 34 ff.

formulas the priest refers to the gods' respective butter portions. The comment is added that, in stating that such a one has graciously accepted the oblation, the officiant prays for the success of the sacrifices, and in paragraph 11 the explication is given that the formula " he has acquired superior greatness " must be understood in the light of the fact that the greatness of the gods is the sacrifice (*yajño vai devānāṃ mahaḥ*) ; " it is the latter therefore which they make still greater (superior) and for this reason the officiant says such a god has acquired superior greatness ".

Another text may be quoted in order to illustrate the belief that an entity which is something could also give that to human beings: in a number of formulas, Taitt. Br. 2, 6, 1, 5, it reads *ojo 'si ojo mayi dhehi...*, *maho 'si maho mayi dhehi* etc. The former formula which is of considerable frequency occurs *e.g.* Ath. V. 2, 17 " thou art ojas, give me ojas ! " followed by " thou art sahas, give me sahas...etc. " For the ritual application of these formulas see *e.g.* Śat. Br. 5, 4, 1, 14 where " thou art creative power...thou art immortal life " accompany the placing of a golden plate upon the yajamāna's head, an act bestowing immortal life upon him because gold is immortal life.

The power-substance under consideration can however also be produced or called into play by other means: AV. 10, 6, 12—belonging to a text which is in Kauśikasūtra 19, 22 prescribed in a ceremony conducted for the sake of prosperity—states that an amulet (which is to be worn by the person who benefits by the rite [28]) yields on behalf of the Aśvins *mahaḥ*: as in the preceding and following stanzas the power-substances furnished by this object are physical strength (*balam*), splendour (*varcaḥ*), growth, thriving or prosperity (*bhūtiḥ*), material prosperity and pre-eminence (*śrīḥ*), vigour (*vājinam*), youthful vitality (*sūnṛtā*), [29] immortality *i.e.* freedom from premature death (*amṛtam*) etc., *mahaḥ* may doubtless be translated by " greatness, majesty ", not by " joy " (Petr. Dict.). That the amulet grants these powers or qualities is not surprising: being a ' token ' of a power-substance it was at the same time considered to produce it.

A curious passage is Pañc. Br. 5, 5, 9 f. which dealing with the mahāvrata ceremony prescribes that the hotar has to hold his recitation while being seated on a swing [30]: *preṅkhām āruhva hotā śaṃsati mahasa eva tad rūpaṃ kriyate.*

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[28] See also W. Caland, Attindisches Zauberritual, Amsterdam 1900, p. 50, with n. 16 ; V. Henry, La magie dans l'Inde antique, Paris 1904, p. 275 s. v. amulettes.

[29] For this word see F. B. J. Kuiper, Nōropi chalkoi, Amsterdam 1951, p. 14 f.

[30] See Ait. Ār. 1, 2, 4; Śāṅkh. Ār. 1, 7 ; Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 17, 15, 10 ff., and A. B. Keith, The religion and philosophy of the Veda and the Upaniṣads, Harvard 1925, p. 351 ff.

Caland[31] objecting to Sāyaṇa's explication *tejaḥ*, translated: "thereby a characteristic mark of merriment is brought about", no doubt because of 5, 5, 10 *yadā vai prajā maha āviśati preṅkhās tarhy ārohanti* "when people are seized by m., then they mount swings". I would prefer "exaltation" which means "raising to a superior state" as well as "state of special mental excitement". According to Taitt. Br. 1, 2, 6, 6 the swing even is *mahas*: *maho vai pleṅkho mahasa evānnādyasyāvaruddhyai*: "swinging is to secure *mahas*, food". Now, swings and swinging often were objects and acts of religious, *i.e.* of magico-ritual importance.[32] They were not only a means of propitiating the powers in nature in cases of famine or other calamity, but also to bring about rainfall at the proper time and to promote the growth of the crops. In Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa (9, 46) and other works of classical Indian literature people "enjoy the festival of spring in which there are new swings" (cf. also Bhav. Utt. Pur. 133, 24 ff.) and in Mālavikāgnimitra, 3, 2 the queen, under the pretext of the first appearance of spring, expressed the desire to enjoy the pleasure of swinging together with the king: that is, no doubt, the *mahas*- "which seized her." Swinging was a means of coming into contact with the celestial powers and securing bliss, power, vitality etc. (remember the above identification: "*mahas*-, *i.e.* food"),[33] promoting, as already stated, the growth of plants and helping, by its rhythmic movements the sun to cover its daily distance. It may be of interest to add that in the ritual swingings of the hotar during the Mahāvrata festival—which is celebrated in honour of Indra, who is also the god of rain and vegetation—the word for "great", *mahānt*- plays an important rôle: in touching the swing the hotar pronounces the formula: "the great one (masc.) united with the great, one (fem.)" (*sam mahān mahatyā dadhāt*) which according to the Sāṅkh. Ār. 1, 5 means: "the sun united with the earth": *agnir vai mahān iyam pṛthivī mahatī*; later on the priest recites "the great song".[34]

If I am not mistaken the above passages clearly show how *mahas* may stand for 'greatness' or 'exaltation', for the subjective sensation of 'greatness' and also for the religious ceremony generating it.

In another description of the Mahāvrata ceremony, Jaim. Br. 2, 405 it

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31 W. Caland, Pañcaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa, English translation, Calcutta 1931, p. 81 f.

32 For particulars see the author's publication on the origin and essence of the Indian drama (*Z*ur Frage nach den Ursprung und Wesen des indischen dramas), Acta Orientalia 19 (Leiden 1943), p. 348; 388 ff.

33 See the books and articles enumerated in Ursprung und Wesen des indischen Dramas, p. 348, n. 5.

34 See also W. Friedländer, Der Mahāvrata-Abschnitt des Śāṅkhāyana-Āraṇyaka, Berlin 1900, p. 41.

reads *ājiṃ dhāvanti; paramaṃ vā etan maho yad ājiḥ: paramasyaiva mahaso 'varuddhyai* " they run a race; now, a race is the highest *mahas* : (they run the race) in order to secure the highest *mahas* ". Caland[35] was in my opinion not completely right in translating: " die höchste Lust (die grösste Festlichkeit ", *i.e.* " the highest pleasure (the greatest festivity)." Here too, the nearest equivalent seems to be " exaltation ", or " a feeling of enhanced vitality " and " the state of superiority to ordinary conditions reached by it." Races, like dances, games, processions etc. generate sacred power, or set it in motion. They essentially were to ' recreate ' or re-invigorate the unseen powers, to renew and strengthen the superhuman force in nature, to counteract the decline of the vital power in men, in the human community, in nature, in the universe. The sacral race or game puts the runner or player into possession of the power which is generated, for while strengthening the divine power man strengthens himself.[36] In the same ceremony girls sing *hai mahā, hai mahā,* which is likewise believed to put them and those present in possession of *mahas.*

Sāyaṇa's comment on Pañc. Br. 12, 6, 2 is worth quoting, although this place admits of another explanation too: (1) *pramaṃhiṣṭhāva gāyateti* " (there are verses beginning:) ' sing ye in honour of the greatest one ' (SV. 1, 107 = ṚV. 8, 103, 8 f.) "; (2) *yad gāyateti mahasa eva tad rūpaṃ kriyate* " by (the words) ' sing ye ' a manifestation (characteristic) of greatness is brought about." Ritual songs produce *mahas,* and are therefore a form of *mahas.* According to Sāyaṇa, however, the sūtra is explained by the fact that mighty princes have many singers at their court: *loke hi tejasvinām eva rājñāṃ bahavo gāyakā bhavantīti.* Both explications are not mutually exclusive.

The priest who officiates at the Vājapeya wears golden wreaths, " thereby a manifestation of *mahas* is brought about " (Pañc. Br. 18, 7, 6 *mahasa eva tad rūpaṃ kriyate*). He does so, the text continues, because he believes the gold to be lustre for him in the celestial world (7: *eṣa me ' muṣmin loke prakāso ' sad iti*), for " gold is light, he puts light into him " (*jyotir vai hiraṇyaṃ jyotir evāsmin dadhāti*). That gold which is immortal life (*e.g.* Śat. Br. 5, 4, 1, 14) could be considered a manifestation of *mahas* is evident.

Now it is well-known that praise and eulogies are a form of strengthening. By means of the potent spoken word man fortifies the god (see *e.g.* ṚV. 5, 31, 4). In expressing his belief in the existence and efficacy of the qualities traditionally ascribed to the god he adds to the latter's power and influences his abilities for the benefit of himself and his fellow-men. The oft-recurring statements that a

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[35] Caland, Das Jaiminīya-brahmaṇa in Auswahl, Amsterdam 1919, p.

[36] See A. Piganiol, Recherches sur les jeux romains, Publ. de la faculté des lettres de l'université de Strassbourg 13, 1923, p. 137 ff.; J. G. Frazer, The golden bough, VI (The Scapegoat), p. 373 ff.

definite god has definite qualities is no mere adornment, no cordial superfluity, but ' confirmation ' and consolidation of divine power [37].

This function of eulogies explains passages such as ṚV. 10, 43, 7 *vardhanti viprā maho asya sādane/yavaṃ na vṛṣṭir...*" the inspired poets cause his ' greatness ' to increase on the sacrificial seat just like rain...the grain " ; 10, 99, 12 the poet invigorates the great god (*maho...vakṣathāya*).

The same idea recurs in a variety of passages containing etymologically related words. A very significant place is ṚV. 8, 101, 11 where Sūrya is addressed as follows : *baḷ mahāṃ asi sūrya/baḷ āditya mahāṃ asi/ mahas te sato mahimā panasyate/ ' ddhā deva mahāṃ asi* etc. " truly, O Sun, thou art great ; truly, Āditya, thou art great ; the greatness (majesty) of thee that art great is worth praising, certainly, O god, thou art great " and 12 " truly, thou art great in renown, O Sun ; thou art, O god, great throughout ; by thine greatness thou, the asuric one, hast priority among the gods, (O Thou) light, free from deceit, of all pervading might. " This is a fine specimen of ' confirmation ' of divine power with which man finds himself confronted, a consolidation of that ' power ', a means of influencing his ' situation ', of adding to its specific might and abilities and determining these to some purpose or result. By reciting these stanzas the poet or officiant transferred the energy contained in them to the god addressed. By calling, especially in the traditional form of rhythmic stanzas, the divine power great, its majesty became greater. [38]

This ' confirmative ' character is no doubt often proper to the addition of one of the words for " great " to the name of a deity. ṚV. 10, 63, 5 *samrājo ye suvṛddho... / tāṃ ā vivāsa namasā suvṛktibhir/ maho ādityāṃ aditiṃ svastaye* " the prospering universal kings...invite them with homage and words of praise to take up theirr esidence here, the great Ādityas (and) Aditi for the sake of well-being."

What is especially interesting is the explicit statement that the eulogy recited with a view to strengthening the god is also " great " : ṚV. 1, 102, 1 *imāṃ te dhiyam pra bhare maho mahīm* " I offer thou, who art great, this product of my mind, that is great " ; 2, 33, 8 *pra babhrave vṛṣabhāya śvitīce/maho mahīṃ suṣṭutim īrayāmi* " to the reddish-brown, whitish bull (Rudra) I direct, in a superior way [39]), a superior eulogy " ; 3, 54, 2 ; 5, 33, 1 ; 8, 46, 14. The translation

[37] See *e.g.* G. van der Leeuw, Religion in essence and manifestation, London 1938, p. 430 f. ; H. Lüders, Varuṇa, Göttingen 1951, p. 22 ; J. Gonda, Avestan *spṛnta*, in the periodical Oriens (Istambul-Leyden) 2, p. 195 ff.

[38] See also G. van der Leeuw, Wegen en grenzen², Amsterdam 1948, p. 158 f. (in Dutch).

[39] For the adverbial mahaḥ see H. Oldenberg, Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenl. Gesellschaft 55 (1901), p. 270 f. ; Renou, Grammaire de la langue védique, Lyon 1952, p. 325 ; 337.

" ein hohes (Lied) " *i.e.* " an important or solemn song "—which is the German expression for the Song of Soloman or Canticles, a poem of an entirely different character—sometimes preferred by Geldner (*e.g.* 3, 54, 2) is deceptive. In ṚV. 2, 24, 1 the eulogy with which the poet intends to honour the god is called " new " and " great ". There seems to be room for the supposition that the ' greatness ' of the eulogy was considered an important factor in producing the ' greatness ' which was the aim of the rite. If so, this use of the term " great " would be a counterpart of the frequent occurrence of the adjective " new " in connection with the poems of the Vedic ṛṣis, which—if I am not mistaken[40]—are to enhance the inherent renewing force of these compositions, that is to say: to contribute to the process of renovation in nature, to the ' renewal ' of the divine power.

Mention may perhaps be made here of the identification *mahaḥ* = *vāk* in Taitt. Br. 2, 6, 5, 4 " *mahas* = speech ", that is to say : it is the word that has life and power, that goes forth out of the speaker who exerts influence by it[41]. That this equation is no mere coincidence may appear from the context : *yaśo mukham* " the face is fame " ; *mano manyuḥ* " mood, will is zeal, spirit ".

In Vāj. Saṃh. 21, 37 ; Taitt. Br. 2, 6, 11, 7 etc. the Aśvins and the three goddesses sacrifice and prayer, Iḍā, Bhāratī, Sarasvatī, together with Vāc, are said to yield *mahas* and *indriya*—to Indra.

The greatness, might, power and majesty of a divine being is not only increased by eulogies, but also by adequate, *i.e.* ritual, acts. Cf. *e.g.* ṚV. 9, 47, 1 *ayā somaḥ sukṛtyayā/mahaṣ cid abhy avardhata* " by this good (adequate) act (*Śobhanayābhiṣavākilakṣaṇayā kriyayā,* Sāyaṇa) Soma, however great he is, increased ".

Eulogies and rites are mentioned together in the stanza ṚV. 6, 1, 10 *asmā u te mahi mahe vidhema/namobhir agne samidhota havyaiḥ/vedī sūno sahaso gīrbhir ukthaiḥ* " we would like to worship thee, O great one, with something great, with reverential salutations, O Agni, with fuel and oblations on the sacrificial bed, O son of overwhelming power, with eulogies and recitations of praise ". How usual the term ' great ' was in this connection may appear from its elliptical use in contexts such as ṚV. 1, 56, 1 where Indra is said to drink the dexterous one, o.e. Soma to the great, *i.e.* power *(dakṣam mahe pāyayate).*

The above considerations may perhaps help us in understanding how the noun *mahas*—to which we now revert—came to be used in the sense of the later *pūjā* " honour, reverence, homage to superiors, worship, adoration. " Compare

[40] See Ein neues Lied, Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde des Morgenl. 48, p. 275 ff.

[41] Van der Leeuw, Religion, p. 403 ff.

Taitt. Br. 2, 5, 1, 3 *śrotreṇa bhadram uta śṛṇvanti satyam. śrotreṇa vācaṃ bahudhodyamānām. śrotreṇa modaś ca mahaś ca śrūvate. śṛotreṇa sarvā diśa āśṛṇomi*, where the commentator observes :...*yo 'yaṃ modo harṣaviṣayo vṛttāntaḥ, yac ca mahaḥ pūjāviṣayo vṛttāntaḥ*.

If *mahas* is also a term for an action generating 'greatness' it is not necessarily a sacrificial act or a spoken word. Any form of homage may be covered by it. It would therefore appear warranted to emend the translation proposed for *mahobhiḥ* in Vāj. Saṃh. 20, 40 (also Maitr. Saṃh. 3, 11, 1 etc.) *dvāro devīr abhito viśrayantāṃ/suvīrā vīraṃ prathamānā mahobhiḥ* into "wide be the divine doors thrown open, expanding with homage with regard to the hero (= Indra), the heroic ones";[42] that is to say: they become widely opened, while paying homage.

That *mahas*, in the Vāj. Saṃhitā and elsewhere, occurs together with "delight" does in itself not prove that it must, in the relevant passages, be translated by "pleasure". Vāj. Saṃh. 19, 8 (cf. Taitt. Br. 2, 6, 1, 5; Āp. Śr. S. 19, 7, 4 ff.) the following formulas are prescribed for the officiant who has to deposit the sacrificial cups: *modāya tvā* (sc. *sādayāmi*), *ānandāya tvā, mahase tvā* "I put thee down for enjoyment;...for cheering thee up[43])...for greatness": the commentator Uvaṭa explains *mahase* by *mahattvāya, mah*—to be taken in the sense of *pūjā* "honour, homage to superiors". There is no reason to follow the Petrograd Dictionary in ascribing to this word the meaning "joy". The three terms used in the formulas are related in sense, but no 'synonymous'. This is still more evident in 20, 6 *jihvā me bhadraṃ vāṅ maho mano manyuḥ svarāḍ bhāmaḥ/ modāḥ pramodā aṅgulīr aṅgāni mitraṃ me sahaḥ* " my tongue be what is auspicious, my voice be "greatness"—Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara hold this to stand for " (rendering homage"—that is: the energetic[44] aspect of *mahas*—, my mind be fury, my rage an autonomous ruler; joy and delight my fingers and limbs, overwhelming power my friend." In chapter of the same saṃhitā, treating of the Puruṣamedha, a long description is given of the nominal victims which are to be bound to the stake; men and women of various classes, figures, complexions, characters, and possessions. For (with a view to, in honour of) brahman a brāhmaṇa is to be bound to it, for the rivers a fisherman etc.[45]. In 19 it reads...*śabdāyādambarā-*

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[42] R. T. H. Griffith, The White Yajurveda, Benares 1927, p. 226; For the accusative compare the examples quoted by B. Delbrück, Altindische Syntax, Halle S. 1888, p. 178.

[43] For the sense of *ānanda*—see The Meaning of Skt. nand-, Acta Orientalia 21, p. 81 ff.

[44] The term energetic is used here as an adjective to the Greek *energeia* "active force, activity, operation."

[45] It is my intention to deal with this chapter in another article.

ghātaṃ mahase vīṇāvādaṃ krośāya tūṇavedhmam avaraspārāya śaṅkhadhvaṃ vanāya vanapam anyato raṇyāya dāvapam " for Sound a beater of a drum (which makes a great noise), for Mahas a lute-player, for cry a flute-player, for Inverted Tone a conch-blower, for Wood a forest-guard (woodranger), for the jungle a forest fire guard ". Here *mahas* " greatness " does not, at first sight, seem to fit the context, but if we realize that musical instruments may not only be looked upon as producers of noise, but also have an important religious function, the passage may become more intelligible. During the ceremonies of the aśvamedha, for instance, lute-players had to execute songs in which for instance (see Āp. Śr. Sū. 20, 6, 14) the statement that the sacrificer has fought, conquered, in such-and-such a manner was the theme. See also Śat. Br. 13, 4, 3, 4 (with the commentary)[46]; Śāṅkh. Śr. Sū. 16, 1, 25: " the adhvaryu directs the lute-players to sing of the sacrificer together with the righteous kings of yore "; Jaim. Br. 2, 404. The sound of the lute was, indeed, auspicious (Āp. Śr. Sū. 21, 18, 8; cf. also ṚV. 2, 43, 3). The lute is also one of the instruments to be played on in honour of a king: See *e.g.* Ath. V. Par. 21, 6, 7 *śaṅkhatūryaninādais tu vīṇādundubhisasmitaiḥ/pujyamāno hi nṛpatiḥ praviśet sapurohitaḥ.* When a man attains to distinction (Śriyaṃ gacchati), Śat. Br. (13, 1, 5, 1) tells us, the lute is played for him, for the lute is a form or manifestation of distinction (*śriyai vā etad rūpam, yad vīṇā*); it is distinction they thus confer upon him (*sriyam evāsmi tad dhattaḥ*). " Those who sing on the vīṇā ", the Chānd. Up. (1, 7, 6) states, " sing of him who is the lord of the worlds; therefore they are winners of wealth (*dhanasavayaḥ*)". It may also be remembered that lute-players are ordered to sing of Soma, who is expressed called a king; this prescription occurs during the rites of the Rājasūya as well as the gṛhya ceremony of the Sīmantonnayana. In connection with the latter rite it is clear that Soma is invoked as the impregnator or the life-giving power manifesting itself in the cyclical processes of fertility.[47] The conclusion seems therefore to be warranted that this evaluation of the lute and of the music produced by it accounts for the association of the lute and mahas in Vāj. Saṃh. 30, 19: the lute is a means of generating or renewing mahas " greatness, majesty, distinction ".

Curiously enough Mahas recurs in Vāj. Saṃh. 30, 20 among the powers which are to receive a victim, and now it is even honoured by three men, *viz.* a headman of a village, an astrologer and a reviler [48] (*grāmaṇyaṃ gaṇakam abhi-*

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[46] See also A. Minard, Trois énigmes sur les cent chemins, II, Paris 1956, p. 86.

[47] See also The sīmantonnayana as described in the gṛhyasūtras, East and West, 7 (1956), p. 12 ff.; for the other occurrence: J. C. Heesterman, The ancient Indian royal consecration, Thesis Utrecht 1957. p. 75 ff.

[48] Here Mahīdhara's explication (*nindakam*) must be decidedly preferred to Griffith's translation " watchman " (R. T. H. Griffith, o.c., p. 307) or Roth's

krośakam)[49]. It may tentatively be supposed that these three functionaries are mentioned together because they belong to the attendants of kingship and nobility, that is to say, because they are a manifestation of 'majesty' or 'distinction': for the grāmaṇī compare *e.g.* Pañc. Br. 19, 1, 4 where he is mentioned as one of the eight persons of importance who sustain the royal dignity[50]; AV. 3, 5, 7; VS. 15, 15 (see also TS. 2, 5, 4, 4; Jaim. Br. 271 ff.); being often associated with the senānī or "leader of the army" he presumably was one of the important personages in a Vedic 'state' [51], and in a way the representative of the 'third order'. The "reviler" may have played a rôle analogous to that of the vidūṣaka in later times: cursing and scoffing being often, from a ritualistic point of view cathartic, vilifying, mocking, ridiculing being a well-known means of averting evil powers and their envious attempts [52].

There is on the strength of the above argument no reason to translate *mahas* by "joy" in other formulas occurring in the brāhmaṇas: TB. 2, 4, 5, 7; ŚŚ. 3, 18, 14 *yayor ānando nihito mahaś ca.* As this verse is used during the performance of the Śunasīrya which in all probability was an agricultural rite for promoting the success of ploughing, addressed to Śuna and Sirā, two parts of the ploughs and their deities[53], a translation "enjoyment (happiness) and greatness (eminence, abundance"[54] might do duty here. Other verses accompanying this rite are to obtain children and prosperity.

As stated on another page of this article the existence of an intimate connection between "joy" and "greatness" can however not be denied. The sensation of superiority may easily blend into a feeling of joy and satisfaction. It is therefore somewhat doubtful whether Whitney-Lanman[55] are right in translating AV. 14, 2, 43 *hasāmudau mahasā modamānau* by "mightily enjoying yourselves, merry": "laughing merrily, being glad (happy) by the conscious-

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"crier, herald" (Petr. Dict. I, 330). For the sense of *abhi-kruś*—see *e.g.* AV. 5, 21, 9; TS. 2, 5, 1, 2.

[49] For a similar, but different list see Taitt. Br. 3, 4, 1 (cf. especially 3, 4, 1, 15).

[50] See also the present author's publication on Ancient Indian Kingship from the religious point of view, Numen 3 (Leiden 1956), esp. p. 123 ff. (for the *grāmaṇī*, p. 126, n. 280).

[51] Cf. also A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, Vedic Index of names and subjects, I, London 1912, p. 247.

[52] See Acta Orientalia 19 (Leiden 1943), p. 395 ff.

[53] See *e.g.* A. A. Macdonell, Vedic mythology, Strassburg 1897, p. 155.

[54] Caland, Śāṅkhāyana-śrautasūtra, edited by Lokesh Chandra, Nagpur 1953, p. 70 "joy and glory".

[55] W. D. Whitney-Ch. R. Lanman, Atharvaveda Saṃhitā, Harvard 1905, p. 762.

ness of their greatness", this 'greatness' consisting in the prosperity of the married couple which is described as being possessed of kine, sons, and a house.

It is worth while to review also the other 'power-substances' which are, in the Vedic texts, intimately associated with the term under consideration. In ṚV. 7, 58, 2 *mahaḥ* and *ojaḥ* are closely connected. ChU. 3, 13, in enumerating several pairs of power-substances combines *śrīś ca yaśaś ca* "pre-eminence and renown"; *kīrtiś ca vyuṣṭiś ca* "celebrity and beauty", *ojaś ca mahaś ca*. AV. 10, 6, 4 an amulet is expected to bestow upon its owner *śraddhaṃ yajñaṃ mahaḥ* "faith, sacrifice, greatness", 9, 5, 24 the goat which is exalted in this text, *gives iṣaṃ maha ūrjam* "refreshment, greatness, vigour"; in AV. 11, 7, 22 it occurs together with *rāddhiḥ* "success"; *prāptiḥ* "attainment", *samāptiḥ* "complete obtainment", *edhatuḥ* "prosperity", *bhūtiḥ* "growth, thriving" etc. etc.; 4, 25, 5 together with *ayakṣmatātiḥ*—"freedom from the state of morbidity indicated by the term *yakṣma*[56], and also with wealth, a well-nourished condition, dexterity, freedom from distress. It sometimes combines with the rhyming *sahaḥ*[57] "overwhelming power": AV. 13, 4, 50 (extolling the sun) *ambho amo mahaḥ sahaḥ*. The author of Śāṅkh. Ār. 7, 1 who intends to proclaim the true and the right, which, he hopes, may avail him, expresses the wish that in him will be "radiance, illumination" (*bharga*) and "greatness" (*mahas*).

At the close of each pressing, Śat. Br. 12, 3, 4, 6 prescribes, one should mutter the formula: *mayi bhargo, mayi maho, mayi yaśo, mayi sarvam*, the explication of which is given in 7 *bhargas* "light" is the terrestrial world, *mahas* the intermediate space between heaven and earth, *yaśas* "glory" the heavens, and what other worlds there are they are everything else. For (8) *bhargas* is Agni, *mahas* is Vāyu, *yaśas* the sun. Other identifications follow: *bhargas* is the Ṛgveda and speech, *mahas* the Yajurveda and breath, *yaśas* the Sāmaveda and the visual faculty. A similar passage occurs Gop. Br. 1, 15, 5 where other identifications are added. That *bhargas* and *mahas* are related 'concepts' may also appear from Āp. Śr. S. 21, 22, 6 *mahas te bhakṣayāmi, bhargaṃ te bhakṣayāmi...*, one formula used in performing the Gavāmayana. Instead of *mahas* Mān. Śr. S. 7, 2, 7 even reads *bhargas*. In ŚB. 12, 3, 4, 6 the following formula is prescribed at the end of each soma pressing: *mayi bhargo mayi maho mayi yaśo mayi sarvam iti* "in me be light, in me greatness, in me renown, in me everything".

In describing the ceremonial reception of a guest[58], Gobhila, G. S. 4, 10,

[56] For which see J. Filliozat, La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne, Paris 1949, p. 40ff.; 83ff.

[57] For rhyming pairs of terms see Stylistic repetition in the Veda, Amsterdam 1958, ch.

[58] See A. Hillebrandt, Ritualliteratur, Strassburg 1897, p. 79f.; A. B. Keith, Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, Harvard 1925, p. 363.

14 ff. states that the madhuparka (a mixture of honey, curds and ghee) must be taken hold of with the formula *yaśaso yaśo 'si* and drunk with *yaśaso bhakṣo 'si, mahaso bhakṣo 'si, ṣrībhakṣo 'si, śriyaṃ mayi dhehi,* which may be translated as follows: " thou art the drink of renown, thou art the drink of greatness (or exaltation in the literal sense of the word), thou art the drink of prosperity; bestow prosperity upon me! ".

Ait. Ār. 1, 4, 3 *yaśaḥ mahaḥ, mithunam, annādyam, apacitiḥ* are five very desirable ends which man seeks to gain in this life, *mahaḥ* being interpreted by Sāyaṇa as *vedaśāstraprayuktā pūjā* (or *tejaḥ*) and being opposed to *apacitiḥ* as *dhanadhānyādisamṛddharūpā pūjā.* It is small wonder that the concept of *mahas* also combines with that of growth: AV. 10, 6, 24 *mahasā bhūtyā saha,* these two obviously forming a pair like (23) food and progeny, (25) honey and sweet drink, (26) property and prosperity, (27) honour and fame.

Another interesting set of formulas occurs in the Taitt. Br. (2, 4, 5, 7) and the Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 3, 18, 14; it is to be recited at the four-monthly sacrifice, the śunāsīrya: *indraś ca naḥ śunāsīrau/imaṃ yajñaṃ mimikṣatam/garbhaṃ dhattaṃ svastaye/yayor idaṃ viśvaṃ bhuvanam ā viveśa/yayor ānando nihito mahaś ca/śunāsīrau ṛtubhiḥ saṃvidānau/indravantau havir idaṃ juṣethām* "prepare ye both, O Śuna and Sīra, with Indra, this sacrifice; bestow offspring upon us, for well-being, O Ś. and S., into whom this universe has entered, into whom 'bliss' is deposited and *mahas*; being together with the Seasons, do ye together with Indra delight in this offering ". Again the combination of *mahas* and *ānanda—*, It may be recalled to memory that *ānanda—* occurs in the Ṛgveda only 9, 113, 6 and 11. Being a request to Soma to impart 'immortality', *i.e.* continuance of life, in heaven (st. 8), to bring the prayer to that world where there is unextinguishable light, that is immortal and imperishable (st. 7), where reside 'bliss', delight and gladness, where every wish is fulfilled (*yatrānandaś ca modāś ca mudaḥ pramuda āsate...*), it contains (st. 6) the statement that *ānanda—* is produced by means of soma. Bliss—for this word may serve as an equivalent of *ānanda—* is, as the ultimate endowment with power, often sought in heaven. It resides with a man who is perfectly happy and possesses all things he has wished for. Bār. Up. 4, 3, 33 *sa yo manuṣyāṇāṃ rāddhaḥ samṛddho bhavati..., sa manuṣyāṇām parama ānandaḥ.* In Bār. Up. 4, 3, 9 *ānanda-* is the opposite of *pāpman-* " evil " (the evil of this world); it is a state of being accomplished (*sādhu-*, see Taitt. Up. 2, 8), and already in Bār. Up. 3, 9, 28 it is identified with *brahman-*. The gods are *ānandātmānaḥ* (" whose essence is bliss ", Śat. Br. 10, 3, 5, 13) and sexual pleasures are like a son also *ānanda-* (Bār. Up. 2, 4, 4; 4, 1, 6).

For the above identification of *mahas* and *brahma* we may also turn to Taitt. Ār. 10, 63, 1 where in a series of formulas prescribed to praise brahma in

order to obviate accidents it reads *brahmaṇe tvā mahase*, that is, according to the commentary: *uktaprakāram sarvakartāram antarvāmiṇaṃ tvāṃ mahase brahmaṇe caitanyajyotisvarūpabrahmatattvābhivyaktyarthaṃ bhajāmīti seṣaḥ.*

A state of greatness, of superiority to the confinement and limitations of ordinary life is also meant in an important passage in the Taitt. Br. (1, 5, 5, 6) which is quoted in the Āpast. Śr. S. (8, 21, 1): *ekaṃ māsam udasṛjat parameṣṭhı prajābhyaḥ*; *tenābhyo maha āvahat, amṛtaṃ martyābhyaḥp rajām anuprajāyase, tad u te martyāmṛtam* "the highest Lord granted the creatures one month. By this he brought them *mahas*, *viz.* 'immortality' (freedom from premature death) to the mortal; in thy offspring thou art born again, that is, O immortal one, thine immortality". The signification of these words in this particular part of Āpastamba's ritual handbook need not detain us here [59]; so much is clear that here the gift of 'immortality', of victory over the limitations of this life, is called *mahas*.

In connection with the Mahiman ("greatness") cups of soma offered at the Aśvamedha, the Śat. Br. (13, 2, 11, 1) says that Prajāpati became, by it, "great and larger or more prosperous" (*mahān bhūyān*). Hence this rite is a means of becoming great and more thriving or prosperous[60]. In mentioning the signification of the mahima-mantras the author of Taitt. Br. 3, 8, 18, 5 observes: *suvargo vai loko mahaḥ suvargam eva tābhyāṃ lokaṃ yajamāno 'varunddhe* "mahas- is the celestial world, by these the institutor of the sacrifice obtains access to heaven".

To the ṛṣi Devabhāga who knew the Sāvitra Agni, and for that reason was omniscient and a conqueror of the celestial world, that very form of sacrificial fire, appearing as an invisible voice said: "I am the highest world of the gods (*i.e.* according to the commentary: all gods dwell in me), bearing a secret greatness' (*guhyaṃ mahaḥ*)" (Taitt. Br. 3, 10, 9, 12). Again the association of *mahas* and a state of 'greatness' superior to normal human conditions.

Part of the verses of Ath. V. 13, 1—which are to praise Rohita, the Ruddy one, *i.e.* the Sun—recur in Taitt. Br. 2, 5, 2, 1 ff., and elsewhere [61]; the former version, being inferior to the latter, seems to be the result of adaptation. In-

[59] See Caland, Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba, II, Amsterdam 1924, p. 63, whose translation "(something) great" does not seem to be wholly adequate.

[60] Eggeling's translation (The Sat.-Brahm. translated, V, Sacred Books of the East, 44, Oxford 1900, p. 327) "more numerous" should be rejected.

[61] For particulars see Whitney-Lanman, Atharvaveda-saṃhitā, Harvard 1905. p. 709ff. For the interpretation of these stanzas see also M. Bloomfield, American Journal of Philology 12, p. 429 ff.; the same, The Atharva-veda and Gopatha-brāhmaṇa, p. 55; 87.

T. B. par. 2 it reads: *yās te viśas tapasā sambabhūvuḥ/gāyatraṃ vatsam anu tās ta āguḥ/tās tvāviśantu mahasā svena/sammātā putro abhyetu rohitaḥ* " those ' clans ' of thine that came into being together with tapas... let them enter into thee with their own *mahas*..." ; the latter ' entity ' like *tapas* obviously is a ' constituent ' of the sun.

A relation between *mahas* and the celestial regions is also assumed to exist by the author of Taitt. Br. 3, 8, 18, 2 : by worshipping the waters, *i.e.* this world, one secures this world and fire which is its light (par. 1) ; by worshipping the clouds, *i.e.* the atmosphere, one secures the atmosphere and wind which is its light (*jyotiḥ*); by worshipping the *mahāṃsi*, *i. e.* yonder world (of heaven) one secures yonder world and its light, *i.e.* the sun[62]. Another place of interest is found in Taitt. Br. 3, 12, 3, 4 *tena pavitreṇa śuddhena pūtāḥ/ati pāpmāṇam arātiṃ tarema/lokasya dvāram arcimat pavitram/jyotiṣmad bhrājamānaṃ mahasvat/amṛtasya dhārā bahudhā dohamānam/caraṇaṃ no loke sudhitāṃ dadhātu.*

In a collection of mantras TB. 2, 4, 1, 8 (cf. ṚV. 10, 137, 2 ; 186, 1 ; 3 ; AV. 4, 13, 2) *mahas* is associated with medicine expected to cure weakness of physical infirmity (*rapaḥ*[63]) : *dvāv imau vātau vātaḥ/ā sindhor ā parāvataḥ/dakṣaṃ me anya āvātu/parānyo' vātu yad rapaḥ/yad ado vāta te gṛhe* (ṚV. 10, 186, 3)/*amṛtasya nidhir hitaḥ/tato no dehi jīvase/tato no dhehi bheṣajaṃ/tato no maha āvaha/vāta ā vātu bheṣajaṃ* (ṚV. 10, 186, 1) / *śaṃbhūr mayo 'bhūr no hṛde* " these two winds blow from the river as far as a distance; let the one blow ability for me ; let the other blow away physical weakness. What there, O wind, in thy house is kept as a treasure of ' immortality ', give us from that in order to live : give us from that as a medicine, bring us from there *mahas*. The wind must blow towards us medicine, beneficent and the cause of refreshment for our heart ". According to the ancient commentators, *e.g.* Sāyaṇa on Taitt. Ār. 4, 42, 2 *mahas* is, here also, synonymous with *tejas*.

In Taitt. Up. 1, 5 *mahas* appearing as a fourth mystic utterance (*vyāhṛti-*), added to the well-known three *bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ* is identified with *brahman* and *ātman*. When *bhūḥ* is the world, *bhuvaḥ* the atmosphere etc., *mahaḥ* is the sun : all worlds are indeed, the text adds, great (*mahīyante*) through the sun ; when *bhūḥ* is fire etc., *mahaḥ* is the moon ; when the other *vyāhṛtis* are the Vedic mantras, *mahaḥ* is *brahma* when they are the different vital breaths, *mahaḥ* is food ; " verily, all lights are great through the moon, all the Vedas through brahma, all vital breaths through food ". The meaning clearly is that the Vedas derive their importance and sublimity from the inherent brahman, that the im-

62 The plural *mahāṃsi* is according to the commentary conditioned by the mantras where the plural is used.

63 See S. Rodhe, Deliver us from evil, Lund-Copenhagen 1946, p. 73. For the text see also W. D. Whitney-C. R. Lanman, o.c., p. 168f.

portance of the vital breaths depends on food, that the divisions of the universe would be devoid of majesty without the sun, the celestial luminaries without the moon.

The possession of *mahas* enables divine beings to achieve deeds of extraordinary importance. Thus ṚV. 5, 62, 3 Mitra and Varuṇa are related to have established heaven and earth by their 'greatness' or rather, as the term is in the plural, by acts or manifestations of their 'greatness' (a translation which would seem to be less unsatisfactory than Geldners 'Herrlichkeit'; *tejobhiḥ svasāmasthyaiḥ*, Sāyaṇa); 7, 88, 4 Varuṇa, called a skilled artisan, is said to have made, in the same way, Vasiṣṭha an ṛṣi: *ṛṣiṃ cakāra svapā mahobhiḥ.* Owing to this *mahas* or, through his acts of 'greatness', Agni succeeds in surviving at night: 2, 10, 3 *śiriṇāyāṃ cid aktunā mahobhir/aparīvṛto vasati pracetāḥ.* In 7, 3, 7 the same deity is implored to protect those speaking with his "boundless greatness" *(amitair mahobhiḥ)*, the plural denoting, here and elsewhere, the manifestations of the greatness (*tejobhiḥ*, Sāyaṇa); similarly, 8, 71, 1 *tvaṃ no agne mahobhiḥ/pāhi visvasyā arāteḥ/uta dviṣo martyasya.* The sun which is the source of light is "great": ṚV. 2, 23, 2. Compare also 6, 72, 1 "O Indra and Soma, this is your great greatness or majesty *(mahi...mahitvam)*: ye have accomplished the first great deeds *(mahāni)*: ye have found the sun, the celestial light; ye have dissipated all darkness..." A great god is expected to be a great patron and supporter, and the protector of his worshippers: 6, 29, 1 *maho yantaḥ sumataye cakānāḥ/maho hi dātā vajrahasto asti/mahām u raṇvam avase yajadhvam;* 10, 64, 9 *maho mahīr avasā yantu vakṣaṇīḥ* (subject: the river goddesses); 1, 48, 14; 16; 10, 61, 27. Hence also the repeated statement that it is the poet's intention to praise or declare the exploits and achievements of the god: 2, 11, 6; 15, 1; cf. 3, 34, 6 *maho mahāni panayanty asya* which does not in my opinion mean "they value the great (deed) of this great (god) highly" (Geldner), but rather: "they praise the..." *i.e.* they enhance the energetic power which is inherent in these deeds, they resuscitate, by commemorating these deeds, this energy[64]. So potent is the word of the poet that it is believed to win and attract a god's great (mythical) habitual activities, *i.e.* the power inherent in his special exploits: 7, 6, 2 *...gīrbhir ā vivāse/'gner vratāni pūrvyā mahāni*[65]. These great exploits of the god should be declared and commemorated during the soma sacrifices: 4, 22, 5 *tā tū ta indra mahato mahāni/viśveṣv it savaneṣu pravācyā.*

It is therefore not surprising that the god Indra is 6, 32, 1 called a great hero (or: great, a hero), energetic and powerful; that 7, 24, 5 he is *mah-* and

[64] For the sense of *pan-* see my relative paper in Oriens, 2, p. 195ff.

[65] For a somewhat different interpretation of *vratāni* see H. P. Schmidt, Vedisch *vratá* und Awestisch *ur āta*, Hamburg 1958, p. 83f.

ugra- "energetically and impressively powerful"; that Agni in 1, 127, 10 is described as "great and superior in overwhelming power" (*sahasā sahasvat-*). AV. 5, 12, 1 addresses Agni Jātavedas, who is invited to bring the gods near, *mitramahas-* "of friendly greatness". In a curious text, AV. 6, 80, accompanying an oblation (*havis*) which is said to contain the majesty (*mahas*) of the heavenly dog"—and it is no doubt the sun which is conceived as one of the two heavenly dogs[66]—this animal is described as flying through the atmosphere. That the idea expressed by the term may, at least in part of the relevant passages, has been an inherent power to grow and to become great, is evident from AV. 6, 142, 1, which, being a charm for the increase of barley, begins as follows: *uc chrayasva bahur bhava/svena mahasā yava* "rise up, become abundant, with thine own 'greatness', O barley."

That the connections between *mahaḥ* and *mahān* were present to the mind of the later authors may appear from the speculative argument developed in Taitt. Up. 3, 10, 3 "yaśas is in cattle, light in the stars, procreation, 'immortality' and happiness in the generative organ, the all in space—let one contemplate that as a firm foundation *pratiṣṭhā*[67], then one becomes possessed of a firm foundation; let one contemplate that as greatness (*mahaḥ*), then one becomes great (*mahān*), let one contemplate that as thought (*manaḥ*), then one comes to enjoy honour..."[68].

Passing mention must be made here of the post-Vedic noun *maha-* "(religious) feast, festival": Mbh. 1, 63, 23 ff. (Indra is speaking) *ye pūjayiṣyanti narā-rājānāś ca maham nāma/ kārayiṣyanti ca mudā yathā cedipatir nṛpaḥ/ teṣāṃ śrīr vijayaś caiva sarāṣṭrāṇaṃ bhaviṣyati/ tathā sphīto janapado muditaś ca bhaviṣyati*...This place is of some interest because of the close association of joy or delight (*mud-*) and *maha—* which while reminding us of Taitt. Br. 2, 5, 1, 3 *śrotreṇa modaś ca mahaś ca śrūyate*, is quite natural, the more so as gladness and merry-making were essential in the proper celebration of religious feasts. Joy averts the evil powers and exerts an auspicious influence on the powers of life in nature. Innumerable are the descriptions of religious festivals at which men and women give themselves up to all kinds of gaiety and enjoyment[69]. Cf. *e.g.*

[66] See M. Bloomfield, The Atharvaveda and the Gopathabrāhmaṇa, p. 60; 93.

[67] For *pratiṣṭhā* see the present author's article in Saṃjñāvyākaraṇam, Studia Indologica Internationalia, I, Poona-Paris, 1954.

[68] Not: "possessed of mindfulness" (R.E. Hume, The thirteen principal Upanishads[2], Oxford 1934, p. 292, and others). The term *manaḥ* includes "opinion".

[69] See *e.g.* J. J. Meyer, Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation, Zürich-Leipzig 1937, II, p. 202 f.; 262 and elsewhere.

Mbh. 14, 59, 4 ff.; Hariv, 2, a. 17. The joyous festival the foundation of which is related in the above passage is the famous Indramaha (st. 29) or feast of Indra's banner; it essentially is a fertility festival, closely akin to the May-tree festivals in European countries, and as such it was to strengthen and renew the powers for good in nature. See also Hariv. 2, 15, 19 *yasmāt prāvṛd iyaṃ kṛṣṇa śakrasya bhuvi bhāvinī/tasmāt prāvṛṣi rājānaḥ sarve śakraṃ mudā yutāḥ/mahaiḥ sureśam arcanti vayam anye ca mānavāḥ.* That the god rejoices in his festival (Varāḥ. BS. 43, 9 *prīto mahane maghavān*) hardly needs saying: it adds to his greatness. It is not surprising to read that according to lexicographers this word may also mean "sacrifice."

In Pāli, *maha-*, masc. and neuter, and representing the older *maha-* as well as *mahas-* means "venerableness, worthiness" and "a (religious) festival 'in honour' of mighty beings and as an act of worship"; thus, a *vihāramaha-* was a "festival held, for success, on the building of a monastery".

"Powerful, mighty, great" are also the implications of the adjective *mahin-* in the ṚV.: 7, 31, 11 (Indra for whom a song of praise is produced); 6, 52, 15 (of the gods who are *ahimāyāḥ*); 5, 84, 1 (the earth bears the mountains and refreshes the soil by her 'greatness': *mahnā*); 1, 160, 2 (heaven and earth protect the creatures); 5 (heaven and earth which being praised may bestow honour and dominion upon those speaking); 10, 115, 6 (Agni who is also called *vājintamāya* and *sahyase*): the very contexts in which the adjective occurs help us in ascertaining the connotation of this adjective.

The Vedic noun *mahan-* "greatness, superiority" does not give occasion for special remarks: it occurs in connection with wealth (ṚV. 5, 33, 10); with manly courage or valour (2, 12, 1); with a eulogy which will surpass all other songs of praise in greatness (2, 28, 1); with Indra's mighty exploits (3, 34, 7; 8, 3, 6) or in connection with the great deeds of other gods (*e.g.* 5, 73, 3; 84, 1; 7, 12, 2).

The grammatical interpretation of *mahás*— has in part of its occurrences, been subject to controversy[70], and it does not seem prudent always to subscribe to the views expressed by Geldner in his complete Ṛgveda translation. In 8, 46, 17 *maháḥ sú vo áram iṣe stavāmahe* the word may be an adverb belonging to *stavāmahe* "we praise thee greatly": compare the use of the adjective in connection with eulogies. See also—with ellipsis of the verb—8, 70, 8; and 1, 153, 1; 10, 37, 1[71]; 93, 3. Elsewhere *mahás-* seems to be a complement to the verb.

[70] See Oldenberg, Zeitschrift d. deutschen morgenl. Ges. 55 (1901), p. 270 f.; Geldner, o.c., I², p. 316. Renou, Grammaire de la langue védique, p. 325; 337; the same, Etudes védiques et paṇinéennes, IV, Paris 1958, p. 127 f.

[71] See Geldner's note, o.c., III, p. 189.

The phrases *mahás karoti* and *mahás dadhāti* may be compared to the combinations of *puráḥ* "in front" with the same verbs, with *tiráḥ* "aside" in *tiro bhavati* "to disappear" etc.: 8, 36, 6[72] *stoman...máhas kṛdhi: pūjitaṃ kuru* Sāyaṇa, cf. *máhas* in the sense of "honour"; 9, 97, 27; cf. 2, 32, 1. In 6, 44, 8 *mahás-* is an adjective: here Soma is said "to have acquired a great name by words", which must mean that the god's name has been magnified by potent words of praise (*stutibhiḥ*, Sāyaṇa).

Roth[73] doubted the correctness of the reading *mahmáni* in AV. 10, 2, 6. In stanza 12 of the same hymn which enlarges upon the wonderful structure of man the same noun recurs: *ko asmin rūpaṃ adhāt ko mahmānam ca nāma ca*: this must mean "who furnished him with form, who with dimension and name?" As name and form are the two aspects of the universal Being and "the dismemberment of its twin-and-one cosmic manifestation"[74] *mahman-* must suit the same line of thought. That is of course not to say that it is, here, completely synonymous with our "dimension". The expression *vijavasya ṃahmani* may, with Whitney-Lanman, be translated: "in the might (*i.e.* greatness) of whose conquest".

With regard to *mahiman*—Grassmann, the authors of the Petrograd Dictionary and others already observed that it expresses, inter alia, the meaning: "mighty character, majesty, powerfulness, energy". Cf. *e.g.* ṚV. 7, 28, 2; 8, 65, 4 (Indra); 1, 167, 7; 5, 87, 6 (Maruts); 7, 45, 2 (Savitṛ); 7, 75, 1 (Uṣas). That it is a power-substance which was believed to lead—to a certain extent—an autonomous existence may appear *e.g.* from ṚV. 1, 129, 10. It is the object of strengthening praise: 8, 3, 8; 46, 3; 101, 11; cf. also 8, 59, 5 etc. celebrated by sacrifices: 7, 2, 2 *narāśaṃsasya mahimānam eṣām/upa stoṣāma yajatasya yajñaiḥ.* In 10, 113, 2 Viṣṇu is stated to have strengthened Indra's greatness with creative energy (*ojas*) by preparing the soma draught for him: in st. 3 the Maruts enhanced his *mahimānam indriyam* "the majesty which is characteristic of Indra"; in 10, 65, 2 the greatness of Indra and Agni is stimulated or generated by Soma. In 7, 86, 1 Varuṇa's *mahiman*— is stated to be the cause of the 'wisdom' of the creatures.

Proceeding now to discuss some other related words mention may be made first of ṚV. 8, 70, 8 *taṃ vo maho mahāyyam/indraṃ dānāya...*, where *maháḥ* is an adverb[75] and *mahāyyam* in all probability means "who is to be celebrated (to be made great by praise)" rather than "to be mused"[76]. The substantive

[72] See also Renou, Etudes, IV, p. 84.

[73] R. Roth, Petr. Dict., V, 679.

[74] See M. Falk, Nāma-rūpa and dharma-rūpa, Calcutta 1943, p. 4 etc.

[75] See H. Oldenberg, o.c., p. 270 f.

[76] Thus Wackernagel-Debrunner, Altindische Grammatik, II, 2, Göttingen

mahayāyya— ṚV. 10, 122, 7 *tvām devā mahayāyyāya vāvṛdhuḥ* must belong to a verbal stem in *-aya-*: "the gods made thee (O Agni) increase in order to be 'great'". The 'gerundive' *mahayya-*[77] and the participle *mahayan* occur in the same passage ChU. 8, 8, 4.

The rare substantive *mahīyā* in TS. 7, 5, 10, 1 to show the intimate connection between dancing[78] and singing as activities of a religious character and 'greatness' ("might", Keith): slave girls dance round the Mārjālīya fire with water-pots on their heads, beating the ground with their feet, and singing "this is honey"; by doing so they win honey, that is the best food and they endow the sacrificers with *mahīyā* : "joy, merriment" (Petr. Dict.) does not seem to be correct. Dancing and singing are indeed service of the gods, generating power and exercising, by the rhythm of movement, a compelling force. To the ancients and many communities in later times it was not only sport and pleasure, but also work and cult. In ṚV. 1, 113, 6 the term occurs beside *kṣatra*—and *śravas* as an object of human efforts: the general meaning of the root under discussion hardly allows us to ascribe to it the special sense of "material greatness, enrichment, and popularity"[79]. In Jaim. Up. B. 1, 29, 8 *mahīyā* is used to explain the signification of *tuviṣmān* "energetically powerful" in ṚV. 1, 12, 12; in 1, 46, 2 it belongs to the sixteen 'parts' into which Prajāpati divided himself; the explication furnished in 1, 48, 5 is rather obscure: *mahīyā*—translated "exaltation" by Oertel[80]—is Prajāpati's flesh, "because it is with, or by, flesh that people become 'exalted' (*mahīyate*)".

We are now in a position to consider the sense of the etymologically related Vedic verbs. The eight different meanings of *mah-*, *máhati* etc. given by Grassmann[81] resolve themselves into one: "to make (or to be) great(er)" which, in the religious and ritual sphere comes to: "to fortify, to strengthen, to a being's greatness or majesty—*i.e.* superiority to common conditions" maintain. The verb—which in the ātmanepadam may mean: "to become or be great": 8, 12, 6—admits, generally speaking, of a double construction: either the name

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1954, p. 285. For the grammatical form see also W. D. Whitney, A Sanskrit Grammar, par. 966 c.

[77] See Renou, Bull. de la Soc. de Ling. 38, p. 85, n. 1.

[78] For dancing see Van der Leeuw, Religion, p. 375 f.; F. Boas, Primitive Art, New York 1955, p. 299 ff.

[79] Thus Renou, o.c., III, p. 47.

[80] H. Oertel, Journal Amer. Or. Soc. 16 (1894), p. 125.

[81] H. Grassmann, Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda (1872), 1011 f. These eight meanings are: "to be happy, glad; to make glorious, beautiful; to glorify; to make happy, glad; to give, present; (med.) to show oneself great; to rejoice (in); to put somebody in possession of".

of the god whose greatness is to be maintained[82] is in the accusative, or an object which is to be presented to the god. In translation the choice of the most suitable English equivalent may of course depend on the context.

Not infrequently the poet or the recitation of the text is the subject of the verb, the deity the object; here the translation must be "to extol, to glorify, magnify": 1, 52, 1 *tyaṃ su meṣam* (= *indram*) *mahaya*; 7, 23, 1 *ud u brahmāṇy airata śravasyā/indraṃ samarye mahayā vasiṣṭha* "the manifestations of brahman (*i.e.* the eulogies) have started rapidly; glorify, O V., I. (in competition) at the concourse"; 7, 96, 1 *sarasvatīm in mahayā suvṛktibhiḥ/stomair vasiṣṭha rodasī;* 5, 31, 4 *brahmāṇa indram mahayanto arkair/avardhayann ahaye hantavā u* "the brahmans glorified I. with songs of praise; they strengthened him in order to kill the snake"; 3, 3, 3 (*pūjayanti*, Sāyaṇa) 8, 3, 16. An instructive passage is also 1, 54, 2 *arcā śakrāya śākine śacīvate/śṛṇvantam indram mahayann abhi ṣṭuhi* where the three epithets are no doubt also to transfer the idea of power and ability to the god and *mahayati* is followed by *abhi-ṣṭu-* "to praise, extol". The medio-passive occurs in the same sense: 6, 15, 2 *sa tvaṃ agni.../praśastibhir mahayase dive dive.* Cf. also 7, 32, 19.

Interestingly enough a god is not only "made greater" by means of eulogies, but also by his own "functions", a term which, in this connection, may serve to translate *dhāmāni*[83], that is to say by attributing these functions (his qualities proper to his various aspects) to him by means of the potent words and formulas of the poets and eulogists: 3, 37, 4 *puruṣṭutasya dhāmabhiḥ śatena mahayāmasi indrasya carṣaṇīdhṛtaḥ* "with the hundred functions of the much-praised I., the supporter of the peoples, we magnify (him)".

In 4, 17, 18 the sacrifice is the means by which to magnify (*i.e.* to increase and exalt) the deity: *vayaṃ hy ā te cakṛmā sabādha/ābhiḥ śamībhir mahayanta indra*; *mahayantaḥ : pūjayantaḥ*, Sāyaṇa.

I would therefore hardly hesitate to render ṚV. 7, 2, 3 ... *agnim...samiddhaṃ/sam adhvarāya sadam in mahema* where the verb has been variously translated ("to incite, animate", Grass-mann; "to consecrate", Geldner) as follows: "may we always completely strengthen or fortify Agni who has been kindled". Sāyaṇa resorts, again, to *saṃpūjayati.* Cf. also 1, 165, 13. In 3, 3, 11 Agni is said to have made his parents, heaven and earth, great when he was born: *ubhā pitarā mahayann ajāyatāgnir dyāvapṛthivī...*(*pūjayan*, Sāyaṇa and Mādhava); that is to say: he added to their greatness or majesty. From 2, 17, 7 it appears that a human being may also be the object of this verb: here

[82] Instead of a divine being a useful object (implement) etc. may be the object of the verb.

[83] See also L. Renou, Etudes védiques et paṇinéennes, IV, Paris 1958, p. 16; K. F. Geldner, Der Rig-veda übersetzt, I², Harvard 1951, p. 378.

Indra is requested to give the person speaking a share with which he will 'make' him 'greater', *i.e.* strengthen him (*pūjayasi*, Sāyaṇa). An interesting place is 1, 178, 1 where the fulfilment of a wish granted by the god is stated to make those speaking great : that is to say it makes them increase in power, honour etc.

In ṚV. 10, 65, 3 and 4 the gods are praised as the patrons of men ; being liberal they are expected to grant donations and to perform the action indicated by the verb under discussion : *rāsantām mahaye* and *mahayantaḥ surātayo devā stavante.* Sāyaṇa takes these words to express the idea of giving in order to honour (the worshippers) among men (*janeṣu madhye pūjārthaṃ dhanaṃ rāsantām*) and honouring the praisers with objects of value etc. Geldner, however, preferred to interpret them as meaning " to put new heart into..., to inspire new courage ". Why should we limit the implied object of the verb to courage? Why not assume the above meaning of " making greater in power, strength, honour in general " ? Geldner is however right in comparing Śat. Br. 2, 5, 3, 20 *maruta indram abhitaḥ paricikrīḍur mahayantaḥ.*

Other places of interest are : Śat. Br. 1, 1, 3, 7 " having taken the lustral water in his left hand, he eulogizes and glorifies it (thus Eggeling : *upastauty evainā etan mahayaty eva*) with the text : " divine waters....etc." ; 1, 5, 2, 3 " he praises and magnifies it (the spoon) when he recites the formula : 'devoted to the gods, possessed of all boons " (*upastauty evainām etan mahayaty eva yad āha devayuvaṃ viśvavārām iti*). By attributing to a being, object, or entity the qualities by which it is characterized one helps to keep up its power. A very instructive place is Śat. Br. 13, 6, 2, 12 *ittham asīttham asīty upastauty avainam etan mahayaty eva* " in thus saying : 'so and so thou art, so and so thou art', he praises and thereby indeed magnifies him " : confirmation is praise and praising is 'making great' or strengthening. The same combination *upastauti* and *mahayati* recurs 1, 7, 1, 11 ; 14 ; 3, 5, 4, 8 ; 14, 1, 2, 15. Compare for a similar statement about the function of praise in which the same verbs are used also 1, 1, 3, 7. Enumerating the virtues of a being means exalting, glorifying it, " making it greater " : this conclusion may also be drawn from 3, 3, 3, 4 where the priest who is to buy the soma in exchange for a cow enumerates the virtues of the animal, and thereby *mahayati* it, whereas the soma-seller does not mention the virtues of the plant because, being a god, it is already *mahitaḥ.* As we have seen in the above pages the gods are, by nature, great. The author of the Ait. Ār. 1, 3, 8 in explaining ṚV. 10, 114, 8 *sahasradhā mahimānaḥ sahasram* observes that the poet thus pleases and magnifies (*anumadati mahayati*) the entities mentioned in the stanza : the words of the poet are again a form of *mahas.*

In describing the mahāvrata ceremony the author of the Pañc Br. 5, 5, 21 relates that " they ", *i.e.* the king's companions, " accoutred and clad in armour

go round, whereby they bring about the characteristic mark of courage (*indriyam*), and then they magnify the mahāvrata", *i.e.* "they add to its majesty"[84].

The line ṚV. Kh. 2, 2, 5 (Scheftelowitz, p. 71) *yauvanāni mahayasi jigyuṣām iva dundubhiḥ* which is quoted Kauś. sūtra 46, 54 must mean "thou maintainest (the manifestations of) youthful power, like the kettle-drum of those who have gained the victory"[85].

A very evident passage is TBr. 3, 2, 8, 3 *āpa oṣadhīr mahayanti* "water refreshes, strengthens the plants", another AV. 4, 15, 2 and 3 *varṣasya sargā mahayanti bhūmim* "let gushes of rain refresh the earth".

The etymological and semantic connections with *mahānt*— were fully understood by the author of, and the commentator on, Pañc Br. 15, 3, 7: the three stanzas beginning *mahāṃ indro ya ojasā* (SV. 2, 657-659 = ṚV. 8, 6, 1; 3; 2) "great is I., who by his creative power..." are addressed to Indra; by means of the last day of the ceremony under discussion the gods had repelled evil; that is to say *ahar evaitena mahayanti*, which means *mahat kurvanti* (commentary) rather than "gladden" (Caland): *etena mahacchabdayuktena tṛcena tan navamam ahar eva mahayanti mahat kurvanti* (comm.), that is to say: by means of the verses containing *mahānt*— they 'magnify' that day. Cf. also 14, 8, 6.

An interesting combination with *paricarati* "to serve, to attend to" occurs ChUp. 8, 8, 4 *ātmānam evaiha mahayann ātmānam paricaran...* "he who makes his own self 'great' (strong, happy) here and he who serves his own self..." A general idea of exalting must also be assumed in passages such as Śat Br. 3, 3, 3, 17 stating that by carrying the bundle of soma on his hand which rests on its head "they exalt him" (Eggeling; *mahayanty evainam;* that is why, the author adds, people carry the seed on their head (to the field). The meaning of this statement no doubt is that it is to the interests of both soma and the seed that they are carried on the head. Cf. also 7, 5, 2, 13.

The well-known post-Vedic sense of "paying homage, revering, worshipping" is a continuation and specialisation of the above general meaning: see *e.g.* Mbh. 1, 3, 66 *tan nāsatyāv aśvinau vāṃ mahe, haṃ/srajaṃ yāṃ bibhṛthaḥ puṣkarasya.*

The other construction occurs in a remarkable passage in ṚV. 7, 61, 6 *sam u vāṃ yajñam mahayaṃ mamobhiḥ* "I make your sacrifice (*i.e.* the sacrifice intended for you, O Mitra and Varuṇa) great by my adoration": this must

[84] W. Caland, Pañcaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa, English translation, Calcutta 1931, p. 83 follows the commentary: "they pay honour".

[85] The Petr. Dict. V, 609 and Caland, Altindisches Zauberritual, Amsterdam 1900, p. 157 translated: "to generate".

mean that the eulogist by his homage adds power and 'greatness' and, hence, efficacy to the sacrifice. Similarly, 7, 42, 3 where Geldner is no doubt mistaken in explaining the sense of the verb by "to beautify". In 3, 24, 4 *agne...mahayā giraḥ* must in a similar way mean "O Agni, make our eulogies great, *i.e.* potent, efficacious". In 3, 52, 6 it is Indra who is implored to impart greatness to the offerings of those speaking: according to Sāyaṇa this means that the god is invited to partake of them and so to honour them (*bhakṣaṇena mahaya sambhāvaya*); according to Mādhava: *śraddhatsva.* As the god is, in st. 2, invited to eat the offerings and to express his approval—which is also a form of transfer of power—the sense may be: make our offerings more potent and efficacious. Another shade of meaning occurs ṚV. 7, 52, 2 *mitras tan no varuṇo māmahantaį śarma tokāya tanayāya gopāḥ*, the general meaning is clear: "M. and V., the protectors, must give (mighty) protection to our off-spring", and this idea of "conferring upon, heaping no" must have developed from "making great (on behalf of somebody)". Cf. also 1, 94, 16; 9, 97, 58 and 7, 53, 2 *mahi vāṃ varūtham.*

The words *sātiṃ no jaitrīṃ sam meheta* in 1, 111, 3 seem to mean "that ye may make, on our behalf, victorious acquisition great", *i.e.* "that ye may heap victorious gain on us". Agni is, 3, 25, 5 stated to "make his abodes great by his aid or favour" when he is constantly kindled in the houses: according to Sāyaṇa this means that the god attends to the worlds which are the abodes of men. This explication may in substance be right: the god of fire, the lord *i.e.* the protector of the dwellings of men, keeps them intact and habitable. Cf. also 10, 122, 3 *māmahasva*: *apekṣitaṃ dhanaṃ dadasva, mahatir dānakarmā,* Sāyaṇa.

It is in all probability this sense of "heaping on" which has developed into that of "presenting, endowing with". "To grant, present" is indeed as far as I am able to see the sense in 5, 27, 1 *anasvantā satpatir māmahe me gāvā* (*dadau,* Sāyaṇa; *adadāt,* Mādhava); 8, 1, 32; 2, 42; 10, 62, 10; cf. also 1, 117, 17.

How difficult it sometimes is to choose a satisfactory equivalent in a modern language may appear from 1, 180, 6 *ā mahe dade vājam,* where *mahe* is, according to Mādhava and Sāyaṇa *mahattvāya,* according to some modern scholars a so called dative; infinitive there is however no essential dfference between a translation: "he has acquired vigour (*vāja-,* the generative power gained by winning races, contests etc.) with a view to (confer) majesty" or "he has....in order to bestow (it upon....)"[86]. In 7, 97, 2 the verb used is *ā mah-* which here obviously answers to the English "to honour with, to give", and in the ātmanepadam: "to receive honour". Whereas Sāyaṇa explained *āmahate* by

[86] See also H. P. Schmidt, Vedisch *vratá* und awestisch *urvāta,* Hamburg 1958, p. 101.

ādatte (*i. e.* Bṛhaspati accepts the offerings) and Mādhava by the usual *pūjayati*, Geldner, while tentatively translating "B grants them to us" is in the footnote at a loss to account for the form as well as the meaning of the words *maha ā'* in the text. There is however in this passage no essential and etymological difference between "to give (by strengthening, heaping on)" and "to celebrate, to honour (by giving etc.)". The use of the ātmanepadam with *ā* seems to turn the scale in favour of the interpretation "Bṛhaspati receives our honour", the sentence being an elliptical parenthesis.

The poet of ṚV. 1, 94, 1 states that he has made on behalf of Agni Jātavedas who is worthy of it a dignified eulogium like a chariot (*imaṃ stomam arhate jātavedase/ratham iva sam mahemā manīṣayā*); here Grassmann translated by "to dedicate, to give", Geldner however, following Roth who proposed to read *saṃ ahema*, preferred "to join together",[87] adding the note: "*saṃ mahema* could, if need be, mean: "to bring to a state of perfection"[88]. I fail to see why this meaning should be so objectionable as to necessitate altering the text: chariots as well as poems are repeatedly described as splendid or efficient, and the meaning of the line may therefore be that the poet, like the cartwright, gives greatness or splendour to their products.

The verb *mahīyate*[89] means, according to the Petr. Dict., "to be merry, exultant, reckless etc.", in later texts also "to prosper, to be much esteemed, to be high"; according to Grassmann "to prove oneself to be great, powerful; to be overbold, to fancy oneself"; according to Geldner[90] also "to be held in high esteem, to be celebrated". The Indian lexicographers were no doubt right in explaining the sense by *vṛddhi-* "increase" and *pūja-*. In 1, 182, 3 Sāyaṇa (*pūjyate svayaṃ na yuṣmān pūjayati*) and Geldner may indeed be followed. Elsewhere however I fail to see why the verb should have an unfavourable connotation or the meaning given in the Petr. Dict. 4, 30, 9 *divaś cid ghā duhitaram/ mahān mahīyamānām/uṣāsam indra sam piṇak* (*pūjyamānām*) is not wholly certain, Compare also 5, 56, 9 (*stūyate, pūjyate,* comm.); 10, 86, 10; 10, 175, 3 where Geldner's "to feel superior" is the right translation: *grāvāṇa upareṣv ā mahīyante,* while being so they add to Soma's power: *vṛṣṇe dadhato vṛṣṇyam;* 9, 12, 4: "to be great, to feel oneself (soma in the strainer) great (with the implications of powerful, important, venerable etc.)"; 113, 6 of the brahman reciting mantras and pressing soma, through which he works bliss (*ānanda-*). Now, it is no doubt true that being honoured and being conscious of one's own greatness and importance may easily evoke a sensation of joy. It is therefore difficult to

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87 See also Grassmann, o.c. 161.

88 For the simile see *e.g.* 4, 16, 20.

89 Cf. Pāṇini 3, 1, 27.

90 Geldner, Der Rig-veda in Auswahl, I, Glossar, Stuttgart 1907, p. 134.

choose between two or three English terms in passages such as 10, 146, 2 where the goddess of the jungle, Araṇyānī, *mahīyate* by the music made by the insects[91].

Other varieties of "being or feeling great" occur AV. 5, 17, 15 of a white horse: "to make a show" (Whitney-Lanman); SB. 11, 8, 1, 3 "to thrive" (of cattle) and of the relatives of the man who possesses many of them[92]); Pañc Br. 13, 6, 12 "to prosper" (after having annihilated evil); SB. 6, 4, 1, 8 *vardhamāno mahīyasva*; 7, 4, 1, 9; Pañc Br. 7, 5, 1 "to feel or be happy" (if this is the right word: *amahīyamānaḥ* combines with *śocan*); ChU. 8, 10, 1; KeU. 3, 1 *vijaye devā amahīyanta* "the gods revelled in, gloried in the victory". An interesting explication is furnished by Śaṅkara on ChU. 8, 2, 1 *tena pitṛlokena sampanno mahīyate : pūjyate vardhate vā mahimānam anubhavati*. For KaU 1, 2, 17; 3, 16 *brahmaloke mahīyate* "one becomes great in the world of Brahmā" (Radhakrishnan[93]) seems indeed a correct translation. This expression, and *svare mahīyate* "to be great, exalted, to enjoy bliss in heaven" occur also in later texts: Manu 4, 260; 5, 155; Mbh. 13, 58, 32; it became fixed. Taitt U. 1, 5, 2 ff. has already been discussed. Being a denominative of the so-called comparative stem *mahīyas*- the idea of "being 'great' to a special degree" may in several cases be recognized.

The compound *āmahīyate* occurs with an object in the sense of "cheering, shouting, applauding"—which like praise is also a method of strengthening and transferring power[94]—or in the more general meaning of "revering, honouring, executing songs of praise in honour of etc.": JaimBr. 1, 117 *tā yad enaṃ* (*viz.* Prajāpati) *prajās suhitā aśitā āmahīyanta...*; *ainaṃ bhāryāḥ suhitāḥ suhitaṃ mahīyante ya evaṃ veda*.

TB. 3, 10, 4, 2 associates the verb with *mahas*: *yasyāṃ diśi mahīyase tato no maha ā vaha;* JUBr. 4, 20, 1 with *mahiman*-: "Brahman won a complete victory for the gods. By this they were exalted (*amahīyanta*), considering: 'ours is this victory, ours is this greatness (*mahimā*)"; cf. 4, 21, 1.

It is clear that the connotations expressed by these verbs may help us in understanding the range of meanings conveyed by the substantive *mahas*. 'Greatness'—to choose for the sake of simplicity only this term—has many aspects which may appear more or less clearly in different contexts and in connection with a great variety of other words.

A few words may be added on *maṃhate*, which is explained as *vṛddhau*,

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[91] See Renou, Etudes védiques et paninéennes, III, Paris 1957, p. 47.

[92] See above.

[93] S. Radhakrishnan, The principal Upaniṣads, London 1953, p. 616.

[94] See Acta Orientalia, 19, p. 435 ff.

i.e. as meaning " to increase, grow ", by the ancient lexicographers (see Dhātup 16, 33), and translated by " to be great, hoppy; to grant, give " by Grassmann —no doubt too much under the influence of his conviction that *maṃh-* and *mah-* are the identical root-, by " to be great " by Macdonell, by " to be generous " and " to glorify " by Renou,[95] by Geldner, in his complete translation often by " willing ". It may perhaps be warranted to regard passages such as RV. 8, 52, 6 *yasmai...dānāya maṃhase* as ' literally ' or ' originally ' meaning " for whom thou showst thy greatness, *i. e.* magnanimity or benevolence, with a view to giving"[96] (see also 10, 62, 8) and places such as RV. 1, 11, 3 *stotṛbhyo maṃhate maham* as ' originally ' expressing the sense of " he shows his greatness, magnanimity or benevolence on behalf of the praisers, in relation to the nominal concept *magha* (which while in all probability deriving from the same root representsa so-called cognate accusative, doubling the verbal idea "[97].) The ātmanepadam should make us shrink from Grassmann's " to make great, powerful, rich " and hence " to give ". See also 9, 1, 10, and 4, 31, 8 : 8, 50, 1 with *vasu*; 8, 61, 8 etc. In 6, 45, 32 *yasya...rātiḥ.../dānāya maṃhate*, the verb is not a passive (Grassmann), the explication being the same. My hypothesis would therefore be that the accusative accompanying the verb was not, originally, what is traditionally called an accusative of object. Curiously enough, the causative would, according to Grassmann and Geldner (in translating 5, 38,1), have the same meaning of " granting "; " to make greater, to make increase " (Geldner, Glossar) or " to bestow benevolence upon " seems, however, preferable: 5, 38, 1 *dyumnā... maṃhaya*. This meaning may, in principle, also be adopted 10, 48, 9 where Geldner follows Sāyaṇa (*svīkaroti*).

With regard to the noun *maṃhanā* in 5, 16, 4 *suvīryasya m.* and similar expressions " greatness, abundance, wealth " might do duty;[98] 5, 10, 2; 18, 2 *dakṣasya m.* Cf. also 4, 1, 6.

" Magnanimity; generosity " is the meaning of *maṃhanā* in 3, 31, 17 *anu kṛṣṇe vasudhitī jihāte/ubhe sūryasya maṃhanā yajatre*; 4, 17, 1; 5, 61, 10; 6, 64, 5; 67, 5; 7, 81, 4 etc. The so-called superlative *maṃhiṣṭhā-* is very often used in connection with Indra, *e.g.* 1, 30, 1; 61, 3 (*atiśayena pravṛddham*, Sāyaṇa;

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[95] A. A. Macdonell, A Vedic reader for students, Oxford 1928, p. 242. Renou, Etudes védiques et paṇinéennes, Paris 1957, p. 85; Grammaire de la langue védique, Lyon 1952, p. 435.

[96] Not, with Geldner, Glossar, p. 129 " to give ".

[97] For this use of the accusative see: The function of the accusative, in S. K. Belvalkar Felicitation Volume, Banaras 1957, p. 75, and The character of the Sanskrit Accusative in Miscelánea homenaje A. Martinet, La Laguna (Can. Isl.) 1957, p. 58.

[98] See Wackernagel-Debrunner, o.c., II, 2, p. 191.

dātṛtamam, Mādhava); 8, 92, 1 *m. carṣaṇīnām (dhanasya dātṛtamam*, Sāyaṇa). The distinction between "very liberal", "gladdening", aud "willing" made by Grassmann can hardly be maintained; to me the adjective seems to express such ideas as "magnanimous, generous, copious". The combination *maṃhiṣṭham maghonām* 5, 39, 4; 6, 68, 2; 8, 1, 30 may in all probability be regarded as an 'etymological figure' used for the sake of intensification of the expression. In 1, 147, 2 the adjective, accompanying *vacaḥ* "word (s)" can hardly be translated, with Geldner, "liberal, open-handed"; here Uvaṭa's explication (on VS. 12, 42: *bhūyiṣṭhasya*) seems to be preferable. Cf. also 8, 23, 23 *ābhir vidhemāgnaye.../maṃhiṣṭhābhir matibhiḥ*. Sāyaṇa in commenting upon 1, 121, 15 *maṃhiṣṭhās te sadhamādaḥ syāma* holds *m.* to mean *atisayena stutibhiḥ pravardhayitāraḥ* "increasing very much by words of praise" whereas Skandasvāmin thinks of "giving much soma". Both commentators may have meant that the idea contained in the root is something like "being or making great, much".

These words, *maṃhate* etc., are usually and, I am convinced, justly, connected with *magha-, maghavan-*, the former expressing the idea of "property or possessions viewed from the angle of a donor or recipient", the latter meaning "possessing or bestowing benefits or advantages; benevolently active for the advantage of man etc."[99].

The etymological association of *maṃhate* etc. with the I.-E. root *meg (h-)*: Skt. *mah-, mahas-* etc., upheld by Fick and other scholars,[100] was on phonetic grounds rightly rejected by Walde[101] and others. Although the possibility of mutual semantic influence cannot completely be excluded, the respective 'basic' meanings, though, in the verbal forms being sometimes very similar, may be ascertained with sufficient distinction to make us strongly inclined to subscribe to their view.

Some observations may be added to show that the ideas of eminence, importance, superiority, loftiness, powerfulness were in connection with deities also in other languages expressed by adjectives for "great". In ancient Egypt "the great (one)" was a common name of gods. Because the power of the most prominent gods was believed to be unlimited, they were, simply but significantly, called "the great". The council of the gods was the "great nine",

[99] For a detailed discussion of these words see Eepithets in the Ṛgveda, to be published in Disputationes Rheno-Trajectinae IV, The Hague.

[100] A. Fick, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen, I^4, Göttingen 1890, p. 104; 508; H. Pedersen Kuhn's Zeitschrift 38, p. 354.

[101] A. Walde-J. Pokorny, Vergl. Wörterbuch der indogerm. Sprachen II, Berlin-Leipzig 1927, p. 269; A. Walde-J. B. Hofmann, Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch II^3 (Heidelberg 1940), p. 13; J. Pokorny, Indogerm. Etymol. Wörterbuch (Bern 1954), p. 730.

the seat of the lord of the gods " the great house ". Sometimes the great size or figure of the god is expressly mentioned, but the prevalent idea was that of powerfulness and omnipotence.[102] The figure of the important mother of the gods, and female representative of life and of the representative powers in nature bore, in Classical Antiquity and elsewhere, the name of *Magna Mater*, "the Great Mother".[103] Among so-called primitive peoples a " Great Spirit " is not infrequently considered the source and origin of power.[104] In Hebrew, the 'root' *gdl* expressing the general idea of "great" is the base of verb forms meaning " to become great, to grow ", " to be important ", but also "to show or prove itself great and mighty" (of God's power, especially in exclamations which are to render homage to God, *e.g.* Ps. 35, 27), of forms expressing the idea of " to make great or mighty" but also " to make mighty by means of eulogies, to extol, glorify ". The adjective *gādōl* "great" does not only refer to concrete objects but also to love, joy, grief, darkness etc.; to wealth and power (" mighty, important, influential"). The king of Assyria was the " great king ", the high priest, the "great priest". The substantive *gedūlāh* means " the honour, glory or magnificence of God ", that is " God's surpassing greatness, splendour, power and excellence ", see *e.g.* Ps. 145, 3; the term is, quite intelligibly, also used in connection with a king, *e.g.* Esth. 1, 4, even in the sense of " homage, marks of honour "; the meaning "great achievements (of God)" is on the other hand, not absent, *e.g.* 2 Sam. 7, 21; 23; Ps. 145, 6. In the Homeric poems the gods are also called *megas* "great, powerful": Iliad 16, 531 " Glaucus understood that the great god (Phoebus Apollo) had heard his prayer"; 18, 292 of Zeus who became angry; and in classical and later Greek literature this epithet is frequently used: Demeter and Persephone are the *Great Goddesses*, Cybele is the *Great Mother*.

A supplement to the above observations on the Indian term *máhas* and some of its relatives should be provided by a very brief discussion of the cognate Latin term *maiestas*, which was to have a great future, because it became, in French *majesté*, in English *majesty*, etc. Etymologically speaking *maiestas* **māg-ies-tāt-s* denoted the quality of him who, or of that which, was to a special degree characterized by the quality expressed by the root **măg-*, *i.e.* " to be great ". The idea expressed by this term was from the beginning an attribute of the Roman gods who were also described as *magni* " great, grand, of great influence, power and importance ", Jupiter being *optimus maximus* " most excel-

[102] See *e.g.* H. Kees, Der Götterglaube im alten Agypten[2], Berlin 1956, p. 172; 250; 434 and elsewhere.

[103] Cf. *e.g.* M. Eliade, Traité d'histoire des religions, Paris 1949, ch. VII; R. Thurnwald, Des Menschengeistes Erwachen, Wachsen und Irren, Berlin 1951, p. 284 ff.; 378 ff.

[104] See *e.g.* K. Birket-Smith, Geschichte der Kultur, Zürich 1946, p. 388 f.

lent and greatest (or most powerful)". I am afraid that I cannot subscribe in every respect to the views expounded by my colleague Wagenvoort, emeritus professor of Latin, Utrecht University, who devoted some interesting pages to the *majestas* concept in connection with ancient Roman religion.[105] In my opinion he has too onesidedly emphasized the 'concrete' sense of **mag-* "to be great (of physical size)". It is true that this element is not absent in the Latin texts: gods, heroes, and other exalted beings were, indeed, sometimes believed to be physically greater than ordinary[106]. It may also be true that an individual poet (Ovid, Metamorphoses 4, 539; 9, 268) by combining *maiestas* with *maior* "greater" (in the physical sense) made an attempt etymologically to account for the sense of latter term, but this does not mean that this poet represents an ancient tradition about the original sense of the term under discussion. Since there does not, on the one hand, seem to be a possibility of substantiating the supposition that the use orig. I-E. *meg(h)-* "great" or even the Latin group *magnus* etc. ever was limited to physical size, and since, on the other hand, the Latin words, and especially *maiestas* itself, denoted, in an overwhelming majority of cases greatness in the sense of "dignity, power, grandeur, majesty, sovereignty"—although, of course, physical magnitude may have been a concomitant of these—I am not convinced that at a remote period the only meaning of *majestas* was "being greater (of size).

Let us finally return to the above-mentioned controversy with regard to the Latin verb *mactare*. Like *mahati* this verb occurs in double construction: *deos extis mactare* means "to strengthen the gods through sacrifices", *i.e.* "to magnify, glorify, honour, worship"; but also beyond the religious sphere: to present, reward, or honour with anything good or bad: *mactare honoribus* "to heap honours on, extol" etc. *deis hostiam mactare* originally means "to strengthen a sacrifice on behalf of the gods", *i.e.* "to sacrifice..."[107] This verb obviously derives from the adjective *mactus* which, in religious language, means "glorified, honoured (by presents etc.)", whereas, beyond that sphere, it is an exclamation of applause or congratulation[108]. The expression *mactus vino* therefore originally

[105] H. Wagenvoort, Roman Dynamism, Oxford 1947, p. 119 ff.

[106] See S. Eitrem, in Symbolae Osloenses, VIII (1929), p. 53 ff. who observes (p. 55) that the superhuman dimensions characterize, in the 'primitive' thought, the religious quality of gods and heroes. Compare *e.g.* Aristoteles, Pol. 7, 14.

[107] See F. Pfister, in Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, ed. by G. Wissowa and W. Kroll, Stuttgart 1896 ff., XI, 2171 f.; the same, Die Religion der Griechen und Römer, 1930, p. 118; H. J. Rose, in The Classical Quarterly, 22, London 1938, p. 220 ff.

[108] For particulars about the construction see (M. Leumann) J. B. Hofmann, Lateinische Grammatik, München 1928, p. 405.

meant " strengthened by means of wine " (in a religious sense), *mactus virtute* " fortified by (deeds of) valour or courage "; being a formula of congratulation the latter phrase may, with or without the imperative, be translated by " increase in valour, go on in excellence ". The adjective *mactus* no doubt belonged to a no longer extant verb **mag-ere* which must have meant " to make great(er)" (cf. *mag-is* " greater, more "). The adjective has no doubt been preserved in a specialized sense, the derivative *mactare* also admitting of a " bad meaning ", *viz.* " to afflict or trouble a person with...": cf. *e. g. magno mactare malo* " to afflict with great evil ", which, I suppose, may have ' originally ' meant: " to make somebody greater (to increase him) with a great evil, to heap evil on him ' " In consideration of all this it is beyond doubt that **magere, mactus, mactare* belong to *magnus* " great " and to the above Sanskrit words. If I have been right in assuming the identity of *máhas* " greatness, majesty " and *máhas* " religious festival or ceremony " and in regarding *mahayati* " to make great, magnify etc." as closely related to *mah-* " great ", there is no longer any rational ground for the much discussed alternative: does the Latin *mactus* belong to *máhas* " greatness " or to *máhas* " festival " ?

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE NAME SATYA ASSIGNED TO THE HIGHEST BEING

Divine power and will are given form in a name.[1] That is to say, when man, being confronted with an unlimited multitude of numinous entities, attempts to come to some understanding with one of these powers the presence and influence of which he experiences, to recognize its will or governance or to bring himself into accord with it, he must give an outline to this experience in order to delimit it from other experiences. This he does, always and everywhere, by assigning to it a name. A name is an actuality expressed in a word, which lends to the divine presence some settled content.[2] Only when the divine power has received a name and man knows the name, it is possible to come to some understanding with that power. The name, being a " double " of the " thing " for which it stands,[3] a representative indissolubly associated with it, enables the person who knows it to enter into contact with its bearer, to call, invite or summon that bearer, to activate, dispel or dominate it or him.[4] Thus Sarasvatī " the truthful goddess" (*satyā*), to be praised by mantras, will " show the truth " (*satyam*), for this *satyā* one is *satyavratā* (Varāh. BS. 26, 2 ; cf. 46, 98). From a name assigned to a numinous being or a deity one may draw inferences or even venture predictions with regard to its behaviour : KBU. 1,3 " Then Indra did not swerve from " truth ", for Indra verily is " truth " (*satyam*). " Knowledge of the name is also a means of attracting or transferring to oneself the specific power inherent in its bearer.[5] Its actualization in speech is a potent device for asserting, " conforming ", strengthening and activating the divine power for which the name stands: hence the well-known " words or hymns of praise " in Sanskrit literature.[6]

1. Compare e. g. G. van der LEEUW, *Religion in essence and manifestation*, London 1938, ch. XVII ; R. HIRZEL, *Der Name*, Leipzig 1916; H. USENER, *Götternamen*, 2 Bonn 1929; F. HEILER, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*, Stuttgart 1961, p. 275 ff.

2. Cf. e. g. ŚB. 11, 2, 3, 3 ff.; BĀU. 1, 6, 1, and M. FALK, *Nāma-rūpa and dharma-rūpa*, Calcutta 1943, p. 1 ff. etc.

3. Cf. e.g. ṚV. 10, 55, 1 ; 2 ; ŚB. 1, 1, 4, 4 and my article on the etymologies in the brāhmaṇas, in *Lingua*, 5 (Amsterdam 1955), p. 61 ff.

4. Cf. e. g. ṚV. 7, 32, 17 ; 10, 64, 1 ; 84, 5.

5. Cf. PB. 12, 13, 7 (ŚB. 4, 5, 3, 4) ; PB. 12, 5, 3 f. ; also ŚB. 7, 4, 1, 4.

6. Cf. e. g. ṚV. 4, 22, 1 ; 7, 21, 1 ; Mbh. 1, 3, 57 ff.

Just as plural forms of names reflecting experienced divine will and power (such as, in the Veda, *Rudrāḥ, Marutaḥ* etc.) may express the indeterminateness of the experiences, successions of names and "epithets" pronounced in dealing with or praying to the divine – compare the "names" of the Marutaḥ VS. 17,80 ff.– reflect man's conviction that higher power may reveal itself in innumerable manifestations and his inability to grasp and define its nature comprehensively. Although it often is one actual aspect of divine power with which one is at a given moment confronted and it therefore is only one name which that situation demands, the very vagueness and indistinctness of his experiences without number, each of which has a divine potency pertaining to it, compels him to utter several names and to make a choice of those epithets which he himself and his fellow-men use to pronounce in similar situations. The ritual or liturgical necessity to understand and address a complex and many-sided numen as completely as possible leads to serial addresses or invocations.[1] As some names come, in the course of time, to be a matter of predilection, names and epithets which in the given situation are quite appropriate may alternate with other names which for various reasons have become largely stereotyped. Moreover, special divine powers or those which manifest incidentally or momentarily may be absorbed by a more comprehensive power. Even when these comprehensive powers have assumed the character of more or less divine personalities, the actual experience of their presence and influence is transferred into "ideas" which, receiving a name, impress the worshipper as aspects or "attributes" of that divine being, as sides or characteristics of his nature.[2] Just as repetition of words tends to intensify their power, the enumeration of a god's names is a "confirmation", a consolidation of his power and a means of influencing him and of inducing him to exert his influence or to put it at the disposal of the worshipper.

From the above considerations it follows that a thorough study of the names and epithets assigned to the Indian gods may be greatly helpful in understanding their character, that is, the thoughts and feelings of their devotees with regard to them. There can be no doubt that any investigation into the history of these names and into their use in various contexts may be a welcome addition to our insight into traditional Indian religious life. In the following pages an attempt will be made to illustrate this statement by a single example, viz. the term *satya-* which is among the names traditionally assigned to Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa.

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1. Cf. e. g. TS. 2, 4, 7, 1; 9, 1; ĀpŚS. 20, 5, 9; 11, 1.

2. Remember for instance the names connected with the Vedic Rudra, compare e. g. AV. 11, 2, and see E. ARBMAN, *Rudra*, Uppsala 1922; N. J. SHENDE, *The foundations of the Atharvaṇic religion*, Mysore, p. 82 f.; V. W. KARAMBELKAR, *The Atharvavedic civilization*, Nagpur 1959, p. 116.

The adjective *satya* – " being in conformity with, belonging to, characterized by, sticking to, the " real, the really existing, the true " (*sat–*), being in agreement with the fundamental norms etc. "[1] is, in the *Ṛgveda,* not rarely a qualification of one of the great gods. Although modern translators (GELDNER, RENOU) do not add detailed explicative notes to their translations, the question may arise what, for instance, was meant by the poet of ṚV. 1, 1, 5 *agnír hótā kavíkratuḥ satyáś citráśravastamaḥ/devó devébhir ā́ gamat* – where GELDNER's rendering " der wahre Hotar "[2] is against the order of words and the structure of the stanza –: RENOU[3] indeed preferred " real of distinguished fame. " Is Sāyaṇa right: *anṛtarahitaḥ phalam avaśyaṃ prayacchati,* or Skandasvāmin: *abhisampādakaḥ?* Is the close connection with *citraśravastamaḥ* without any significance? The answer seems to lie in the context. When Agni, who alone conveys the sacrifice to the gods (4), who is a hotar possessed of the superior inventiveness of the inspired poets (5a),[4] desires to treat his worshipper well, this will prove to be perfectly realized and to be in harmony with facts and norms, with that truth and that order on which the cosmos in which we live is supposed to be founded (*távét tát satyám* 6c).[5] Hence, I would suppose, the application of the adjective to the god himself in 5b. The god is true to the reality (*sat–*) of his divine character, he is renowned for being truly divine, for being what he, a deva, should be and for sticking to the real-and-true. This may of course imply that he is reliable, so that Sāyaṇa's explanation *satsu sādhuḥ* is not complelely to be rejected. See also ṚV. 3, 14, 1 Agni as the *satyó yájvā* (sacrificer): *satyakarmā,* Sāyaṇa; 5, 25, 2 (Agni) *sá hí satyó yám pū́rve cid devā́saś cid yám īdhiré* (" der Wahrhaftige ", GELDNER; " le (dieu) réel ", RENOU:) *satyapratiśravaḥ* " who keeps his promise ", Sāyaṇa; 1, 76, 5 *hotaḥ satyatara: atiśayena satsu sādho,* Sāyaṇa; 3, 4, 10.

Limiting myself to the Ṛgvedic occurrences of *satya–* as a qualification of gods,[6] I draw attention to a few places where it seems to be used predicatively or functions as a substantive. ṚV. 1, 63, 3 *tváṃ satyá indra dhṛṣṇúḥ,* probably not " der wahre Mutige " (GELDNER), but " thou art the " true "[7] one, O Indra, the bold one"; 4, 16, 1 *ā́ satyo yātu maghávāṃ ṛjīṣí* " the "true"

1. See e. g. also P. V. KANE, *History of Dharmaśāstra,* II, Poona 1941, p. 4 f.
2. K. F. GELDNER, *Der Rig-Veda,* Cambridge Mass. 1951, I, p. 2.
3. L. RENOU, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes,* XII, Paris 1964, p. 1.
4. See my book *The vision of the Vedic poets,* The Hague 1963, p. 359.
5. Otherwise RENOU, o. c., p. 2. For this expression see H. LÜDERS, *Varuṇa,* Göttingen 1951–1959, p. 638 f.
6. For a more complete survey of the adjective as used by the poets of the Ṛgveda see LÜDERS, o. c., p. 635 ff.
7. This is of course no adequate translation; for the implications see above.

one must come, the benevolent one,[1] the one who receives the residue of Soma"; although GELDNER also in 6, 22, 1 (8, 16, 8) prefers to combine *satyáḥ sátvā* as an adjective-substantive group, one might take the words to mean "the true one, the powerful one", all other elements of the elements being independent nouns in juxtaposition. Compare 8, 90, 4 *tvám hí satyó maghavann ánānato....* "for thou, O benevolent one, the true one, the unbent one...." (thus also GELDNER); 4, 17, 5 *satyám enam ánu víśve madanti* "all (men) praise him joyfully, the *satya-* (i. e. the one who proves to be the "genuine" one, who manifests himself according to his essence and nature)"; 10, 47, 4.

In these places the adjective likewise expresses the idea of "being in accordance with reality, true to (one's) nature, to the right norm and order, etc." Hence expressions such as 1, 73, 2 *amátir ná satyáḥ* "(Agni) is *satya-* like an image (appearance, of something real, *in casu* the sun,)"[2] and in connection with the representation of Agni as a flaming and moving circle or wreath of spokes,[3] a "brilliant emblem"[4] in the form of a fiery wheel: ṚV. 6, 67, 8 *ā́ yád vāṃ satyó aratír ṛtē bhū́t* "when your genuine "circle of spokes" has appeared at the (manifestation of) ṛta (i. e. the sacrificial rite".[5] THIEME[6] is no doubt right in supposing that the flaming wheel which in the eyes of the poet is Agni's appearance participates in the qualities of the god and consequently distinguishes itself from ordinary wheels or chariots. It is the true, genuine, authentic and reliable one because it is divine. Thus the divine horse Dadhikrāvan is in ṚV. 4, 40, 2 described as a *satyó dravó dravaráḥ pataṃgaráḥ*: being divine this animal is according to fact and reality, in the true manner and full sense of the term, a runner, a racer, a flier.[7]

Being, in the ṚV., mostly used in connection with persons (that is, especially with gods), *satya-*, as a pure adjective, indeed means "being in harmony with reality, with order and facts, fitting in harmoniously with the cosmic, social etc. order, being truly and completely that which the substantive (to which it belongs) expresses"[8] and hence "true, genuine" and "as somebody or something... par excellence".[9] Beside Indra (cf. also 8, 46, 2)

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1. See my book *Epithets in the Ṛgveda*, The Hague 1959, p. 42 f.

2. RENOU, E. V. P. XII, p. 19; 92.

3. See P. THIEME, *Untersuchungen zur Wortkunde und Auslegung des Rigveda*, Halle S. 1949, p. 26 ff.

4. RENOU, translating ṚV. 10, 45, 7: E. V. P. XIV, p. 12.

5. See also LÜDERS, *Varuṇa*, p. 435.

6. THIEME, o. c., p. 35. Compare e. g. also ṚV. 10, 170, 2.

7. Not, with Mādhava, *satyabalaḥ*, or with Sāyaṇa, *satsu tāyamānaḥ*.

8. Cf. H. GRASSMANN, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda*, 1451.

9. Cf. LÜDERS, o. c., p. 637. The places interpreted by LÜDERS, p. 637 as exhibiting the sense of "wirklich vorhanden" may be taken to express the same sense.

and Agni this " qualificatif éminent " of the gods[1] accompanies the names of Uṣas (Dawn) 7,75,7 *satyā́ satyébhir mahatī́ mahábhir devī́ devébhir...*; Heaven and Earth (Rodasī) 3, 6, 10;[2] the Fathers 10, 15, 9;[3] the Maruts 1, 87, 4 ; Brahmaṇaspati,[4] the " Lord of brahman " 2, 23, 11 ; the Ādityas 5, 67, 4 ; Soma is 9, 7, 3 significantly called *satyó adhvaráḥ.* In 8, 57, 2 (= Vāl. 9, 2) the gods are generally described as *(devā́s) tráya ekādaśā́sah satyā́ḥ satyásya* " the " true " ones of truth " ; this expression may be considered a variant of the well-known type *satyasya satyam,*[5] which admits of translations such as " the true-and-real (truth-and-reality) par excellence ".[6] In BĀU. 2,3,6 this qualification is given to the Highest Person, and in MaitrīU 6, 32 it is used in connection with the ātman. When Indra ṚV. 8, 69, 4 is called " son of reality-and-truth " *(sūnúṃ satyásya)* this means that this god is a representative of " truth " or of " the real ",[7] and when, in the long prayer for happiness 7, 35, st. 12, the lords of *satya-* are invoked, the poet obviously means the gods who wield that important power and preside over it.[8]

Since these gods, and the gods in general, are *satya-* they are supposed to achieve or bring about what is *satya-*,[9] that is to say, their words, desires, endeavours prove to be in conformity with the real-and-true, come true, materialize, are realized.[10] Hence statements such as ṚV. 2, 24, 14 *bráhmaṇas páter abhavad yathāvaśáṃ satyó manyúr...* " Brahmaṇaspati's zeal became, according to wish, reality" ;[11] ibid. 12; 4, 54, 4; AV. 1, 10, 1 *vā́śā hí satyā́ váruṇasya rā́jñaḥ.* The opposite is *mogha-* " vain " : ṚV. 10, 55, 6. This implies that the gods achieve the fulfilment of their worshippers' wishes and ambitions; see e.g. VS. 12, 44 " Let the Ādityas, Rudras, Vasus and brahmans light thee...!; increase thy body with sacrificial butter (Agni is addressed): the sacrificer's wishes must become reality "; VS. 2, 10 *āśíṣaḥ satyā́ḥ* (*: avitathāḥ,* comm.); 7, 3; 35, 20; ṚV. 1, 1, 6; 3, 30, 6; AV. 19,

1. RENOU, E. V. P. III, p. 91 and compare VENKATASUBBIAH, *J. Or. Res.* 14, p. 276.
2. See also RENOU, E. V. P. X, p. 69.
3. Not with Sāyaṇa and GELDNER " keeping their word ".
4. See my publication *Notes on brahman,* Utrecht 1950, p. 66 ff.
5. Which was at the time studied by H. OERTEL, *Zum altind. Ausdrucksverstärkungstypus satyasya satyam,* München Acad. 1937.
6. See also my book *Stylistic repetition in the Veda,* Amsterdam Acad. 1959, p. 251.
7. See *Some Observations on the relations between " gods " and " powers ",* The Hague 1957, p. 51.
8. For gods as " lords " (*pati-*) of a power see my remarks in *Notes on brahman,* p. 67 ff.
9. It may be recalled that the *satyam* by itself was also supposed to be able to help men : e. g. AiB. 4, 1.
10. For *satya-* in this sense compare also places such as AV. 7, 70, 1.
11. For other Ṛgvedic places see LÜDERS, o. c., p. 640 f.

42, 3 (TS. 1, 6, 12, 3; MS. 4, 12, 3); TS. 3, 1, 4, 3 etc. Compare also ṚV. 1, 98, 3 *vaiśvānara tava tát satyám astu asmān rāyo maghávānaḥ sacantām;* 1, 185, 11; 2, 15, 1 *prá...satyā́ satyásya káraṇāni vocam.*

Intelligibly enough the marvellous deeds or superhuman qualities of the gods are also announced or characterized as real, as true to fact: ṚV. 1, 38, 7 *satyáṃ...rudríyāsaḥ /míhaṃ kṛṇvanty avātā́m;*[1] 1, 52, 13; 1, 105, 12; 3, 32, 9; 4, 28, 5; 6, 30, 4; 8, 59, 5, and compare also 4, 17, 5.

If the gods are *satyāḥ* their devotee and worshipper may become *satyamayaḥ.* KB. 2, 8 *agnir jyotir jyotir agnir iti, taṃ jyotiḥ santaṃ jyotir ity āha. satyaṃ vadati. tasyāyaṃ vāṅmaya ātmā satyamayo bhavati satyamayā u devāḥ.* Stating what is true and in accordance with factual reality means causing oneself to be in harmony with it and to obtain a share in it, to become, so to say, soaked in it: "Light is Agni, Agni is light": he that is light he calls "light". He speaks the truth; his self here, the essence of which is speech, comes to have truth (the real) as its essence: the essence of the gods also is truth (the real)".

On the eve of the unction festival which forms part of the rites performed to consecrate a king (rājasūya) a series of eight gods, the so-called *devasū-* or "divine instigators", are presented with oblations.[2] Now the names of these gods are in each case followed by qualifications:[3] Agni Gṛhapati, Soma Vanaspati, Savitar Satyaprasava, Rudra Paśupati, Bṛhaspati Vācaspati, Indra Jyestha, Mitra Satya,[4] Varuṇa Dharmapati. After the chief offerings to these gods have been made the brahman priest takes the sacrificer by the hand with the formulas (TS. 1, 8, 10b; MS. 2, 6, 6; KS. 15, 5; TB. 1, 7, 4, 1) "May Savitar quicken (i. e. instigate) thee (for dominion) of the quickeners,...Mitra of the true ones (*satyānām*)..."[5] That means that the performance of the rite is to impart to the king, with regard to his government and his subjects, aspects of dominion which correspond to the aspects of divine power indicated by the epithets added to the names of the gods.

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1. Cf. LÜDERS, o. c., p. 639; RENOU, E. V. P. X, p. 14.

2. For details see J. C. HEESTERMAN, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, Thesis Utrecht 1957, p. 69 ff.

3. See my publication *The meaning of the Sanskrit term dhāman-*, Amsterdam Acad. 1967, p. 156.

4. TS. 3, 4, 11, 5 speaks of oblations to be offered to Mitra whose fame is *satya-* and who is *satya-* himself.

5. For a different interpretation of the formulas see HEESTERMAN, o. c., p. 74. In VS. 9, 39 etc. the possibly corrupt formula runs as follows: *savitā tvā savānāṃ suvatām...mitráḥ satyo váruṇo dhármapatīnām* (explained: *satyāyeti*, change of case-forms, Uvaṭa; *satyāya satyavākyāya satyaṃ vadituṃ tvāṃ suvatām*, Mahīdhara, hence the translations "for true-speaking" (GRIFFITH), "for truth" (EGGELING, ŚB. 5, 3, 3, 11).

Satya appears also in the list of names or epithets of the Maruts which are pronounced while seven rice-cakes are offered to these gods who are supposed to consist of three or nine troops of seven each (rites in connection with the great fire-place). See e.g. VS. 17, 82 *ṛtáś ca satyáś ca*[1] *dhruváś ca dharúṇaś ca / dhartā ca vidhartā́ ca vidhārayáḥ;* TS. 4, 6, 5, 5; 6[2] and notice the meanings of the other words: "the Right,[3] the Firm, the Strong-to-support, the Bearer, the Disposer, the Arranger". From the very existence of these enumerations, which in a way may be considered the predecessors of the later collections of divine names, we may conclude that already at an early date these epithets, denoting aspects of divine power, could more or less vaguely indicate divine personalities which together constitute a group. Satya etc. are partial aspects of the divine essence of the Maruts which tend to assume individual existence as, otherwise anonymous, divine beings.

It is worth while to quote also cases of identification of important sacrificial material with the "concept" under discussion. TS. 1, 6, 1, 1b, being a mantra pronounced while the adhvaryu and the sacrificer look at the butter (cf. BŚS. 3, 16),[4] runs as follows: "Thou art sacrificial butter, thou art "truth", thou art the overseer (neuter) of "truth"..., of true creative power *(satyaujas-)*; thou art overwhelming power *(sahas-)*..., conquer the representatives of enmity...; thou art butter of butter (i.e. butter par excellence), *satya-* of *satya-;* thou hast "true" life *(satyāyus-)*, thou hast "true" impetuosity *(satyaśuṣma-)*; I cause thee to trickle down (on the sacrificial food)[5] with "truth"; may I participate in thee that art such". The sacrificial butter with which the oblations are consecrated is explicitly identified with *satya-* - notice the repetition of the term, that means the intensification of its inherent power - and it is with *satya-* that these oblations are besprinkled to assume a consecrated character, i.e. to become sacred. Interestingly enough, attendance on (or, the worship of: *upacāraḥ*) the consecrated fire is likewise said to be equivalent to *satyam*; as appears from the next sentence, speaking the truth, or rather pronouncing words which represent the real, true and essential are equivalent to consecrating the fire with ghee (ŚB. 2, 2, 2, 19). The result is an increase in the worshipper's *tejaḥ* (ibid.). This conviction is resumed in ŚB. 2, 2, 2, 20 *satyam evopacāraḥ* "customary attendance, reverential practice is "truth"". The man who

1. For this combination see my remarks in *Oriens*, 13–14, p. 400 ff.

2. I also refer to A. B. KEITH, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 372.

3. Needless to say that most translations are only approximately correct.

4. For the significance of looking and of the idea of "overseer" *(adhyakṣa-)* etc. I may refer to an article which is in course of preparation.

5. Not, "I besprinkle thee" (KEITH, o. c., p. 84).

ritually sings the *satyaṃ sāma* will himself become *satyam*, "*satyam* turns unto him, and realized becomes *(satyaḥ...bhavati)* that wish of his for which he performs the rite" (ŚB. 7, 4, 1, 3; 5).[1]

Not only, however, is an individual deity likely to be characterized as *satyaḥ*, the gods collectively are *satyam*. "Twofold, verily, is this, there is no third, viz. the real (truth, the essential: *satyam*) and that which is the negation of order and reality and truth *(anṛtam)*. And verily the gods are *satyam* and man is *anṛtam*" (ŚB. 1, 1, 1, 4; cf. 5; 1, 1, 2, 17; 3, 3, 2, 2; 3, 9, 4, 1); "the gods abandoned *anṛtam* and laid hold of *satyam*, and the asuras abandoned *satyam* and laid hold of *anṛtam*" (ŚB. 9, 5, 1, 13);[2] the gods even obtained the whole *(sarvam) satyam*, "then they prospered (were successful) and the asuras came to naught. And, indeed, he who knows this, himself prospers (is successful), and his spiteful enemy comes to naught" (ŚB. 9, 5, 1, 27). As is well known, *anṛtam*[3] is characteristic of the world of the *asat*, the "chaos", which is a source of danger and disaster threatening the world of *sat*, the "cosmos", in which the gods are active and influential[4]. "There is one observance (ordinance, rule, holy practice: *vratam*) which the gods do keep, viz. *satyam*. It is through this that their conquest *(jitam)*, their glory (honour, fame: *yaśaḥ)* is unassailable" (ŚB. 3, 4, 2, 8). The man, who, knowing this, speaks the truth, is likewise unassailable as to his conquest and his honour (ibid.).[5] Compare also ŚB. 14, 1, 1, 33. Hence MuṇḍU. 3, 1, 6 *satyam eva jayate*.

This may help us in explaining a place such as AV. 2, 36, 2 – which forms part of a text to obtain a husband for a girl – *dhātūr devásya satyéna kṛṇómi pativédanam* "I (the officiant) perform the (ceremony called) husband-finding with the *satya-* of the god Dhātar". That means, that the effect which is hoped for is achieved through the ritual activation and materia-

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1. For the ritual use of the term see also L. Silburn, *Instant et Cause*, Paris 1955, p. 428. Cf. e. g. also Īśvaragītā, Kūrma-Pur. 11, 16 *satyena sarvam āpnoti*. One might compare Mahātmā Gandhi, *Collected Work*, VIII, New Delhi 1962, p. 105 and 191 on the power of Satya (Truth) to change the minds of people and its being the most effective weapon.

2. Cf. BhG. 16, 7; see J. A. B. van Buitenen, *Rāmānuja on the Bhagavadgītā*, Thesis Utrecht 1953, p. 156.

3. Cf. e. g. ŚB. 7, 3, 1, 23 *satyaṃ vā ṛtam*.

4. I refer to W. Norman Brown, The Ṛgvedic equivalent for Hell, *J. A. O. S.* 61, p. 76 ff.; the same, The creation myth of the Ṛgveda, *J. A. O. S.* 62, p. 85 ff. Cf. e. g. also the formula to be pronounced by the sacrificer who is about to take the prescribed vrata during the performance of the rites (e. g. VS. 1, 5) *idám ahám ánṛtāt satyám upaimi*, and places such as ṚV. 7, 56, 12.

5. When confessed a sin becomes less, since it becomes *satyam* (SB. 2, 5, 2, 10); see e. g. Van der Leeuw, o. c., p. 442.

lization of that aspect of reality, which is presided over by its divine representative, Dhātar, the parochial god who establishes, arranges and puts things in their right place.[1]

It is not surprising that as soon as the speculations on the world ground are forging ahead the concept under consideration is co-ordinated with *bráhman-*: AV. 10, 8, 19 *satyénordhvás tapati bráhmaṇārvā́ṅ ví paśyati.* Brahman is explicitly identified with *satyam,* which is said to " consist " in the three " mystic utterances " *Bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ* (ŚB. 2, 1, 4, 10). ŚB. 10, 6, 3, 1, prescribes to worship and meditate upon brahman as the true-and-real (*satyaṃ brahmety upāsīta*). Cf. also ṚVKh. 5, 3, 5 *tád ŕṣiḥ káśyapa staúti: satyáṃ bráhma carācarám, dhruváṃ bráhma carācarám:* brahman, the totality of all things whether moving or unmoving, is unchangeable (eternal) and real.[2] In short, it is the reality which is the basis of phenomenal reality: *satyasya satyam* (BĀU. 2, 1, 20).[3] According to other thinkers *satyam* is even to be regarded as the first principle itself, out of which came Soma which was the source of brahman.[4]

Hence the statement that the performer of a rite who pronounces the words " Agni is brahman " utters the " truth of speech " (ŚB. 3, 2, 2, 8), because, Sāyaṇa adds, " brahman is *satyam* ". " Verily ", the author of the ChU. (8, 3, 4) observes, " the name of that brahman is *satyam* ". Thus the knowledge of brahman as the *satyam* (more precisely, " of the first-born, i.e. the first cause, as brahman which is reality ") enables a man to conquer these " worlds ", i. e. those positions of safety which are above all limitation and all spatial relations (BĀU. 5, 4, 1).[5] " He who knows brahman as *satyam,* as (higher, identifying) knowledge, as (the) infinite...realizes all desires with brahman " (TU. 2, 1, 1). Hence also statements such as the following: according to KBU. 1, 5 f. the soul of the deceased should after having gained access to brahman identify it with *satyam.*[6] ŚB. 5, 3, 3, 8 observes that by preparing a definite oblation for Mitra Satya this god

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1. See A. A. MACDONELL, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg 1897, p. 115.

2. For brahman as *satyajñānānanda-* (TU. 2, 1, 1) — which are not qualities belonging to brahman but are one with it, constituting its very nature — see now also G. MUKHOPADHYAYA, *Studies in the Upaniṣads*, Calcutta, 1960, p. 245; 273; K. CAMMANN, *Das System des Advaita nach der Lehre Prakāśātmans*, Wiesbaden 1965, p. 119.

3, For this place see also J. M. van GELDER, *Der Ātman in der Grossen-Wald-Geheimlehre*, The Hague 1957, p. 43 f.

4. Rāmāyaṇa NW. 2, 65, 12 ff. (cr. ed. 2, app. I, 18, 17 ff.).

5. See my publication *Loka, world and heaven in the Veda,* Amsterdam Academy 1966, esp. p. 51 ; 145.

6. See *Thieme,* in Wiss. Zeitschrift der Universität Halle 1 (1951 f.), p. 19 ff. — Otherwise e. g. AiB. 3, 6. – As is well known *Satyam* is in purāṇical " cosmology " synonymous with Brahmaloka.

" quickens (instigates) the person conceived for brahman (neuter) "; since Agni Gṛhapati, through a similar oblation, " leads him to hold the position of a master of the house " (3) etc., that means: " he leads him to the state of being or representing brāhman, of being brāhman-like etc. "

The neuter *satyam* is like *amṛtam* a synonym of the *akṣaram brahma:* MuU. 2, 2, 2 ; cf. TU. 2, 1, 1 and ChU. 6, 8, 7 ; 8, 3, 4 ; BĀU. 5, 4, 1 ; 5, 5, 1 ; MaitrīU. 6, 3. The qualification applies also to the imperishable Person (*akṣaram puruṣam* MuU. 1, 2, 13 ; cf. ṚV. 10, 90) whose *devatā* is BĀU. 3, 9, 12 said to be *satyam* ; MaitrīU. 6, 8 to the ātman (cf. ChU. 6, 8, 7 ; 8, 1, 5 ; SubU. 13). In ŚB. 4, 2, 1, 26 and MaitrīU. 6, 6 Prajāpati the creator, is explicitly said to be *satyam* and in MaitrīU. 7, 7 satyam occurs together with *īśānaḥ, prajāpatiḥ viśvasṛk, viṣṇuḥ nārāyaṇaḥ* and other terms for the ultimate ground of the world in an attempt to describe the indescribable.

It may finally be remembered that *satyam* - which together with its complement *ṛtam* " order-and-truth " is ṚV. 10, 190, 1 said to have been the first product of divine tapas - including " truthfulness in mind, speech and action " is among the virtues inculcated by Lord Kṛṣṇa and as states of the beings dispensed by him : BhG, 10, 4, or proper to the man who is born to divine estate : 16, 2 (cf. also 17, 15; 18, 65). Further, that the concept is explained in such a way as to shed some light on the mutual sentiments of a high god and his devotees, for instance, AgniPur. 372, 7 *yad bhūtahitam atyantaṃ vacaḥ satyasya lakṣaṇam.* According to BrahmaPur. 227, 22 (*satyamūlaṃ jagat sarvam*) the whole world is supported by it.[1] *Satyam* is said to be an aspect of dharma or even to be the highest dharma.[2] Enduring for ever it is regarded as the basis of the *puruṣārthāḥ* and the source of happiness and bliss, contributing to the welfare and harmony of society as a whole engendering mutual trust and love and binding the individuals together. " Dharma based on *Satyam* is the root of everything in the world ". Or " *Satyam* is the lord of the world, Dharma is always associated with it ". " It is the root of heaven ".[3] " The ethics of *satya* are also based on the conception of the unity of the Self. One should feel oneself as identical with, or at least as similar to, other selves ".[4] Thus *satya* promotes unity.

This use and this meaning of the term under examination constitute the historical background against which the assignment of the name *Satya* to

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1. For the power of truth see also E. W. BURLINGAME, in *J. R. A. S.* 1917, p. 429 ff. ; LÜDERS, o. c., p. 15 ff. and my remarks in Oriens 13–14, p. 409.

2. See e. g. Rām. NW. 2, 65, 11 (cr. ed. 2, app. I, 18, 18).

3. See e. g. Rām. cr. ed. 2, 101, 101ff.

4. C. S. VENKATESWARAN, The ethics of the purāṇas, in *The Cultural Heritage of India*, published by the Ramakrishna Mission, II, Calcutta 1962, p. 289.

the great divine figures – with which Puruṣa, Brahman, Prajāpati came to fuse – must be viewed. Viṣṇu and Śiva are in a way the heirs to the vocabulary used to give an idea of the nature and the aspects of the One or the Highest Being, and so they inherited also the epithet *satya-* which was applicable to the ancient gods generally, as well, and especially, the neuter *Satyam.* It may indeed be said that the name is also to characterize God as the masculine personal manifestation of that brahman which is *satyam* [1] In the Mahābhārata it is mostly given to Kṛṣṇa: 12, 43, 9 in a hymn praising many aspects of the god; 12, 47, 16 *gṛṇanti satyakarmāṇaṃ satyaṃ satyeṣu sāmasu* (*abādhitam* " unimpeded, unrefuted ", Nīlakaṇṭha), and twice in a sahasranāmastotra: 13, 135, 25; 36, Beside Puruṣa, Nārāyaṇa, Acyuta, Aniruddha *Satyaḥ* is (e.g. VaikhSS. 4, 11) one of the aspects of Viṣṇu's essence and nature which, being addressed and invoked by their own name, are considered as individual avatāras of his being. Although the historical process was more complicated, it might impress those who have a superficial knowledge of the history of Indian religions as a mere hypostatization, that is as a " personification " resulting from the attribution of substantial existence of divine attributes.[2]

1. Like Indra in KBU, 3, 1, S'iva is Mbh. 12, app. I, 28, 274 (quoted e. g. Īśvaragītā, Kūrma-Pur. 7, 8) even called *vratānāṃ Satyam.* "God is Satya (Truth)", Mahātmā GANDHI, o. c., VIII, p. 61.

2. We need not discuss here the other attempts to distinguish, or connect, the " personalities " of Satya, Hari etc. (see e. g. ViPur. 3, 1, 39).

REFLECTIONS ON *SARVA-* IN VEDIC TEXTS

In perusing those passages from the ancient parts of Vedic literature which contain the word *sarva-* or compounds with *sarva-* we soon get the impression that translators have often disagreed with regard to the exact equivalent of these words in particular contexts. Cases are not rare in which even translations from the same pen are at variance with each other. An attempt may therefore be made to examine this word more closely. The comment made by GRASSMANN on the meaning of *sarva-* in the Ṛgveda is still worth quoting. The basal meaning "undivided, complete" ("ungeteilt, vollständig"), this authority says,[1] prevails in this corpus, the idea of "all" being mostly denoted by *viśva-*, seldom and only in the younger parts by *sarva-*. GRASSMANN is no doubt right in vindicating, contrary to the Petrograd Dictionary, a meaning "undivided, whole, uninjured" ("ganz, ungeteilt, unversehrt").

This sense is perfectly evident in the following passages: ṚV. 1, 41, 2 *yám bāhúteva píprati pānti mártyaṃ riṣáḥ | áriṣṭaḥ sárva edhate* "the mortal being, whom they (the Ādityas) bring over (i.e. save), so to say, in the arms and protect from injury, prospers 'complete' (i.e. in sound condition) and unhurt (or rather: safe, secure)"; 8, 27, 16 *prá sá kṣáyaṃ tirate... | prá prajābhir jāyate...áriṣṭaḥ sárva edhate* "he increases his house..., he propagates offspring..., he prospers safe and sound". In 10, 161, 5—which, being the last stanza of a sūkta intended to release a patient from consumption, also occurs, as 8, 1, 20 in the Atharvaveda—it reads: *sárvāṅga sárvaṃ te cákṣuḥ sárvam āyuś ca te 'vidam* "whole-limbed one! I have won your sight and your life safe and sound".

The translations given for the same adjective when occurring in the Atharvaveda seem to be, in places, in need of modification. AV. 18, 4, 8 (funeral verses) *mahimānam agnér...sámaṅgaḥ sárva úpa yāhi* "do thou, with thy limbs, 'complete in all parts', i.e. safe and sound, go unto Agni's greatness". The adjective not infrequently refers to the completeness or totality after an enumeration of the parts or constituents: 2, 31, 5; 19, 5, 1;

1. H. GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda, column 1489.

cf. also 4, 20, 4 *sárvam...yáś ca śūdrá utāryaḥ,* and ṚV. 10, 163, 5 and 6. AV. 8, 2, 25 *sárvo vaí tátra jīvati gaúr áśvaḥ púruṣaḥ paśúḥ...*—which forms part of a series of stanzas intended to be used in ceremonies for continuation of life and vitality—was translated by WHITNEY-LANMAN[2] as follows: "every one, verily, lives here—ox, horse, man, beast, where this charm is performed, a defence unto living". There is, however, as far as I am able to see, no objection to an interpretation: "unhurt, safe and sound": "cow, horse, man... live and are uninjured, where...". In the corresponding stanza in the Taitt. Ār. (6, 11, 12) the first pāda, though different in wording, harmonizes in sense: *ná vaí tátra prá mīyate.* AV. 16, 4, 6 the adjective occurs in the same context as *suasti-* "well-being", a combination which is to recur on one of the following pages: *suastỳ adyóṣáso doṣásaś ca sárva āpaḥ sárvagaṇo aśīya* "may I, O waters, attain today dawns and evenings with well-being (i.e. well) safe and sound, and my train safe and sound" ("whole and with my whole train" WHITNEY-LANMAN).

The sense of *sarva-* may also be illustrated by passages such as Ait. Br. 6, 31, 2 *na vai sakṛd evāgre sarvaḥ sambhavaty, ekaikaṃ vā aṅgaṃ sambhavataḥ sambhavati* "not at once...does it come into being whole, separately each member comes into being as it comes into being". Hence also the compound *sarvāṅga-* (ṚV. 10, 161, 5; AV. 8, 2, 8 etc.) "whole-limbed, entire or perfect in limb" (joining *ariṣṭa-* "unhurt"), and "complete" (in general).

The combinations of *sarva-* and *viśva-* are therefore not necessarily tautological in character: TBr. 3, 1, 1, 1 *yasyemā viśvā bhuvanāni sarvā* may have meant "...all these worlds in their completeness (entirity)", *viśva-* pointing out the inability to proceed after a certain total number has been counted, *sarva-* emphasizing the idea of wholeness and completeness and the inability to discern defectiveness.

Let us now turn to the compound *asarva-*. In AV. 9, 2, 14 *ásarvavīraś caratu...dvéṣyo mitrāṇāṃ parivargyàḥ svānām* the translation given by the American scholars "with his heroes not safe" is doubtless preferable to that of the Petrograd Dictionary: "whose people are not complete" ("seine Leute nicht voll beisammen habend"). The adjective is of some frequency in the brāhmaṇas: Jaim. Br. 3, 123 is very instructive: *kumāri, sthaviro vā ayam asarvo nālaṃ patitvanāya* "girl, this old man, who is decrepit, is no adequate husband". The sense of the word no doubt is "defective, not complete, lacking something essential"; ibid. 124 *yuvaṃ vā asarvau stho, yau devau santāv*

2. W. D. WHITNEY, Atharva-veda Saṃhitā, revised by Ch. R. LANMAN, Harvard 1905, p. 480.

asomapau sthaḥ "you are 'defective' (incomplete)—or: there is something wrong with you, because though being gods you are not admitted to drink the soma juice". Cf. also Śat. Br. 4, 1, 5, 10 ff. *na vai susarvāv iva stho na susamṛddhau* "you are neither quite complete nor quite perfect". A person who is neither a nobleman nor a purohita is incomplete: *asarva-*, the same brāhmaṇa says (6, 6, 3, 12).

In an interesting pericope of the Jaiminīya-upaniṣad-brāhmaṇa, 3, 1, 1, 1 ff. the reasons are given why some powerful beings may be called *asarva-*: in that the sun has gone to setting, it has gone to the seizers who are in the west, therefore it is not complete: *tena so 'sarvaḥ;* the moon and the asterisms are for the same reason "incomplete"; the fire is *asarva-*, because it dies out; day and night, because they pass; the quarters of the sky, because they are confounded and cannot be distinguished at night; the god of rain, because he loses and draws water[3]; the waters, the herbs, and the forest-trees, because they are exhausted. Here the sense of *asarva-* is very much in evidence: what is not always and in all respects perfect, what in some respects falls short of the ideal standards, what loses part of the power or energy which it represents, is *asarva-*.

From a passage in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (8, 7) it appears that the long formula *devasya tvā savituḥ prasave* etc. etc. is not considered to be "complete" as long as it is not concluded by *bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ*. "If he is anointed without a complete formula, he is liable to depart before he has completed a full lifetime" (*yad asarveṇa vāco 'bhiṣikto bhavatīśvaro ha tu purāyuṣaḥ praitoḥ...*). The vyāhṛtis, indeed, are *sarvāpti-* i.e. they represent "the obtaining of completeness",[4] and by adding these the institutor of the sacrifice is liable to complete a full lifetime, to live the whole of an *āyus;* by conquest he obtains *"sarvam"*: *īśvaro ha sarvam āyur aitoḥ, sarvam āpnod vijayena.* It may be added that the commentary explains *asarveṇa* by *sampūrtirahitena* "destitute of completion".

In connection with the sacrificial horse the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa 5, 1, 4, 5 observes that it was produced incomplete (*asarva-*) when it was produced from the waters, because something belonging to it was left behind; by means of that one completes the horse and makes it whole (*samardhayati kṛtsnaṃ karoti*). The wife, the same brāhmaṇa (5, 2, 1, 10) holds, is one half (i.e., the complementary part: *ardhaḥ*) of his own self; hence, as long as

3. I am not able to understand OERTEL's translation: Parjanya rains and holds up (*uc ca gṛhṇāti*: H. OERTEL, in the Journal of the Amer. Or. Soc. 16, p. 159).

4. KEITH: "an obtaining of all" (A. Berriedale KEITH, Rig-veda Brahmanas, Harvard 1920, p. 324).

he does not marry her, . . . for so long he is incomplete.[5] This observation is made in connection with the ritual mounting of the sacrificial post during the Vājapeya: in performing this rite the sacrificer attempts, for himself and his wife, to reach the sun:[6] in ascending the sacrificer pronounces the words: *sarva etāṃ gatiṃ gacchāni* "complete I want to go to that (supreme) goal." Here man obviously endeavours to reach the high goal of union with the light of heaven in the same state of wholeness and completeness in which he tries to preserve his body while living on the earth. Another interesting passage illustrating the same thought is J. Up. Br. 3, 3, 5 "whoso thus knows this self of the uktha firmly established in the self, comes into being in yonder world with limbs, with a body, whole": *sāṅgas satanus sarvas sambhavati.*

In my opinion, the compound in AthV. 14, 2, 6, which according to Monier-Williams, in his dictionary, means "consisting of or relating to or accompanied by or leading all men or heroes", and according to Whitney-Lanman "having all heroes", rather expresses the idea of "with complete, saved men (heroic sons)", i.e., "with the full number of them safe and sound": *sā . . . rayíṃ dhehi sárvavīram* "do you give wealth etc." The same expression, which would correspond to the Latin *salvis viris*, occurs AthV. 7, 9, 2 (where Whitney-Lanman give: "preserving heroes"): this verse which is, without variation, the same as ṚV. 10, 17, 5 (where GELDNER translates: "whose men are complete" ("vollzählig")) asks Pūṣan for safety and well-being: *só asmā́ṃ ábhayatamena neṣat svastidā...sárvavīraḥ...*; 3, 20, 8 "do thou (Agni) accord us wealth and make our men (heroic sons) to be in a safe and sound condition"; KEITH, who translated the partly identical stanza Taitt. S. 1, 7, 10 c: "....wealth with all heroes", added the following note: "*sárvavīram* may mean "with all (i.e., abundant) heroes (i.e., heroic offspring)", or possibly "with heroes unharmed" ";[7] Ath V. 7, 8, 1 where WHITNEY-LANMAN, though translating: "with all his heroes" adds the note: "literally..."having his heroes whole" "; KEITH translates the corresponding line Taitt. S. 1, 2, 3 n by " . . . with all thy strength" (*sárvavīraḥ*); 18, 3, 14; 19, 49, 6 with the compound *sarvavedas* of similar sense: "with our possessions unharmed, in the uninjured possession of our property"; 3, 12, 1... *sárvavīrāḥ suvī́rā áriṣṭavīrāḥ.*

The same compound which is of considerable frequency in the ancient documents—the Petrograd Dictionary taking it to mean "consisting of all

5. For this passage see also my 'Reflections on the numerals "one" and "two" in ancient Indo-European languages', Utrecht 1953, p. 31.

6. The reader may consult e.g. A. B. KEITH, The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, Harvard 1925, p. 339.

7 A. B. KEITH, The Veda of the Black Yajus School, Harvard 1914, p. 109.

men, accompanied by all men" and "vollzählig" (i.e., with no one lacking) everywhere—was, as it would appear to me, not correctly translated by GELDNER in ṚV. 9, 90, 3 *śūragrāmaḥ sárvavīraḥ sáhāvāñ jétā* (not "with just men, with nothing but men"): it belongs to the very ideal of a conqueror to return with unhurt soldiers. Similarly: 6, 23, 4; 3, 62, 3; 2, 30, 11. With his interpretation of 1, 51, 15 ("mit heilen Mannen"); 105, 19 I can agree.

In Atharvaveda 6, 3, 3 Tvaṣṭar is invoked to make the persons on whose behalf the prayer is recited, prosper unto "completeness", i.e. "preservation, salvation, sound condition, unimpaired strength and faculties": *vardháya sarvátātaye.* This concept is not foreign to the Ṛgveda: 3, 54, 11 Savitar is requested to procure *sarvátāti-*: *ād asmábhyam ā suva sarvátātim.* In contradistinction to Sāyaṇa's interpretation *sarvam apekṣitaṃ phalam,* GELDNER[8] translating the term by "Vollzähligkeit" ("completeness"), explained it as either the complete number of sons (cf. *sárvavīra-*) or the full lifetime. In view of the existence of the compound *sárvavīra-* the former assumption is, however, not very convincing. In 10, 36, 14 the same scholar rendered a similar line, to wit: *savitā naḥ suvatu sarvátātiṃ savitā no rāsatāṃ dīrghám āyuḥ* in a more satisfactory way: "Savitar must procure us perfection ("Vollkommenheit"), Savitar must give us a long lifetime". Here Sāyaṇa preferred: *sarvam abhilaṣitaṃ dhanādikam.* A difficult passage, occurring in 10, 100, 1-11, is *ā sarvátātim áditiṃ vṛṇīmahe.* GELDNER,[9] discussing the construction of this short sentence, arrives at the conclusion that LUDWIG's interpretation, according to which *áditim* is an abstract noun, should not be rejected. That means that, contrary to the translation presented in GELDNER's text: "we desire (entreat) perfection from Aditi" ("Wir erbitten Vollkommenheit von der Aditi"), the sense of the line would be "we desire salvation, guiltlessness" (" . . . um Heil, um Schuldlosigkeit"). There is, however, a third possibility, which might be considered on account of the order of words: Aditi defines, explains, or qualifies *sarvatāti-*. If, as seems probable, the name Aditi comes from *dā-*, *dyáti* "to bind", the meaning "being loose, freedom", proposed by OLDENBERG,[10] must in all probability be preferred to "limitless, unlimited, undividedness, immensity etc."[11] The 'goddess' represents, inter alia, the place of universal creation which must continually be protected from obstruction and narrowness; there can be no doubt that she is concerned with

8. K. GELDNER, Der Rig-veda übersetzt², I, Harvard 1951, p. 398.
9. GELDNER, o.c.,—III, p. 313.
10. H. OLDENBERG, Religion des Veda³, p. 202 f.
11. It may be recalled to memory that in the ancient Indo-European languages many words beginning with the privative prefix can better be translated by the positive contrary term. For examples see J. WACKERNAGEL, Vorlesungen über Syntax, II, Basel 1928, p. 284.

width, broadness and extension, with generation and motherhood.[12] Nor is it problematic that the idea expressed by the term *aditi-* (or, if this might be preferred, Aditi) is no abstract concept in the traditional sense of the word, but one of those many potencies, or power-substances, which empirically, or within some form of experience, were supposed to be present in persons, objects, and phenomena, and by virtue of which these are influential, effective, endowed with something which is beyond the bounds of understandable common experience.

In ṚV. 1, 106, 2 it is the Ādityas who are invoked: *ā́ gatā sarvátātaye* "approach in order to (confer) *sarvátāti-* (a safe and sound condition or something to that effect) on us". This means, Sāyaṇa observes, *sarvair vīrapuruṣais tatāya vistāritāya yuddhāya; yuddhe 'smākaṃ sāhāyyaṃ kartum ity arthaḥ,* an explication which is open to question. The same words recur in 10, 35, 11; the gods addressed are, again, the Ādityas. GELDNER, in his translation of the Ṛgveda, while rendering the former passage: "O Ādityas approach that we remain uninjured" ("dass wir heil bleiben!"), takes 10, 35, 11 to mean "for the sake of completeness" ("zur Vollzähligkeit").

Of special interest are those passages in which the term under discussion combines with *suasti-*, which literally means "well-being, fortune, prosperity". ṚV. 9, 96, 4 Soma is addressed as follows: *ájītayé 'hataye pavasva svastáye sarvátātaye bṛhaté* which means: "flow off clearly in order to come off alive and victorious, in order to secure well-being and 'completeness' (a safe and sound condition)". It may be noticed that in the Atharvaveda (14, 2, 72) the word *bṛhat-*, an adequate English equivalent of which is very difficult to find, combines with *vā́jasāti-* "the winning of *vā́ja-*, i.e., "a power or potency manifesting in animal and vegetable life, in strength and the capacity to live, to grow, to last in vigour". Whereas WHITNEY-LANMAN, very questionably, considered *bṛhat-* to be a substantive: "...in order to what is great, to winning of strength", GELDNER may be correct in regarding it an adjective qualifying *sarvátāti-* (ṚV. 9, 96, 4). ṚV. 9, 15, 2 the same *bṛhat-* qualifies another word in *-tāti-*, to wit *devátāti-*. If I was, in another publication, right in considering *bṛhat-* to mean something like "firm, solid, intrinsically powerful, reliable (and hence also great, firm, high, vigorous etc.)"[13] the passage under

12. I refer to my book 'Aspects of early Visnuism', Utrecht 1945, p. 72; 115 ff.

13. I may refer to my 'Notes on brahman', Utrecht 1950, p. 31 ff; and esp. p. 35 f. The adjective *bṛhat-* could also express such ideas of intrinsic and coextensive, potent and incomprehensible "firmness", "solidity" and "reliability" as may be considered a more definite description of the nature and limits of those potencies which are often called "gods" and which are representatives of energetic, but incomprehensible or at least suprahuman power.

consideration shows, first that *sarvátāti-* could be qualified by the same adjective as *devátāti-* and *vā́jasāti-*, and in the second place that it could be called "firm, reliable, intrinsically powerful".[14]

The above combination also occurs ṚV. 6, 15, 18 (addressed to Agni) *jániṣvā devávītaye sarvátātā suastáye* "be born in order to afford enjoyment to the gods on account of a safe and sound condition,[15] in order to well-being"; 6, 56, 6 (addressed to Pūṣan)[16] *ā́ te suastím īmaha āréaghām úpāvasum / adyā́ ca sarvátātaye śvó́ś ca sarvátātaye* "we approach thee with the request for well-being from which evil is far, and which procures good things, in order to (obtain) a safe and sound condition today and tomorrow". Here it appears that "well-being", absence of evil, and the possession of *vasu-* "good things, goods, property" are essential constituents of the concept called *sarvátāti-*. In 1, 94, 15 *anā́gāstvam* "sinlessness" or rather "purity, virtue," if the form *sarvátātā* is a locative of motive, seems to belong to the same category: *yásmai tváṃ sudraviṇo dádāśo ... 'nāgāstvám adite sarvatātā* "to whom Thou (Agni), who art in possession of splendid treasures, Aditi,[17] grantest (ritual and moral) purity with a view to (in order to obtain) a safe and sound condition". If this be the correct translation, the *sarvátāti-* is the higher end, the object on account of which other advantages are wished for. A similar passage is 3, 54, 19: *devā́nāṃ dūtáḥ . . . ánāgān no vocatu sarvátātā* "the messenger of the gods . . . must declare us to be 'sinless' (pure) with a view to a safe and sound condition." GELDNER, however, translated *sarvátātā* by "to the full extent" ("in vollem Masse"), and in 5, 69, 3 by "completely": *prātár devī́m áditim johavīmi madhyáṃdina úditā sū́ryasya* | *rāyé mitrāvaruṇā sarvátātéḷe tokā́ya tánayāya śáṃ yóḥ* "in the morning and at noon, when the sun rises,[18] I invoke the goddess Aditi for wealth, O Mitra and Varuṇa,

14. It remains to add that most other words in *-tāti-* express ideas belonging to the same semantic sphere: *ariṣṭatāti-* "safeness, security"; *ayakṣmatāti-* "health"; *dakṣatāti-* "ability" (joining, in AV. 8, 1, 6 *jīvātu-* "length of life"); *jyeṣṭhatāti-* "superiority"; *śaṃtāti-* (together with *ariṣṭatāti-*, ṚV. 10, 137, 4) "happiness, welfare"; *astatāti-* "home, (i.e. the condition of being safe and having a fixed place of rest)", etc. This group, like some analogical forms of later date, may be made an argument in favour of the supposition that *sarvatāti-* (which with *ariṣṭatāti-* is the most frequent) denoted "a condition of completeness or wholeness" rather than "the whole number". The opposite sense of *gṛbhītatāti-* "captivity" is easily intelligible.

15. I would prefer to regard this form as a *nimittasaptamī* rather than Geldner's "in Vollzähligkeit" ("completely"). Cf. e.g. ṚV. 6, 19, 12.

16. For Pūṣan see S. D. ATKINS, Pūṣan in the Rig-veda, Princeton 1941.

17. See above, and GELDNER, o.c., I², p. 123.

18. See GELDNER o.c., II, p. 76. For the meaning of the form see also GRASSMANN'S Dictionary, 1490, s.v. *sarvátāt-*.

with a view to *sarvátāti-;* I implore (her) for welfare and happiness for the benefit of my children and offspring." If, again, I am not mistaken in my interpretation of the locative, "wealth" (or at least a sufficiency of goods) is an important element of the safe and sound condition which appears to be often present to the mind of these poets as an ideal of happiness.

In 6, 12, 2 Agni is addressed as follows: *ā yásmin yajatra yákṣad rājan sarvátāteva nú dyaúḥ* "(thou) . . . in whom, O thou that art worthy of worship, heaven also (I am sure) worships so to say with a view to *sarvátāti-*, O king" (GELDNER again translates by "completely").[19] GELDNER is no doubt right in identifying "heaven" with its denizens; cf. also 6, 2, 4. Here it is taken for granted that the attainment of the condition denoted by the term under consideration belongs also to the objects of which the gods are eagerly desirous. There seems to be more uncertainty in the interpretation of this term in another passage (10, 74, 3) in which it occurs in the Ṛgvedasaṃhitā. It would be tempting to read in it the conviction that the text composed by the poet is a means of securing the high good, going by the name of *sarvátāti-*, to the gods: *iyám eṣām amṛ́tānāṃ gīḥ sarvátātā yé kṛpáṇanta rátnam* "this thought (prayer) is, with a view to *sarvátāti-*, intended for the immortals, who long for a (that) treasure". Would it not be preferable to consider *ratna-* "gem, treasure" to refer to *sarvátāti-*, not (as is GELDNER's opinion) to the poet's composition? This word, which in documents dating from a later period occurs in connection with highly appreciated entities and concepts of very high rank—we may only recall the *ratanattaya* or triad of gems of the Buddhists—, can also in the Ṛgveda be an expression for very valuable acquisitions (see e.g. 2, 38, 1; 3, 8, 6; 27, 8; 56, 7). If this be the meaning of this line the tenor of the whole stanza may be considered to express the thought worded also in the well-known stanza in the Bhagavadgītā (3, 11): *devān bhāvayatānena te devā bhāvayantu vaḥ | parasparaṃ bhāvayantaḥ śreyaḥ param avāpsyatha.*

Of a more dubious character are three cases which as far as their outward appearance is concerned can be a sg. loc. of *sarvátāti-* as well as an instr. of *sarvátāt.*[20] The stanza ṚV. 7, 57, 7 *ā stutāso maruto víśva ūtī́ áchā sūrī́n sarvátātā jigāta* can, it is true, be taken to mean: "Since you have been praised, O Maruts, come, all of you, towards the institutors of the sacrifices with (your) promoting favour with a view to a safe and sound condition (viz. on our part, for our benefit)". GELDNER, however, followed the Petro-

19. For the idea expressed in this line see ṚV. 10, 88, 7.

20. Now see J. WACKERNAGEL—A. DEBRUNNER, Altindische Grammatik II, 2, Göttingen 1954, p. 620.

grad Dictionary, which gave the sense of "together" ("in Gesammtheit, insgemein, alle zusammen") or "completely" ("vollzählig").[21] A similar interpretation, though possible: (*sarvátāti-* for the sake of those who were ill-treated by the victim or: with the intention of the furtherance of his own's *sarvátāti-*) is, however, by no means self-evident in the case of 7, 18, 19: *prātra bhedáṃ sarvátātā muṣāyat.* Here a translation "he (Indra) robbed "Bheda" by means of (through) his (own) *sarvátāt*" (GRASSMANN) might in any case be preferred to "robbed him completely" (GELDNER). Similar consideration might be devoted to 4, 26, 3 where Indra is described as boasting of his victory over Śambara: *ahám púro...vý airaṃ náva sākáṃ navatíḥ śámbarasya / śatatamáṃ veśyaṃ sarvátātā* "I forced the ninety-nine strongholds of Śambara, as the hundredth their occupant(s)[22] with a view of (rather than: through?) my *sarvátāt-* (?)". Or should we subscribe to GELDNER's interpretation: for completeness' sake ("zur Vollständigkeit"), the hundredth being the person or object which by joining a group or number completes it.[23]

There are other words in which this function of *sarva-* may be still apparent. Can ṚV. 8, 31, 11, where some divine powers are invoked: *áitu pūṣā rayír bhágaḥ svastí sarvadhātamaḥ | urúr ádhvā svastáye* in view of the afore-mentioned combination of *svasti* and *sarvátāti-* have meant: "Pūṣan must come, Wealth, Bhaga who more than others gives well-being and what is "whole" (i.e. a safe and sound condition), the broad road towards well-being"?[24] We cannot help being reminded of the Avestan phrase *haurva dā* "to make whole, complete, perfect, to bring to a state of completion", cf. e.g. Nīrangistān 37 *yaθā kaθa-ča dahmō staōta yesnya haurva daδāti* "in whichever manner a real member of the Zoroastrian community brings to completion the hymns of praise which belongs to the sacrifice".[25]

Hence also the frequent occurrence of *sarva-* in combination with words which express an aspect of totality or denote a concept which is considered to be complete. As pointed out earlier *sarvam āyuḥ* means "a full

21. It is also worth mentioning that RENOU, while translating *sarvátātā* by "with plenitude, abundance" ("avec plénitude"), is of the opinion that *-tātā* is the instrumental of *-tāt-* rather than the locative of *-tāti-* (L. RENOU, Grammaire de la langue védique, Paris 1952, p. 219 and 172). GRASSMANN at the time translated *sarvátāt-* by "a perfect or complete nature, perfect vigour, complete blessing" ("vollkommenes Wesen, Kraftfülle, Segensfülle", Wörterbuch, 1490).

22. I refer to GELDNER, o.c., I², p. 454.

23. Sāyaṇa: *sarvatātā sarvatātau yajñe;* similarly, 7, 57, 7; but 7, 18, 9 *sarvatātau yuddhe ca.*

24. Accordingly, GRASSMANN translated: "giving welfare (good), refreshing" ("Heil schenkend, erquickend"). For the construction see GELDNER, o.c., II, p. 342.

25. A. WAAG, Nirangistan, Leipzig 1941, p. 55 f.

lifetime": see e.g. ŚatBr. 2, 1, 3, 4 *apahatapāpmāno devā apa pāpmānaṃ hate 'mṛtā devā nāmṛtatvasyāśāsti sarvam āyur eti yas...*; JUp. Br. 1, 37, 7 etc. etc.

The well-known phrase *idaṃ sarvam* "this all" i.e. "the (complete) universe" occurs already in the Ṛgvedasaṃhitā: 8, 58, 2 (= Vāl. 10, 2) *ékaivóṣāḥ sárvam idáṃ ví bhāty ékaṃ vā idáṃ ví babhūva sárvam;* JUp. Br. 1, 7, 1; 25, 2; 41, 1, etc. ŚatBr. 6, 1, 3, 11 *adbhyo hīdaṃ sarvaṃ jāyate.* ṚV. 1, 39, 5 the Maruts are described as having advanced *sárvayā viśā,* i.e., "with their complete community" (cf. also 5, 26, 9; 8, 28, 3). According to the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (7, 5, 1, 34; 9, 5, 1, 63) Agni, the fire, if not carried about for a year (which is a representative of completeness) is not complete (*asarva-*).

Like other words of similar sense *sarva-* developed the meanings of "all, every". In connection with words indicating a mass or collectivity "whole, complete", meaning "including or concerning every part" becomes "all": *sárvam bhójanam* (ṚV. 1, 83, 4) "the whole quantity of food" meant "all the articles of food"; *sárvayā viśā* "with the complete clan" (1, 39, 5): "with all the members of the clan". In popular German usage *die ganzen Menschen* "the complete men" is in a similar way sometimes heard, to express "all men".[26] Such expressions as *die ganzen Häuser* "all the houses", *die ganzen Einwohner* "all the inhabitants" were modelled upon *die ganze Stadt* "the whole town", *die ganze Schule* "the whole school". In becoming a word for "all, every" *sarva-* encroached upon the domain of the adjective *viśva-* which in this sense must have been more original (it is closely related to Balto-Slavonic words for similar ideas).[27] The pronominal flection, adopted by *sarva-* in Ancient Indian, must be regarded as resulting from its younger function.

So the word *sarvam* can very significantly be used in such a way as to suggest a sense opposite to illness and death. In a stanza which with slight verbal variation is quoted in the Chānd. Up. 7, 26, 2 and the MaitrīUp. 7, 11, 6 it reads: *na paśyo mṛtyuṃ paśyati, na rogaṃ nota duḥkhatām | sarvaṃ ha paśyaḥ paśyati, sarvam āpnoti sarvaśaḥ* "he who (truly) sees does not see

26. The reader might be referred to K. Brugmann, Die Ausdrücke für den Begriff der Totalität in den indogermanischen Sprachen, Univ. Leipsic 1893-4; esp. p. 29; 34 ff.; 43 ff.; C. D. Buck, A dictionary of selected synonyms in the principal Indo-European languages, Chicago 1949, p. 918f.; see also E. Sapir, Totality Language Monographs, VI, Baltimore 1930, where the differences between various terms for totality are discussed from a 'structural' point of view.

27. See also A. Debrunner and J. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik III, Göttingen 1930, p. 581.

death, nor illness, nor any distress; he who (truly) sees sees the All (i.e., wholeness, completeness, integrity), he reaches (obtains) the All (wholeness etc.) in all respects (entirely)".[28] In contradistinction to distress, illness and death *sarvam* must be a condition in which man is safe and uninjured; in which one has overcome death and reached "life eternal".

It is therefore not surprising to read that by acquiring the insight into the essence of Brahman, or more briefly, by the knowledge of Brahman (*brahmavidyā*) man becomes "All": Br. Ār. Up. 1, 4, 9 *tad āhuḥ, yad brahmavidyayā sarvam bhaviṣyanto manuṣyā manyante, kim u tad brahmāved yasmāt tat sarvam abhavad iti* "They say, since men think that by the knowledge of Brahman, they become "All", what then was it that Brahman knew by which it became "All" ?" And the answer simply is (10) : *brahma vā idam agra āsīt, tad ātmānam evāved, aham brahmāsmīti; tasmāt tat sarvam, abhavat* "Brahman, indeed, was this in the beginning. It knew only itself: "I am Brahman". Therefore it became "All". " And the author adds that whoever of the gods, seers, or men became awakened to this, he indeed became that. "Whoever knows "I am Brahman", becomes this "All" ": *sa idaṃ sarvam bhavati.* And in the same upaniṣad, 2, 5, 10, the Self, the "Immortal", the Brahman, the "All" are expressly identified: *yaś cāyam asminn ākāśe tejomayo 'mṛtamayaḥ puruṣo, yaś cāyam adhyātmam hṛdyākāśas tejomayo 'mṛtamayaḥ puruṣo, ayam eva sa yo 'yam ātmā, idam amṛtam, idam brahma, idaṃ sarvam* "this brilliant person which not being subject to death is in this space, and with reference to the individual, this brilliant person who is not subject to death and who is in the space in the heart, he is just this Self, this existence which is not subject to death, he is Brahman, he is Whole". And being "whole" means being "safe".[29]

The identification of *Brahman* and *sarvam* is indeed frequently taught: Chānd. Up. 3, 14, 1 *sarvaṃ khalv idaṃ brahma* "verily, this whole (the universe) is Brahma"; MaitrīUp. 4, 6. Cf. also ŚB. 7, 3, 1, 42 *sarvam u brahma prajāpatiḥ.*[30] Now the question arises what sense was attributed to *sarvam* by those who first identified *brahman* with it. Professor KUMARAPPA[31] was of the opinion that those who straightway identified Brahman

28. I fear that I cannot subscribe to Professor RADHAKRISHNAN'S translation: "he sees everything" (Sri S. RADHAKRISHNAN, The Principal Upanishads, London 1953, p. 489)

29. "There is a security ... in making the Whole one's "pearl of great price" " (R. W. BROWNING, in The Philosophy of S. Radhakrishnan, New York 1952, p. 256).

30. J. Up. Br. I, 46, 2 *sarvam* ... like *bhadram* "bliss", *samāptiḥ* "attainment", etc., belongs to the sixteen aspects of Prajāpati (lit. to the sixteen parts into which he divided himself). Prajāpati is *sarvam* (Kauṣ. Br. 6, 15; 25, 12).

31. Bharatan KUMARAPPA, The Hindu Conception of the Deity, London 1934, p. 19 f.

with "everything in the universe", while prompted by a great zeal for the truth that Brahman is the unity which explains all this diversity, proceeded rather indiscriminately. Exulting in their discovery that nothing can exist without Brahman—was it not such a unitary principle which they so passionately sought after?—they too inconsiderately proclaimed: "lo, here, all is Brahman". "But this wholesale predication of everything found in the universe as being of Brahman, if it was intended seriously, and not merely in an exaggerated way to refer to the all-pervading power of Brahman, could not continue for very long, for a little reflection suffices to show that if Brahman is everything all over again, He is not the unity which philosophers were seeking. That which explains everything cannot be the same as everything. Accordingly philosophers were not long in perceiving that Brahman must be very different in character from the "universe"." It may therefore be a tempting supposition to hold the original value of the predication *sarvaṃ khalv idaṃ brahma* to have been, not "Brahman is everything here", but "Brahman is the complete here, this whole (one)", or: "Brahman is what is the whole, complete here, is what is entire, perfect, with no part lacking, what is safe and well etc., i.e. Completeness, Totality, the All seen as the Whole". It then was only a re-interpretation of *sarva-* in accordance with the semantic development of this word which leads to the untenable conclusion noticed by KUMARAPPA. Needless to argue that *sarvam* in this sense goes very well with the well-known "identifications" of Brahma with *amṛta-* (e.g. MaitrīUp. 4, 6) and *akṣara-* "the imperishable, immutable, unalterable"[32] and with the conviction that Brahma is pure, free from evil, perfect, that it is truth, an indistinguishable unity, that "it transcends hunger and thirst, sorrow and delusion, old age and death" (B. ār. Up. 3, 5, 1; cf. Chānd. Up. 8, 1, 5; 7, 1). The *sarvam* is also *akṣayyam* "undecaying" (Śat. Br. 1, 6, 1, 19).

A knowledge of the original sense of *sarva-* may, in my opinion, also be of some help to a better understanding of the implications of the term *sarvajña-* "omniscient". According to the definition given in Patañjali's Yogasūtras, 3, 49, a *sarvajñātṛ-* i.e., "a man who is 'omniscient' " is: he who has only the full discernment of the difference between the sattva and the Self; such a man has authority over all states of existence. "Being one who knows all", the Yogabhāṣya observes, "refers to the intuitive knowledge, produced by discrimination and rising instantaneously into consciousness, of the aspects (*guṇa*) which are the essence of all, whether they be quiescent or uprisen or indeterminable. It is this perfection that is termed the "undistressed", by

32. For akṣara- see P. M. MODI, Akṣara, a forgotten chapter in the history of Indian Philosophy, Thesis Kiel 1931 (Baroda 1932). The epic and paurāṇic texts never tire of repeating that brahma is *akṣaram;* the latter term was already in the oldest prose upanishads a designation for the highest metaphysical principle.

attaining to which the yogin "who knows all", whose hindrances and bondages have dwindled, takes his recreation as having mastery". It is evident that this omniscience is not a mere knowledge of an infinite diversity of objects and phenomena[33], though this ability may easily be considered a natural consequence of it. Elsewhere (on Pat. Y.S. 1, 25) the same commentary furnishes us with the explication that the omniscient is he in whom the germ of omniscience—i.e., the process of knowing the supersensuous—as it increases progressively reaches its utmost excellence. He in whom this limit of thinking is reached is the omniscient and He is a special kind of Self. "The intuitive knowledge proceeding from discrimination", Patañjali teaches (Y.S. 3, 54), is *sarvaviṣayam* and has all times for its object; it is an inclusive whole without sequence".[34] This means, according to the same commentary, that there is nothing that is not its object, and that it has intuitive knowledge at all times of one whole (*sarvam*); besides, that it grasps one whole. As is well known, Brahma is *sarvajña-* and so are the Buddha and the Arhants of the Jains.

It is interesting to notice that the oldest text showing the term *sarvajña-*, Muṇḍ. Up. 1, 1, 9, uses it in connection with *jñānamayaṃ tapaḥ* "austerity consisting of the higher knowledge", i.e. "the intuitive insight into the difference between the ātman and the phenomenal world which leads to final deliverance": *yaḥ sarvajñaḥ sarvavid yasya jñānamayaṃ tapaḥ tasmād etad brahma nāmarūpam annaṃ ca jāyate* "from him who is "omniscient", who is "all-knowing", whose austerity consists of *jñāna-*, the Brahma here, individuality, and food derive their existence", that is to say: the One who (which) is "knowledge" transforms himself (itself) into objects: by this process creation takes place. In relation to the uncreated universe *sarvajña-* must mean "knowing the totality".[35] Between the One and the many there is a relation of genetic dependence and existential contrast. In each of the many the transcendent unity is potentially latent, and by inversion of functionality it can be actualized as *sarvajñatva-*, i.e., (transcendent) consciousness of the Whole, of the All, in which the particular consciousness is annihilated.

A similar relation between the *Sarvam*, the Whole and the condition of being liberated, seems to be mystically expressed in AthV. 9, 7, 24 where

33. This is not to deny that it involved, or easily developed into, a universal knowledge of this kind. Compare also the descriptions given of the omniscience or *kevala nāṇa* of the Jain emancipated (see e.g. W. SCHUBRING, Die Lehre der Jainas, Berlin-Leipzig 1935, p. 110). Interesting observations were also made by F. HEILER, Der Gottes Begriff der Mystik, in Numen, Intern. Review for the History of Religions, I, p. 170 f.—He rightly states that the All of the mystic is no chaos, but a cosmos.

34. See also J. H. WOODS, The Yoga-system of Patañjali, Harvard 1914, p. 294.

35. For the interpretation of this passage see also S. RADHAKRISHNAN, o.c. p. 674.

the ox, who is extolled in this 'hymn', is described as belonging to all the gods when being yoked, to be Prajāpati when yoked, and to be *sarvam* when unyoked (or: released): *yujyámāno vaiśvadevó yuktáḥ prajāpatir vímuktaḥ sárvam.*

It now remains briefly to examine the relatives of the Ancient-Indian *sarva-*. In Avestan, *haurva-* sometimes conveys the force of "whole, intact, unhurt, sound": Yasna 58, 6 *haurva-fšav-* "whose cattle is unhurt or safe". Of special interest is the substantive *haurvatāt-* (also *haurvāt-*)[36] which is usually taken to express the sense of "wholeness, completeness, perfect happiness or prosperity, welfare".[37] This "concept" is also "deified", that is to say: *haurvatāt-* occurs as a divine power. *Haurvatāt* is one of the Amerta Spentas[38] and as such in a significant manner often mentioned together with *Ameretatāt* or *Ameretāt* "immortality", or rather: "(possession of) full and unimpaired vitality, life".[39]

This pair, Haurvatāt and Ameretatāt,[40] are aspects of Ahura Mazdāh, the Supreme Being. Their essence, or at least a very important aspect of theirs, seems to be clearly indicated in Yt. 19, 96 where they are expected to conquer both famine and drought. To Haurvatāt the care of the life-giving waters was, indeed, entrusted.[41] By his perfect union with Haurvatāt, Ameretatāt, and other powers, Ahura Mazdāh is able to recompense his devotees (cf. Y. 31, 21). In Y. 51, 7 Ahura Mazdāh is requested to give these two powers to men; and the phrase expressing these is followed by *tavīšī utayūtī* "force, and bodily welfare, well-being and endurance (longevity)";

36. Haplology: see H. REICHELT, Awestisches Elementarbuch, Heidelberg 1909, p. 79.

37. BARTHOLOMAE already noticed that these "meanings" cannot always be exactly distinguished one from the other (Chr. BARTHOLOMAE, Altiranisches Wörterbuch, Strassburg 1904, 1792).

38. See my paper 'Origin and meaning of Avestan spƏnta-', Oriens II, p. 195 ff.; cf. also H. LOMMEL, Die Religion Zarathustras, Tübingen 1930, p. 30.

39. H. LOMMEL, Die Yašts des Awesta, Göttingen-Leipzig 1927, p. 77 (Yašt 10, 92) gave this pair of divinities the German names of "Heilsein und Nichttotsein"; J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, Zoroastre, Paris 1948 (Y. 44, 17; 45, 5) the French names "Intégrité et Immortalité"; H. S. NYBERG, Die Religionen des alten Iran, Leipzig 1938, p. 140 ff: "Gesundheit" ("Health") und "Unsterblichkeit" ("Immortality"); A. CHRISTENSEN, L'Iran sous les Sassanides, Copenhagen 1944, p. 32: "l' Intégrité ou la Santé ("Health") et le Non-mourir", the same in Die Iranier (I. v. MÜLLER's Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft), München 1933, p. 222 "Wohlfahrt, Heil" and "Nichtsterben"; E. HERZFELD, Zoroaster, Princeton 1947, p. 356 ff.: "integrity of body", "blessed life on earth" and "eternal life".

40. No conclusion can be drawn from the usual order of the dvandva *haurvatāt-ameretatāt,* the shortest component tending to keep the first place. See Pāṇini 2, 2, 34.

41. BENVENISTE's supposition that the dvandva is a "mythical projection" of water-and-plants need not detain us here (E. BENVENISTE, in the Bulletin of the School of Or, Stud., London, 8, p. 405).

the latter pair is generally and rightly regarded as referring to two other "power-substances".[42] In Y. 33, 8 it is Haurvatāt and Ameretāt themselves who are implored to accord well-being, bodily welfare and perpetuity of life (*utayūtī-*) to man.[43] So, it would be difficult to deny that Haurvatāt and Ameretāt are closely connected with food, endurance, and perpetuity of life. In Y. 34, 11 they are even explicitly stated to be, or to serve as, food. Besides there is, as far as appears from the documents which are preserved to us, a correspondence between Haurvatāt and the above *utayūtī-*.[44] The conclusion seems to be warranted that this 'concept' and 'divinity' represents bodily welfare, the enjoyment of perfect health and of full strength and vigour based on and resulting from a disposal of the life-giving water. It is not surprising to find that the term can directly apply to water (e.g., Y. 8, 1, where *ameretāta* represents its complement, the plants), and as a divinity is the "lord of waters". For "health, soundness, continuance of a safe and sound condition" the Avesta uses *drvatāt-* (often in combination with *tanū-* "body"); the word *drva* "firm, healthy, sound" is identical with the Skt. *dhruva-* "fixed, immovable, permanent, lasting, eternal".

So the conclusion might be that the idea of "completeness" was of considerable consequence in the ancient Indo-Iranian culture. This "completeness" appears as bodily integrity, as preservation of perfect health, as an unimpaired condition in a more general sense. It was not, or not merely, a natural desire of man in daily life, it played an important rôle among the objects persued in religion; it even was a highly desirable condition or a 'potency' of rank.

The etymologic connection of *sarva-* and *haurva-* shows that the idea conveyed by these words: "being whole, i.e., being complete, intact, in a sound condition", was already known at an earlier period; besides, that it was the more "original" sense of the Indo-European *solvo-s* to which they must go back. The latter part of this conclusion is not new, but the importance of the etymology: AInd. *sarva-*: Lat. *salvus*: Gr. ὅλος (*hólos*) etc. from the point of view of the history of civilization has, as far as I am able to see, not been duly recognized by my predecessors. In Latin, *salvus* means "well-preserved, whole, sound, healthy, well, unhurt, intact, uninjured, alive, safe". The poet Plautus gives a kind of definition: Aulularia 207 *salvom est si quid non perit* "it is safe, that is: if it is all there, if nothing is lost". We come across such phrases as *salvus et servatus* "well and safe"; *salvus et sospes* "well and unhurt"; *salvus et sanus* "safe and sound". The word is also ap-

42. Cf. also Y. 45, 10; 34, 11.
43. For a discussion of *utayūti* and *taviši* see NYBERG, o.c., p. 140 ff.
44. I refer to NYBERG, l. c.

plied to lifeless objects, inter alia to law, justice, or conscience. In contradistinction to the Anc. Ind. *sarva-*, the Latin *salvus* did not develop into a pronominale.[45] This adjective is etymologically related to the Latin *salus* which denotes the condition of the person who is *salvus*, the safe and sound condition, health, welfare, well-being. As a divinity *Salus*[46] was identified with the Greek Hygieia, the goddess of health. Her cult must have been of considerable antiquity.[47] She represented not only "Health", but also "Public Welfare": as *Salus publica* she was the divine representative of the general public welfare. In this quality she is often mentioned together with Fortuna "Fortune", or Felicitas "Success, Happy Issue".[48] The substantive *salus*, however, also served to denote the idea of deliverance from death or ruin, also: safety, security. When opposed to "ruin, destruction, death" it could mean "life": *salutem debēre alicui* means "to owe a person the preservation of one's life". The word, which survives in such well-known English terms as *salutary* (used in physical and moral sense), *salvage, salvation,* was also used in the sense of "welfare wished", i.e. "salutation, salute";[49] the imperative *salve* "be well", which was a general form of greeting can still be used: "Hail!, God save you!".[50] The ancient *salus*, which often occurred in such contexts as may be considered "religious", was, under the influence of the Gr. σῶς (*sōs*) "safe and sound, alive and well; whole, intact" and its relatives adopted by the Christians to express the idea of "hail". From the derivative *salvare* they coined the new term *salvator* "Saviour", and *salvatio* "the act of saving" came to mean "redemption (in a spiritual sense), deliverance from sin and its effects (in the Christian sense of the word)", and also "the state of being saved": cf. such expressions as "In Christ is our salvation".

The Greek member of this family of words, the Homeric οὗλος (*ōlos*) and Attic ὅλος (*hólos*), denoted, in a comparable way, the ideas of "whole,

45. The reader may for some particulars be referred to A. Ernout et A. Meillet, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine3, Paris 1951, p. 1043 f.

46. See also A. Meillet, in the Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris 28 (1928), p. 40 ff., who is no doubt right in considering the term a remainder of an ancient family of words of religious significance.

47. For particulars see G. Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer2, München 1912, p. 131 ff.

48. See H. Wagenvoort, Roman Dynamism, Oxford 1947, p. 71.

49. In explanation of the Latin phrase *digitus salutaris* "forefinger" R. B. Onians, The Origin of European Thought2, Cambridge 1954, p. 498, n. 1 supposes the original meaning of the Roman greeting by holding up the hand, perhaps the finger, towards another to have been a beneficent act, to wit the bestowal of life, the hand being a frequent means of transmitting the spirit or vital power. The verb *salutare* "to greet, salute" indeed originally meant "to give *salus* to a person."

50. There is no use in explaining *salve,* with R. Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitung 28, p. 160, n. 2 as an original vocative of *salvus.*

entire, complete in all its parts", of persons as well as objects: in connection with bread it meant a "whole" loaf, with the moon: "full". Joining the word ὑγιής (*hugiès*) "healthy" it must be translated by "safe and sound". As a substantive τὸ ὅλον (*to hólon*) means "the universe", but this term differs from τὸ πᾶν (*to pān*) in that it implies a definite order. Whereas οὖλε (*ōle*) was in use as a form of salutation "health to thee", ὅλος (*hólos*) could also stand for πᾶς (*pās*) "all" and "every". As a first member of compounds ὁλο- (*holo-*) means "completely, entirely" (before adjectives) or "whole" (before substantives). Space forbids to consider some of the compounds in detail. Two related words may however not be left unmentioned: the verb ὁλοεῖται (*holoētai*) which according to the lexicographer Hesychius means "to be sound or healthy" and ἕλος (*hélos*) which is explained by the same authority as μόνος καὶ ὅλος (*mónos kaì hólos*) "alone and whole".

That the idea of "whole" or "complete" in a more general sense was often expressed by words denoting also "sound, whole in body, unhurt, well" is a well-established fact.[51] What is important is that the relevant terms came to be used also in contexts bearing on "thought" and religion, in the philosophy of life or nature of the prehistoric and ancient peoples,—provinces of their culture which while coinciding with each other for a considerable part, cannot be separated from their daily life. Whereas—as might have been expected—the Romans gave the group of words apart from a "religious" also a political sense, and the Greeks used τὸ ὅλον (*to hólon*) as a term for "the universe", the ancient Iranians made *Haurvatāt* one of the "energetically powerful Beings who are beyond the reach of Death" (Amerta Spentas), and who may be regarded as aspects of Ahura Mazdāh himself, the Indians, identifying *bráhman* and *sarvam,* choose this term for "intact, uninjured, entire, complete" to denote the Whole of Existence, the All, which in being eternally complete, is always free from decay, illness, and death. By realizing that he is *sarva-,* a man escapes death and its precursors.

The idea expressed by this word was, in the second place, combined with that denoted by the Ancient Indian *amṛtatva-* and its relatives in other languages, that is to say with that of "continuance of life". The harbingers of death, all that which is injurious to health, hurtful, and prejudicial to the interests of earthly life was considered "harm, injury, loss, diminution, incompleteness". This thought is reflected in the ancient languages. In the Veda, *mī-* (*mināti* etc.) means on the one hand "to lessen, diminish" (inter alia:

51. See also C. D. Buck, o.c. p. 918 f. The majority of words for "harm, injure" (and those for the corresponding nouns) were, as far as can be seen, originally applied to living beings, with reference to bodily injury, and secondarily applied to material objects: see Buck, oc., p. 760.

āyuḥ "a full lifetime, outward beauty etc."); "to violate, transgress" (law, ordinances etc.); the intransitive forms bear the force of "to decrease, perish, die". The etymological relatives show that the sense of "to reduce; to become smaller etc." must be regarded as "original". The verb *riṣ-* (*reṣati, riṣyati, riṣyate*) "to receive harm, suffer wrong, to be hurt or injured" —cf., e.g., ṚV. 1, 89, 9 *mā no madhyā rīriṣatāyur gántoḥ* "do no harm to our full lifetime (don't inflict loss on it) in the midst of our path (of life)"—can also mean "to be lost, to perish". The Vedic *mṛc-* (*marcáyati* etc.) "to hurt, injure" is related to the Avestan *mahrka* "destruction, death" and the N. Pers. *marg* "death". The Skt. *kṣan-* (*kṣaṇoti*) "to hurt, injure, wound" cannot be disconnected from the Greek ἀποκτείνω (*apoktēno*) "to kill". In a recent publication P. Thieme[52] attempted to show that the I.E. root **nek̑-* — which is represented, inter alia, by the Skt. *naśyati* "to be lost, perish, come to nothing etc."—properly referred to the decomposition of a dead body. Since those words which belonging to this root denote a corpse have no special reference to its decomposition—the Greek νεκρός (*nekrós*) means: "a dead body, a dying person; pl. the dwellers in the nether world; dead, inanimate"; νέκυς (*nékus*) "corpse; pl. the spirits of the dead; dead"; the Avestan *nasu* "corpse, part of a corpse; name of a corpse-witch"—, and since, on the other hand, most words belonging to this family refer to injuries or violence which may cause death, this supposition does not seem to be very plausible. In defending the old etymology of the Greek νέκταρ (*néktar*) "the nourishment of 'immortality' ", proposed by J. Grimm and Prellwitz—and recently endorsed by J. B. Hofmann—Thieme is, however, probably right: the original force of this word seems to have been: "what saves from the destruction of death" (*-tar*: cf. the Ved. *-tur* "passing over, overcoming, rescuing, saving").

On the other hand, many words for "safe" primarily meant "whole, well, sound, unhurt", and part of them developed into expressions for "the state of being finally or permanently saved, salvation (in the religious sense)". The afore-mentioned Greek σῶς (*sōs*) "safe and well, alive and well" (of persons); "safe, whole, preserved, extant, intact" (of objects), "sure, certain" (of events)—hence also σῴζω (*sō'idzo*) etc. "to save from death, keep alive; preserve; observe (laws)", and σωτήρ (*sōtē'r*) "saviour, deliverer also of gods, rulers, and in the Christian usage of God)"; σωτηρία (*sōtería*) "deliverance, a means or way of safety, safe return, salvation (Christian)", etc.—must be etymologically connected with the Vedic *tu- tauti, tavīti* "to be strong, have power" and the Avestan *tu-* "to be able, have power", and *tavīṣī* (see above). The Irish *slān* meant "well, in good health" and "safe". The Gothic *hails*

52. P. Thieme, Studien zur indogermanischen Wortkunde und Religionsgeschichte, Berlin 1952, p. 11 ff.

"sound, whole, well, unhurt, complete"[53]—also serving as a salutation—which is related to Slavonic words for "whole, complete; to salute; health" is on the one hand identical with the Engl. *whole,* the Engl. *health* "state of bodily (or mental) well-being" and the Dutch *heel* "whole, entire, complete", and on the other with the Engl. *hail,* i.e., "be thou hail i.e., healthy, prosperous", the Dutch *heil* "welfare; good; salvation (of the soul)"—whence Dutch *heilig* "holy"—, and, moreover, with the Engl. *holy,* the last-mentioned word deriving from *hail,* cf. the above *heil* etc. in the sense of "in good health, sound, uninjured" and originally conveying the ideas of "uninjured, inviolate, representing well-being" (and hence) those of "pertaining to God or to saints, hallowed, sacred; divine etc." The likewise cognate O. Norse *heill* meant "a favourable omen" and "happiness, fortune". The German and Dutch derivative *Heiland* serves to translate the Latin *Salvator* "the Saviour"; interesting enough the medieval Dutch term was *ghesontmakere* "who makes healthy", healthy or whole being again considered the normal condition the endless continuance of which after death is eagerly desired. Words for "not injured" not infrequently adopt the sense of "safe": the Sanskrit *akṣata-* (e.g., Manu 8, 124); similarly, the Rumanian *nevătămat* "not injured" > "safe".

53. Cf. also H. Hartmann "Heil" und "heilig" im nordischen Altertum, Heidelberg 1943.

ORIGIN AND MEANING OF AVESTAN SPƎNTA-

In an important paper [1] H. W. Bailey also deals with the difficult problem of Iranian **spanta-*, and tries to show that the fundamental meaning of the root underlying **spanta-, spanah-* etc. is "supernatural power". In doing so he adduces new materials and alleges arguments which hitherto have not been brought forward in the discussion. Although I readily admit that this fundamental meaning (or rather "supernormal power") seems to be correctly recognized, there are some points in his reasoning which do not quite satisfy me.

My chief objection to his argument is this. It is necessary, professor Bailey says, to keep in view four points, viz. 1) the Avestan contexts, 2) the etymology, 3) the Balto-Slavic cognates in their oldest ascertainable meanings, 4) the traditional Pahlavi translations. A view which allows full value to each of these four factors, he adds, will receive thereby a strong cumulative confirmation. But, as to 2) and 3), they are identical, for, according to professor Bailey, the etymologic identity of these Iranian words, and the Balto-Slavic **šu̯enta-* "holy" (Lith *šveñtas,* OChSl. *svętъ* etc.) [2] is an established fact. Hence he rejects suggestions made by other scholars only or mainly because they are "in conflict with the Balto-Slavic cognates", or because they are phonetically inadmissible. Thus, the explanation attempted by W. Geiger [3] and, independent of this scholar, advocated

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[1] Published in B.S.O.S., vol. 7 (Iranian Studies III, n° 5, 1934), p. 288 ff.

[2] See A. Walde, *Vergl. Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* herausgegeben von J. Pokorny, I, p. 471; R. Trautmann, *Baltisch-Slavisches Wörterbuch* (1923), p. 311.

[3] W. Geiger, *Die Aməša Spəntas. Ihr Wesen und ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung,* published in Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften, ph.-h. Kl., 176. Band, 7 (1916).

by W. Caland[4], is, according to Mr. Bailey, inadmissible for phonetical reasons. In my opinion Geiger's supposition that Iranian **spanta-* and Vedic *pan-* "to admire, to praise" belong together, is quite admissible (cf. Iranian **spas-*: Vedic *paśyati* "to see"), provided that we look upon the Balto-Slavic etymology as less probable or, at least, that we admit the possibility of coincidence or "double etymology". For all etymologies are of a hypothetical character[5]; they never possess absolute reality outside the mind. Etymologies are always more or less probable. Sometimes only one etymologic connection is possible and all factors (phonetical, semantical etc.) perfectly correspond with each other,—then the etymology is "evident" and in the daily parlance of students and scientific workers it usually passes for an established fact. In other cases, however, the factors do not completely tally or the word may be connected with two or more words in other languages. Then we must weigh the relative value of all arguments and try to establish which etymology will, in all probability, be the least objectionable. So, if Iranian **spanta-* may be connected with BSl. **šu̯enta-* and, just as well, with Indian *pan-*, whereas the BSlavic and the Indian words do not etymologically correspond with each other, we must, in my view, weigh the arguments in favour of both possibilities.

Now, it seems possible to adduce some arguments for the point of view advocated by Geiger and Caland without rejecting Mr. Bailey's theory of "'supernatural power". We must, however, not adhere to the usual interpretation of the Vedic *pan-*, accepted by Geiger and Caland, viz. "to praise, admire". I should like to make a new attempt to interprete the Vedic *pan-*.

It is a well-known fact that the ancient Indians praised a god (or a "power") in order to strengthen him, that they described the properties and qualities of a divine power to invigorate it and to augment the source of energy from which they hoped to derive benefit. Praise, "the most important type of profoundly emotional utterance"[6], is a "confirmation" of divine power, "a consolidation of the will with which man finds himself confronted". To praise gods or ancestors is regarded by many

[4] W. Caland, Museum, 1921 (Leiden), 148, and *Woordafleiding en beteekenis van av. Spənta,* in: Verslag van het 1e Congres van het Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland (Leiden 1921), p. 30 f.

[5] I reger to my paper *The Comparative Method as applied to Indonesian Languages,* published in Lingua, I, p. 86 ff.

[6] G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation* (London 1938), p. 430.

so-called primitive peoples and individuals as a means of influencing them. Historical and mythological facts possess, when they are recorded and repeated, a stimulating and decisive power, the enumeration of exploits and achievements of the god, among other things, causes his potency to increase. So, "to praise" and "to invigorate" or "to strengthen" may easily be expressed by the same verb. In Greek too αὐξάνω "to augment" sometimes means "to praise, to extol" (e.g. Eur. Ba. 183).

Although Geiger [8] was perfectly right in refuting the etymological combinations defended by Pischel [9] and Lagercrantz [10], I cannot agree with his view that Ṛgvedic *pan-* only means "preisen, rühmen, bewundern", or, to express myself more exactly, it seems to me that he has entirely overlooked the meaning of praising and admiring.

Let us consider the texts. RV. 1,87,3 *té krīḷáyo dhúnayo bhrā́jadṛṣṭayaḥ svayáṃ mahitvám panayanta dhū́tayaḥ* („Die Tändelnden, Lärmenden mit funkelnden Speeren posaunen selbst ihre Grösse aus, die Schüttler", Geldner [11]) doubtless means "the Maruts have themselves praised (i.e. strengthened by praising) their greatness". Compare 5,55,2, where the Maruts have themselves created their power: *svayáṃ dadhidhve táviṣīm* and 7,56,11 [12]) When the Maruts, who 3,32,3 cause the energy and the might of Indra to increase by "praising" his "power" (*yé te śúṣmaṃ yé táviṣīm ávardhann árcanta indra marútas ta ójaḥ*), are said to praise themselves, they perform the task of the poets and singers, who do not forget to "praise" the Maruts and to "relate" their greatness: 1, 166, 1 *tán nú vocāma rabhasā́ya jánmane pū́rvaṃ mahitvám*; 167,7. As has already been remarked by Geiger the word *mahiman-* "greatness" and derivatives from the root *pan-* are also found together elsewhere: 8,90,11 *mahás te sató mahimā́ panasyate* ("deine, des grossen, Grösse wird fürwahr gepriesen", Grassmann); 10,75,9 *vā́jaṃ saniṣad asminn ājaú/ mahā́n hỳ asya mahimā́ panasyáte* "that she (Sindhu) will win the prize in this race, for the greatness of this (chariot)

[7] See also my papers "The meaning of Vedic *bhūṣati*" (Wageningen 1939), p. 9 etc., and *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung und Wesen des indischen Dramas* (also published in Acta Orientalia, 19), (Leiden 1943), p. 421 ff.

[8] Geiger, o.c., ch. I Die Bedeutung des Namens *Aməša Spənta.*

[9] R. Pischel, *Vedische Studien,* I (1889), p. 199 ff.

[10] O. Lagercrantz, Kuhn's Zeitschrift (Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachforschung) 34, p. 406 ff.

[11] K. F. Gelbner, *Der Rigveda übersetzt und erläutert* I (1923), p. 101.

[12] See also Geiger, o.c., p. 10 f.

is praised, i.e. applauded, strengthened by acclamation and praising" [13]). RV. 7,45,2 *nūnám só asya mahimā́ panișṭa* has been translated "Nun wird bewundert diese seine (Savitar's) Grösse" (Grassmann); if, however, we are right in assuming the meaning "to strengthen by praising" for the active forms of the verb *pan-*, the middle may be explained as "to be mighty, powerful (by praising, if such be the case)" and this meaning is in perfect conformity with the context. Compare also 6,59 *bál itthā́ mahimā́ vām índrāgnī panișṭha ā́*, where Grassmann's translation is more to the point: "Sehr herrlich (I would prefer "powerful") Indra-Agni, ist doch eure Grösse in der That".

ṚV. 3,34,6 *mahó mahā́ni panayanty asyéndrasya kárma súkṛtā purū́ṇi* does not mean, I think, "Sie schlagen seine, des Grossen (Indra's), grosse (Taten) hoch an..." (Geldner): 1 c it reads *bráhmajūtas tanvā̀ vāvṛdhānó* "incited by brahma ("the powerful word"), increasing (becoming stronger)..."; 2 ab *makhásya te tavișásya prá jūtím íyarmi vā́cam amṛ́tāya bhū́ṣan* "as an incitement to Thee, who art vigorous and strong I send forth my word, creating power for the immortal element" [14]. In the following stanzas, which contain a verbal presentation of events replete with power (Indra warded off Vṛtra, he killed Vyaṃsa etc.), the *kaváyaḥ*, the wise poets, *gṛṇanti* "mention with praise" Indra's achievements (7) and "dem Indra jubeln die Liederfrohen Beifall zu" (Geldner: *índram madanty ánu dhī́raṇāsaḥ*): acclamation, which is, like a "song of praise", a "confirmation", a consolidation of divine power. The whole hymn is a strengthening of the power of the god whose aid is to be invoked (cf. st. 11). The verb *pan-* has the same shade of meaning 10,74,4 *ā́ tát ta indrāyávaḥ pananta*, to which Geiger [15] supplies the following annotation; "Der Vers 10,74,4 aber gehört zweifellos zu denjenigen Stellen, nach welchen Indras "Freunde", die alten Sänger (die Aṅgiras usw.), Indra preisend, d.h. durch die Wirkung ihrer, den Indra begeisternden und zu Heldentaten anfeuernden Lieder, den "Kuhstall" aufgebrochen haben. Man vergleiche besonders 4,16,6 und 5 29,12. Aber auch dort, wo die Spaltung des Felsens und die Gewinnung der Kühe ausdrücklich Indra zugeschrieben wird, wird bekanntlich überaus häufig hervorgehoben, dass er von den Sängern gepriesen (besungen) diese Heldentat vollbracht habe". I would not deny that his translation

[13] I refer to my remarks on the ritual function of applause in my book *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung und Wesen des indischen Dramas*, p. 438 f.

[14] See my paper on Vedic *bhūṣati*, p. 9.

[15] Geiger, o.c., p. 13.

"durch Lob erbitten" is possible, but I have preference for "to move (the god) by praising (him)". In a similar way ṚV. 10,104,7 *úpa bhūṣanti gíro ápratītam índraṃ namasyā̆ jaritúḥ pananta* "the 'songs' (praising invocations) add power to the unassailable Indra, the homage of the 'singer' shall strengthen him by praising". In the first half of 2,4,5 we read: *ā́ yán me ábhvaṃ vanádaḥ pánantośígbhyo nā́mimīta várṇam,* which was translated by Geldner: "Was sie mir als das Grossartige des Holzfressers rühmen: Er veränderte seine Farbe wie für die Uśij" and by Geiger [16]: "Als sie mir ... priesen [d.h. ihn unter Lobpreisungen durch Reiben der Hölzer entzündeten]". Geldner, in his Glossar [17], defended the rendering "durch Bitten besänftigen", Lagercrantz proposed „gedeihen machen". I should like to translate "to increase, strengthen by praising". ṚV. 6,4,3 the stem *panay-* is used in connection with the same object *ábhvam*: *dyā́vo ná yásya panáyanty ábhvam.* Is it too bold to translate these words by "whose (Agni's) awe-inspiring power the skies increase"? Although Dyaus never developed a real personality, we have good reason to assume that this father of Indra, Agni and other gods, who holds the thunderbolt and smiles through the clouds, was also able to invigorate Agni, one of whose three births was in heaven and who as heavenly fire is the sun, born in the morning. In 8 2,17 *ná ghem anyád ā́ papana vájrinn apáso náviṣṭau* the verb has been rendered by Grassmann, Wörterbuch by "bewundern, rühmen", by the same author in his Rig-Veda by "(auf nichts andres) sinn' und denk' ich", by Geldner, Glossar, by "exorare, etwas durch Lob erbitten", by Geiger [19], who disagrees with Geldner, by "preisen". As I take it, here and 8,46,3 (quoted by Geiger) *ā́ yásya te mahimā́naṃ ... gīrbhír gṛṇánti kārávaḥ* "praise" means "to corroborate the divine power (the god) and to make it able (to move it) to perform its (his) functions", "confirmare etc." ṚV. 7,1,10 *imé náro...yé me dhíyam panáyanta praśastā́m* I should like to translate: "these men... who make my thought effective by praising (applauding) it (or by joining in my praise)". The verb is also found in one of the hymns to the famous divine horse Dadhikrā, whose speed is extolled and who is loudly proclaimed as a winner of booty. If Hillebrandt's [20] suggestion that this steed is the sacrificial horse of the Aśvamedha is correct—and, as is well known

[16] Geiger, o.c., p. 16.
[17] Geldner, *Der Rigveda in Auswahl*, I (1907), p. 105.
[18] H. Grassmann, *Rig-Veda, übersetzt* usw., I (1876), p. 389.
[19] Geiger, o.c., p. 13.
[20] A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*², II (1929), p. 391 f.

the stanza ṚV. 4,39,6 *dadhikrāvṇo akāriṣam* etc. is used during that sacrifice as a 'praise' of this animal[21]—the stanza 4,38,9 is perfectly clear: *utá smāsya panayanti jánā jūtíṃ kṛṣṭipró abhíbhūtim āśóḥ* "and people increase his speed (energy) by praising it and the superior power of the quick one who pervades all countries inhabited by the human race". The next hymn 4,39,1, has the verb *stu-*: *āśúṃ dadhikrā́m tám u nú ṣṭavāma*; 2 it reads *maháś carkarmy árvataḥ kratuprā́ dadhikrā́vṇaḥ*; cf. also 6; 4,40,1; 7,44,2. In any case, the meaning of *pan-* is clear: "to applaud and to strengthen with words of cheer". ṚV. 6,12,5 the verb is used in connection with Agni's light; cf. 4 *stave*. ṚV. 5,20,1 *yám...rayím / táṃ no gīrbhíḥ śravā́yyaṃ devatrā́ panayā yújam* ("diesen rühmenswerten (herrlichen) Reichtum als (ständigen) Begleiter preise du mit unseren Liedern bei den Göttern[, damit sie ihn uns senden]" Geiger[22]: in this stanza Agni, who is called (st. 3) *hotar-* and *dakṣasya sādhana-* "who makes effective (successful) our mental power", is invoked to 'praise' among the gods the wealth wished for by the poet's patrons, i.e. to enhance its value, potency etc. by using the poet's words. ṚV. 4,33,5 *tváṣṭa ṛbhavas tát panayad váco vaḥ* was translated by Geldner, who remarks: "die Redensart *p. v.* unsicher": "Tvaṣṭṛ lobte dies Wort von euch, Ṛbhu's, aus": "to make effective by laudatory approval"? ṚV. 3,6,7 the gods *pan-* Agni's *apó* (*apás*); if we may read *ápo*, this stanza is comparable to 3,34,6.

If we are right in supposing this to be the meaning of the verb the perfect *papne* may be explained as "is filled with Power": 6,60,4 *tā́ huve yáyor idám papné purā́ kṛtám*, ... the world created by Indra and Agni *papne* ("ist bewundernswert, herrlich" Grassmann). The meaning of the intensive participle *panipnat* seems to be the same: 9,67,29 *priyám pánipnataṃ yúvānam* "...dem wunderherrlichen..." (i.e. Soma; Grassmann). An interesting text is 9,85,11 *śíśuṃ rihanti matáyaḥ pánipnatam* "den schönen Sprössling küssen die Gebete" (Grassmann). The licking or kissing of a person is a transfer of power, an act of protection, a form of greeting or salutation, and Soma, who is the child, is licked 9,100,1 like a new-born calf[23]. 9,86,31 the same words are translated by Grassmann by: "und Lieder küssen den bewundrungswerthen Spross". In st. 46 of the same hymn the same turn recurs. We may conclude that *panipnat* was a standing attribute of Soma.

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[21] I refer to P. E. Dumont, *L'Agnihotra* (1939), p. 72.

[22] Geiger, o.c., p. 11.

[23] I refer to my paper on *bhūṣati*, p. 14 f.

I am inclined to consider the participle of the 'causative' *panitá-*, which only occurs 5,41,9, as a fairly exact synonym of Av. *spənta*: *panitá āptyó yajatáḥ sádā no várdhān naḥ śáṅsaṃ náryo abhíṣṭau* "that the 'powerful' who is always worthy of our worship (cf. Av. *yazata*), the strong (heroic) one, cause our appreciating speech to prosper with respect to protection" [24]. The gerundives *panā́yia-* and *panayā́yia-* refer to objects which are worthy of being fortified, strengthened or kept up: 1,160,5 *panā́yyam ójo asmé sám invatam*; Vāl. 9,3 *p. tád aśvinā kṛtáṃ vām*; 6,69,5 *índrāviṣṇū tát panā-yā́yyaṃ vāṃ sómasya máda urú cakramāthe.*

It seems possible to translate *pánīyas* by "mighty, powerful, endowed with a mysterious or supernatural power, — to a noticeable degree": 1,39,2 *yuṣmā́kam astu táviṣī pánīyasī mā́ mártyasya māyínaḥ* "your power must be *p.*, not that of the man skilled in mysterious art"; 1,57,3 Indra is called *bhīmá-* and *pánīyas-* ("hochgeschätzt", Geldner); 5,6,4 the *samídh-* "fuel" ("wunderschön", Grassmann). Aramati, who elsewhere (5,43,6; 7,36,8; 42,3) is *mahī́, bṛhatī́* and *yajñíyā* "great", "exalted, mighty", and "worthy of worship", is called 10,64,15 and 92,4 *panī́yasī.* The shorter form *pányas-* is used 8,63,2 as an epithet of Agni; 6,38,1 the god acquires a *pányasīṃ dhītím* ("das herrliche Gebet", Grassmann), "a powerful prayer"; 6,18,9 the poet addresses Indra in this way: *udā́vatā tvákṣasā pányasā ca vṛtrahátyāya rátham indra tiṣṭha* "with impelling (animating) and *p.* energy do you, o Indra, mount your cart in order to slay Vṛtra" ("wunderbar" etc. according to some scholars). 9,9,2 Soma's abode, *kṣáya-*, is called *pányas-*. 10,27,12 a young woman is propitiated by a *p.* treasure (gift). 3,1,13 the poet calls Agni *pániṣṭha-* and *tavás-* "energetic".

I do not understand why *pányatamāya ...mitrā́ya* (3,59,5) need be translated by "dem hochgeschätzten Mitra" (Geldner) or a similar adjective; cf. also 3,36,3 (Indra, after *píbā várdhasva*: *pāhi pányaḥ* "trink als der Gefeierte", Geldner; why not "who is to be strengthened"); 8,32,17 and 18 (Indra). 8,2,25 soma is called *pánya-*; cf. also 8,63,10.

The substantive *panú-* means "Beifall" (Geldner), cf. 3,7,6 (see above) etc. Similarly, *panitṛ́-*: 3,54,9 *devā́so yátra panitā́raḥ...* "zu dem die Götter Beifall spendend..." (Geldner); 3,57,1; 5,41,6 *prá deváṃ vípram panitā́raṃ arkaíḥ (kṛṇudhvam)* "charge the god with the function of the inspired singer who 'corroborates' with hymns of praise". The Maruts are called

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[24] Cf. Geiger, o.c., p. 28 f. and K. Rönnow, *Trita Āptya, eine Vedische Gottheit,* I (Uppsala 1927), p. 20 f.

panasyú- "beifalliebend" (Geldner): 1,38,15; 5,56,9; 10,77,3, like Indra: 8,87,1. 9,86,17 ...*dhíyo mandrayúvo vipanyúvaḥ panasyúvaḥ*..., the adjective in *-u* seems to have an active meaning: cf. *kṛpaṇyú-* beside *kṛpaṇyáti, īrṣyú-*. Similarly *vipanyu-*; 2,20,1 *váya indra...prá bharāmahe... / vipanyávo dīdhyato manīṣā́* "we offer you vigour, Indra, strengthening you (with our praise), being intent (upon it) in our thought"; cf. also 1,102,5; 7,22,11; 94,6; 8,76,6 etc. An interesting text is 8,19,10 *só árvadbhiḥ sánitā sá vipanyúbhiḥ*: here the winning of the prize by means of those who 'applaud' is mentioned together with the courses; cf. also 9,3,3.

So it would appear to me that there is a good chance that the fundamental meanings of Vedic *pan-* are "(a kind of) energetic power, which may be enhanced by praising; to enhance this power". If that be the case, an Iranian **spantá-* cognate with Ved. *pan-* might have possessed a corresponding meaning, viz. "possessing this power". There is nothing in this supposition which would not agree with the data concerning the Iranian 'theory of 'supernatural power', adduced by Mr. Bailey and with his view that *spanah-* is the very word denoting that supernatural power. "**Span-ta* (*spənta*)", Nyberg [25] argues, "bedeutet also 'mit wirksamer Kraft versehen'. Ich übersetze es durchgehend mit 'wirksam' und verstehe darunter die schaffende, ordnende, lebenfördernde Aktivität, die ein Ausdruck der göttlichen Energie der Lichtwelt ist". According to the same scholar *span-* means "wirksame, nützende Kraft, Wirksamkeit". A derivative *āspan* "muss 'förderliche, wirksame Kraft gebend' bedeuten". Y. 42,2 this adjective "bedeutet offenbar die lebenfördernde Kraft, die (dem Saatfeld) innewohnt". We may easily understand, why *spānah-* is found together with *masti-* "knowledge": "das Wissen ist bei den Ariern vor allem eine magisch wirksame Kraft, ein ausserordentliches und göttliches Vermögen".

Apart from the semantic aspect, it is important to remember the curious formal correspondence, pointed out by Geiger [26] and Caland [27], between the group of Vedic *pan-* and the Avestan family of words. Vedic *pán(ī)yah-* exactly corresponds to Avestan *spanyah-, pániṣṭha-* seems identical with *spəništa, *pánas-* (in *panasyáte*) approximates to *spanah-, panitá-* may be compared with *spənta-*. Moreover, the parallel between Vedic *Arámati pánīyasī* and Avestan *Ārmati spəntā* is striking.

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[25] H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran* (1938), p. 93.
[26] Geiger, o.c., p. 7.
[27] Caland, Verslag 1e Congres Oostersch Genootschap, p. 31.

In this connection passing mention may be made of Lat. *sponte* "of free will". The origin of this defective noun is uncertain, the etymology defended by Walde [28] and other scholars (: OHGerm. *spanst* "Antrieb, Reiz, Lockung", *spanan* "locken, reizen" etc.) does not convince ("ni le sens ni la forme ne sont clairement expliqués par là" [29]). According to Wagenvoort [30], the term *sua sponte* originally applied in the first place to things; it was used in connection with the vegetative power of the tree (Lucr. 1,214; Verg. Georg. 2,11), the germinating power of the earth in general (Lucr. 2, 1158; Verg. Georg. 2, 501), with the constant flow of water in a river, with a flame which unaccountably breaks forth etc. It is, however, not necessary to consider "tension, expansive force" ($\sqrt{\ }$*spen-*) the original meaning of the Latin word. We may also assume: "the incomprehensible, unaccountable, supernormal power or energy of nature". If this is true, *sponte* may perhaps be connected with Ved. *pan-*, Ir. *span-*.

The 'Balto-Slavic etymology' of Ir. **spanta-* is, on the other hand, assured by the alternation of *sp-*, *ś-*, *śś-* (Sak. *śśandā*, *śśandrāmata* [31]), discussed by Mr. Bailey [32], — if all the words collected by him really belong together. So our conclusion must be that Av. *spənta-* seems to correspond with both the Indian and the Balto-Slavic word-families. Whether there have been two original roots, *k̑u̯en-* and *(s)pen-*, is doubtful: we must reckon with phonetic irregularities and other phenomena which are within the bounds of possibility.

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[28] A. Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*[2] (1910), p. 733.

[29] A. Ernout et A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine* (1932), p. 927. Cf. also Walde-Pokorny, o.c., II, p. 661.

[30] H. Wagenvoort, *Roman dynamism* (Oxford 1947), p. 76, n. 3.

[31] See also Bailey in B.S.O.S., vol. 8 (Iranian Studies V, 1936), p. 142 and Nyberg o.c., p. 91 ff.

[32] Bailey, B.S.O.S., vol. 7, p. 290 and 294 ff.